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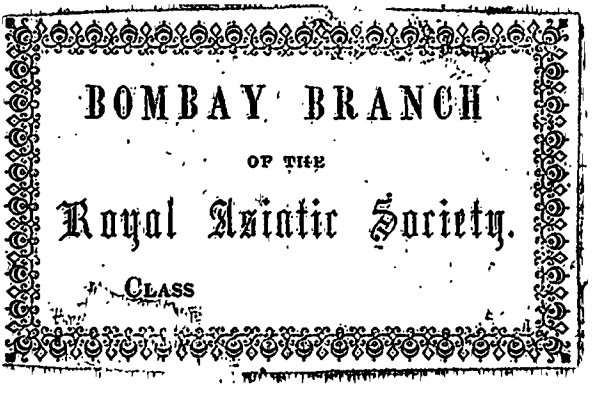

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AN

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE OLD TESTAMENT,

CRITICAL, HISTORICAL, AND THEOLOGICAL,

CONTAINING

A DISCUSSION OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUESTIONS BELONGING TO THE SEVERAL BOOKS.

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BY

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VOL. I.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

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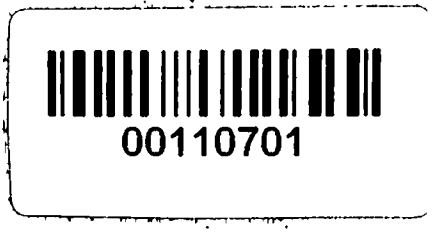

PREFACE.

THE following work is offered to the public with the view of supplying a want in English theological literature. Since the year 1856 the idea has gradually strengthened in the author's mind that there is room for an Introduction to the Old Testament, in which processes should be given as well as results. The space allotted to him in a volume published in that year was too limited to satisfy the necessary requirements. He did for the Old Testament then what appeared right and proper. But he felt that he had not done full justice either to the subject or himself. Longer time, deeper reflection, and repeated investigation were demanded, because difficult themes cannot be satisfactorily settled without protracted study. Accordingly since 1857 his mind has been occupied with the chief questions relating to the books of the Old Testament; with the view of arriving at such results respecting them as the evidence seems to justify. The process has been slow and gradual, because he has often striven against new views and tried to uphold traditional sentiments as long as he could. He has thought it a duty to maintain conservative opinions whenever he could honestly do so. In cases where they could not stand the test of true criticism they had to be abandoned. Should any think that his handling of the subject has been occasionally free, they are reminded that there is a time to utter the conclusions of the

higher criticism; that superstition should not enslave the mind for ever; and that the Bible is far from being yet understood by the majority of readers in all its parts and bearings. It is, indeed, a perilous thing at the present day to publish anything connected with the Scriptures that does not square with the narrow notions of noisy religionists. Scientific theologians have fallen on evil days and evil tongues. Persecution assails them if they do not repeat the only ideas and phrases which are *supposed* to accord with the honour of Scripture. They are maligned from pulpit and press for the glory of God. But the Almighty Father of mankind has given His servants talents to be used conscientiously as well as diligently in His service; and if in the exercise of these talents some arrive at results different from those of others, it is cowardly to suppress them should their dissemination tend to enlighten the mind or purify the heart. The writer does not profess to have made many discoveries in the department to which his volumes belong. Much novelty cannot be expected in it, though the field is not yet exhausted. He has not sought after the new because it is such; nor has he repeated the opinions of others because they are theirs. He has simply tried to give his best explanation of the sacred books. Convinced that the most unworthy views of Jehovah's nature and perfections are current in the religious world, he will achieve something if he suggest better conceptions of His person and operations.

It need hardly be stated that he has taken all the pains he could, and all the time which seemed necessary, to examine the questions discussed. While availing himself of whatever help he could get, he has endeavoured to work out for himself the results presented, and believes that most of them will stand the severest test and abide. Having the fullest conviction of their

truth, he can wait calmly and patiently for their general acceptance, even though it come not in his own day. But it *will* come. He could scarcely have elaborated his views earlier. And if it had been practicable, the circumstances in which he was placed were averse to the free expression of thought. A man under the trammels of a sect in which religious liberty is but a name, is not favourably situated for the task of thoroughly investigating critical or theological subjects. Truth in its integrity is above sects, though they try to imprison it, each within its own Goshen; nor will they ever do it fitting homage till they get beyond the childishness of their little peculiarities, and breathe the free air of God's own church. Let it be borne in mind that personal religion does not lie in the reception of intellectual propositions or dogmas, but in the emotions of the heart towards God and man—in faith, hope, and charity. It is the life of God in the soul, manifested in a life of practical self-denial and benevolence, which human creeds and their defenders often succeed in choking. Strange that the many having yet to learn that fact decry the men whose critical studies go beyond or against *their* dogmatical prepossessions. Putting religion where the Bible does not, they misunderstand its nature and caricature its spirit, by fashioning God after their own image, and expecting that others will see Him as they do—a Being malignant and partial—the creature of a corrupt imagination.

It will be seen that the present work differs both in extent and substance from a volume originally published as the second of four labelled "Horne's Introduction," tenth edition. The author regrets that he could not persuade the publishers of that work to suppress his volume after the first edition was exhausted, and to substitute the present in its place. He must

therefore say, that this "Introduction" is a new work, which must speedily supersede its brief precursor; and that his opinions should always be quoted from it. The volume published in 1856, as he has reason to know, did good service in its day, though he had not then reached his present maturer views. He did what he could under the circumstances, and with the knowledge he had at the time. If he be blamed now, he can only adduce his motto, *Dies diem docet.* Harsh-minded theologians who have inherited a little system of infallible divinity out of which they may excommunicate their neighbours, will not understand such development. They do not know Hebrew, but are able to explain the Old Testament to their own satisfaction, and ready to denounce such as have a full knowledge of the difficult tongue in which it is written. They are wise in their own conceits, and can heartily blacken the characters of men who dare to differ from their dogmas. They can hold up old creeds as tests of orthodoxy, without comprehending them; and delight to make their own beliefs a standard of right and wrong for others. Every honest inquirer regards this conduct as degrading to the true man. Leaving sectaries to quarrel over their "principles," and cast stones at the unfortunate who do not choose to walk after their rule, he welcomes light from all quarters—the light which proceeds from God's revelation without, or His revelation within. With righteous abhorrence of malice and uncharitableness, he is ready to advance as far as he is assured of the correctness of his positions. God is his witness. Men thrust at him: he can bear their abuse in the strength of Him who said, "My grace is sufficient for thee."

The author's sole ambition is to be an humble expositor of God's word in the Bible, and to cultivate in his Master's ser-

vice the one talent given him. His best strength and thought have been given to the present work; and by it he would be judged rather than by any previous one. Fain would he have floated down the stream of a pleasant and profitable orthodoxy amid the plaudits of the multitude; but he durst not contravene evidence, or prove false to the sacred convictions of conscience. He has been in search of *scriptural* orthodoxy, not of that human idol falsely so called. It has cost him a struggle to come to conclusions sometimes different from those of men he respects; yet he follows the promptings of religion in adhering to the voice of reason, identical as it is with God's word. Aberrations of intellect are venial sins: unfaithfulness to the high instincts which unite man to God and reflect the divine, is irreligion.

From the MS. of the first volume having left his hands or being already in type, the author regrets that he could not use Kamphausen's "Das Lied Mosis," the able work of a fine Hebrew scholar; Stähelin's "Specielle Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des alten Testaments," and Popper's "Biblischer Bericht über die Stiftshütte." A complete index will be given with the third volume.

May, 1862.

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ERRATA.

Page 17, line 14, *for* יְהוָֹה *read* יְהוָֹה
,, 17, ,, 17, *for* בִּיהוָֹה *read* בַּיהוָֹה
,, 30, ,, 23, *for* רֵעֵהוּ *read* רֵעֵהוּ
,, 30, ,, 24, *for* הֵן *read* חֵן
,, 63, ,, 16 from bottom, *for* though *read* through.
,, 94, ,, 20, *read* Ex. xl. 38.
,, 94, ,, 21, *read* Ex. xl. 34-38.
,, 95, ,, 23, *read* tabernacle.
,, 110, ,, 21, *read* influenced.
,, 131, ,, 9, *for* Moses *read* Mose.
,, 144, ,, 16, *read* thirty-ninth.
,, 146, ,, 16 from bottom, *for* eliminating *read* eliciting.
,, 180, ,, 8, *read* manifestly it is not.
,, 223, ,, 10, *read* παρώκησαν.
,, 224, last line of text, *for* Egyptians *read* Israelites.
,, 225, last line but two in notes, *for* Arian *read* Arrian.
,, 261, line 9, for *legla* read *legal*.
,, 355, ,, 2, *read* הַזֶּה
,, 373, ,, 11, *read* הַקָּהָל
,, 373, ,, 18, *read* מְקֹרְבָּךְ
,, 373, ,, 21, *read* הַתְּגָרָה
,, 373, ,, 3 from bottom, *for* עַשְׁתְּרוֹת *read* עַשְׁתָּרוֹת
,, 406, ,, 20 from bottom, *for* Gilop *read* Giloh.
,, 417, last line but four of text, *for* geograpical *read* geographical.
,, 417, last line but three of text, *for* יַרְדֵּן *read* יַרְדֵּן

THE PENTATEUCH.

AUTHORSHIP, COMPOSITION, AND DATE OF THE PENTATEUCH.

ONE of the first questions connected with the Pentateuch is that of *authorship*. Whether it be of so great importance as some would represent, admits of grave doubts. It appears to us to have been magnified into more consequence than properly belongs to it. We shall begin with some passages shewing a later origination of these books than the time of Moses; and proceed to other considerations tending to support the same conclusion.

I. The following places in the Pentateuch itself convey well-founded doubts of Mosaic authorship. They contain notices historical, geographical, archæological, and explanatory; or statements implying a post-mosaic time and writer.

"And the Canaanite was then in the land." (Gen. xii. 6.)

"And the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land." (Gen. xiii. 7.)

These words obviously imply, that when the writer lived, the Canaanites and Perizzites had been expelled from the land. If they were written when the two races still dwelt in the country, they are unmeaning and superfluous. Hence many advocates of the Mosaic authorship have conceded that a later hand appears in them. Thus Prideaux says, that the first is an interpolation made when the Canaanites, having been extirpated by Joshua, were no longer in the land.[1] But Hengstenberg, after Witsius, thinks the passages have no bearing on the question of authenticity, because they are easily explained and justified in their respective connexions. Objecting to the supplementary words *still* and *already*, which in his opinion are arbitrarily added, he

[1] The Old and New Testament connected, etc., Part I., Book V., p. 343, ed. 1719.

conjectures that the clause in xii. 6 was introduced for the purpose of marking the contrast between the *present* and the *future*, the *reality* and the *idea:* It gives, he thinks, a more vivid representation of the relations into which Abraham had entered.[1] His explanation of the clause in xiii. 7 is also derived from the connexion. The Canaanites and Perizzites are named, because they were most in contact with Abraham and Lot; and had a stronger feeling of jealousy towards them.[2] Kalisch returns to the untenable translation of Abenesra—"The Canaanite was *already* in the land;" and groundlessly *asserts* that the phrase is no proof of a late origin for the Pentateuch;[3] probably because he believes, with Abenesra and Munk, that the Canaanites had taken Palestine from other more ancient inhabitants, and were not therefore indigenous. In xiii. 7 the Canaanites and Perizzites represent the whole population of the land; which makes it more difficult for such as Hengstenberg and Kalisch to explain the phrase in accordance with an early origin of the book. With all the ingenuity expended by Witsius, Hengstenberg, and others in finding an appropriateness of the two clauses in question to the time and fact of a Mosaic composition, an ordinary reader must feel that they are superfluous additions, if they be not later than Moses. "The Canaanite was then in the land," says the writer, meaning the particular tribe or race of the Canaanites. This is given as a reason for Abraham's finding no room in the locality where he first settled, which was in the part of Palestine to which Sichem belonged—a part remote from the sea. But in Moses's time the tribe in question dwelt near the sea and at the Jordan, away from Abraham's first place of sojourn. The remark, therefore, could have had no propriety if it came from Moses.

"In Kirjath-arba; the same is Hebron," etc. (Gen. xxiii. 2, and xxxv. 27).

Here a modern name is appended to the ancient one, Hebron being explanatory of Kirjath-arba. It is remarkable that Hebron is the name almost always given to the city in Genesis. And yet the place did not obtain it till Caleb, having got it into his possession after the division of the land, called it *Hebron* after one of his sons. Hence Hebron as a name is posterior to Moses. In opposition to this, Hengstenberg, followed by Keil, asserts that Hebron is the oldest or original appellation; and that Kirjath-arba originated in the interval between Abraham and Moses, and was continued till after the Hebrews got possession, when the primi-

[1] Authentie des Pentateuches, Zweyter Band, pp. 184, 185.
[2] Ibid. pp. 185, 186.
[3] Historical and Critical Commentary on Genesis, p. 337.

tive name was restored.[1] This hypothesis is not easily reconciled with the fact of the explanatory Hebron being subjoined to Kirjath-arba only in two places of Genesis, while in all others *Hebron* alone occurs; and also that an *older* name is not usually appended to a *later*, but the reverse. Besides, the words of Joshua xiv. 15 are plain—"The name of Hebron before was Kirjath-arba; which Arba was a great man among the Anakims." Not a hint is given of Hebron having been the oldest name. Kirjath-arba alone is mentioned. As to analogies adduced they are utter failures, such as Zion and the city of David. Zion was the original name of one of the hills on which Jerusalem was built. "The city of David" never supplanted the appellation; nor did Zion become again the sole name. The two cases are dissimilar. And as to modern instances of old names coming up again after the lapse of years, they shew nothing but a bare possibility, and the feeble logic of apologists.

In Genesis xiv. 14, Abraham is said to have pursued the kings who carried away Lot his nephew, as far as *Dan*. But we learn from Joshua xix. 47, and Judges xviii. 29, that the name of the place was *Laish*, till the Danites took possession of it and called it Dan, "after the name of their father." In opposition to this, Jahn,[2] followed by Hävernick,[3] and somewhat hesitatingly by Hengstenberg,[4] suppose that there were two places of the name Dan, one of which is meant in Genesis and Deuteronomy, the other in Joshua and Judges. It would be difficult to convince an impartial reader that any other than the well-known city is intended in the Pentateuch, or that the hypothesis of two places identical in name and in any case not far distant, is other than arbitary. Dr. Robinson is too well versed in the geography of the Bible *even to mention* the hypothesis of two Dans, and evidently rejects it as gratuitous.[5] That the name Dan stands by *prolepsis* or prophetic anticipation is quite improbable. Nor is it more likely that *Laish*, the older name, originally stood in Genesis xiv. 14, which was altered for the new name Dan by a later writer.

"And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, *before there reigned any king over the land of Israel.*" (Gen. xxxi. 31).

The last clause of the verse could hardly have been written till after there had been a king in Israel. But Hengstenberg

[1] Hengstenberg's Die Authentie, u. s. w., p. 187 et seqq. Keil's Einleit, p. 152.

[2] Einleitung in die göttlichen Bücher des alten Bundes, Theil II., p. 66.

[3] Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung, Erster Theil, Zweyte Abtheilung, p. 309, et seqq.

[4] Authentie des Pentat. vol. ii., pp. 193, 194.

[5] Biblical Researches in Palestine, etc., vol. iii., pp. 351, 358.

replies, that the passage contains a reference to the preceding promises to the Patriarchs of a kingdom among their posterity, especially to chapter xxxv. 11, where a promise had been given to Jacob that kings should be descended from him. Not yet, says the historian in xxxvi. 31, had this promise been fulfilled to Jacob; for no kings had appeared in his line. Macdonald, as usual, repeats the explanation.[1] The German critic quotes with approbation J. H. Michaelis and Calvin.[2] He might also have alluded to the laboured attempt of C. B. Michaelis, containing a lengthened explanation similar to his own. All such endeavours are opposed to the plain meaning of the clause, which refuses, without compulsion, to play the part forced upon it. The Edomite list contains eight kings, and may perhaps reach up *almost* to the age of Moses. It is impossible, however, to shew that it reached *to* his time. Granting that it did, what a trifling remark would it be for Moses to say, when he was giving a list of the Edomite kings before his own time, "there was no king then in Jacob's line;" "this was before Israel had a king." Truly such would have been to his readers what Locke calls "a trifling proposition;" since they all knew that kings in Israel had not then appeared.

"And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, till they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna, till they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." (Exodus xvi. 35.)

Moses was dead before the manna ceased; and therefore it is natural to infer that he did not write these words. But Hengstenberg argues that the author means only to state the time when the manna still continued, not to determine the point of time when it ceased; and refers to Joshua v. 11, 12.[3] This explanation is unnatural.

"Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah." (Exodus xvi. 36).

This explanation seems to have originated in a change of time, the measure having gone out of use. Here Hengstenberg, after Michaelis and Kanne, contends that omer is not the name of a measure but of a common earthen vessel of a definite size, whose proportion to the ephah is given to determine more exactly the quantity of manna collected. We abide by the view of Gesenius, Lee, and other lexicographers, which is in all respects the more natural one, that omer means a *measure*. The argument derived by Hengstenberg from verses 16, 18, 22, 23, seems to us of no weight. And it is totally beside the mark to adduce Ezekiel xlv. 10–13 as an example of specifying the exact quantity held by measures *in use*, because that passage refers to *just* balances,

[1] Introduction to the Pentateuch, vol. i., p. 325.

[2] Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii., pp. 202, 203.

[3] Ibid. p. 210.

a *just* ephah, and a *just* bath. The princes of Israel had been guilty of injustice and exaction in their dealings towards the people, and therefore the prophet exhorts them to employ *just* measures, specifying what they are. A case of this sort is quite dissimilar to that before us, and could only be adduced by an inconsequential or weak reasoner. We do not deny that modern laws might be found stating the proportion of one measure to another without implying that the proportion had gone out of knowledge; but such a remark is totally out of place in this instance, because the writer is simply making *a historical statement* in Exodus xvi. 35, 36, *not* enunciating or recording *a law.*

"For indeed I was stolen away out *of the land of the Hebrews.*" Thus speaks Joseph in Genesis xl. 15. The phrase, "land of the Hebrews," presupposes its occupation by the Israelites. The expression is not, "land of Canaan," as elsewhere.

"That the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, *as it spued out the nations that were before you.*" (Leviticus xviii. 28).

This language presupposes the expulsion of the Canaanites from their country as past. Keil endeavours to neutralise its force by the statement in the 24th verse preceding, "which I cast out before you," not "have cast out;" but this does not help the matter, since he is still obliged to say that "by a prosopopœia *the land* HAS SPUED *out its inhabitants.*"[1] It is nugatory to say with the same critic that Israel was at the time in possession of a considerable extent of country, viz., Gilead and Bashan, on the east of Jordan; the language is not satisfied by the explanation; for *the land spueing out the nations* cannot be dwarfed down into such petty dimensions. Canaan proper, on the west of Jordan, is chiefly meant.

"The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; *as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them.*" (Deut. ii. 12).

These words obviously presuppose a time when the Israelites were already in possession of Canaan, having expelled its former inhabitants.

In Numbers xxi. 1–3 it is related, that God delivered up the Canaanites in the south of Palestine into the hands of Israel, who utterly destroyed them and their cities, calling the name of the place *Hormah.* From the event recorded here the appellation was first given to the place, meaning, *devoted to destruction.* But Hormah occurs already in Numbers xiv. 45. How could this be, if both places proceed from the same author? The answer usually given is *arbitrary,* viz., by *prolepsis* or antici-

[1] Einleitung, second ed., p. 133.

pation. This appears from the fact that in Judges i. 17, we learn, that the tribe of Simeon, assisted by Judah, destroyed the place and gave it the name Hormah. With this last agrees the fact stated in Joshua xii. 14, that Joshua conquered the king of Hormah. It is possible that he may not have taken *the city*, though he conquered *its king;* and therefore Joshua xii. 14 creates little difficulty; but Judges i. 17 shews very plainly that effect was not given to the devotement denounced in Numbers xxi. 1–3 till after Joshua's death, by the instrumentality of Simeon and Judah.

It has been usual to regard the 3rd verse (Numb. xxi.), with the exception of the last clause, as the gloss or explanatory insertion of a later time; for which, however, there is no evidence. It is a mere hypothesis framed to evade the difficulty lying in the way of an assumed authorship. In like manner, the words "unto Hormah," in Numbers xiv. 45, are supposed by some to have been inserted there subsequently to the time the name was given under the circumstances related in Numbers xxi. 1–3. This is equally arbitrary. The text of both must be taken as it is; and as there is every reason to think it was originally. Hengstenberg[1] and Kurtz[2] rightly reject the idea of later additions or glosses. But their notion of a *prolepsis* in Numbers xiv. 45 is equally untenable. They dissent, very properly, from Reland assuming a prolepsis in the narrative of Numbers xxi. 3 as compared with Joshua xii. 14; but resort to the same expedient in xiv. 45. It appears to a plain reader that Numbers xxi. 1–3 was not written till after the time refered to in Judges i. 17; since not only the place's devotement to destruction, but *the execution of the curse* is there related. In other words, Numbers was written after the tribes had received their allotted portions in the promised land. It is obvious too, that Judges i. 17 could not have proceeded from the same writer as Numbers xxi; because they disagree about *the time* when the place was first called Hormah. In the one (Judges i. 17), it got the name when destroyed by Simeon and Judah; in the other (Numbers xxi. 1–3), it received the same name when it was devoted to future destruction by the Israelites during their abode at Kadesh. It is unlikely that the same name was given twice to one place.

Hengstenberg supposes that Hormah, a name given at the time referred to in Numbers xxi., soon became Zephath again (Judges i. 17); and that it was reserved for a later age to change it again into Hormah. He thinks that at the period when it was put under the curse by the Israelites, the power of

[1] Authentie des Pentat. vol. ii. p. 223.

[2] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 422.

the Canaanites remained unbroken; and therefore it soon became Zephath again. This is contrary to Numbers xxi. 3: "The Lord hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; *and they utterly destroyed them and their cities,*" etc. If the power of the Canaanites remained unbroken, so that Hormah soon became Zephath, what means this language? Is it not obvious that the author of Numbers xxi. 3, writing not only *after* the devotement of the cities to destruction but *the carrying of it into effect*, has employed language applicable to both; and speaks of them *together*, not *separately*. It is unlikely that the name Hormah should soon be replaced by another; and that it should be afterwards *given anew by the Israelites*. In Judges i. 17 the words lead us to infer that Hormah was a *new* name, not an old one re-introduced.

"These are that Aaron and Moses to whom the Lord said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies. These are they which spake to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron." (Exodus vi. 26).

This language implies the lapse of a considerable time after Moses, when his name and character had become celebrated. But Hengstenberg maintains that the words "these are that Moses and Aaron" are equivalent in this connexion to "this is the genealogy of Moses and Aaron;" or, "these are Moses and Aaron according to their genealogical relations."[1] Even this supposition, however, does not remove the idea of a later author; *the demonstrative pronoun* pointing to such. And why should Moses himself, in recording his genealogy, have mentioned that he and his brother were the persons to whom the Lord said, "Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies, etc.?" Surely this were a superfluous addition to the genealogical register, as given by himself.

The same fact is implied in Exodus xi. 3, "Moreover the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people." Individuals are spoken of thus only after a considerable lapse of time. From the pen of Moses himself the words are not appropriate. Every attempt made to shew the suitableness of them in their present place is abortive. Thus it is alleged, that as the Israelites were about to leave Egypt, and when on asking jewels the Lord gave them favour in the eyes of the Egyptians, the statement before us is added as an additional reason why the demand was complied with, viz., the man who appeared to

[1] Authentie, u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 206.

wield the judgments of Jehovah was very great in the land of Egypt. But the whole passage xi. 1-3 interrupts the connexion; because xi. 4–8 manifestly belongs to x. 24–29. And it is *the recording* of the fact that Moses was a great man in the land of Egypt, which is unsuitable; not the fact itself. Especially unsuitable is it after the words "*the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians,*" because no *additional* reason for the Egyptians freely parting with their jewels was needed. So far from Moses's greatness being an *additional reason*, it *detracts from* and *irreverently spoils* the one just given. Surely the fact that *God* gave the Israelites favour in the sight of their enemies, renders any other reason at once unnecessary and derogatory to the Almighty. And would Moses thus introduce *himself* and *his greatness* as a reason for the Egyptians freely giving away their jewels, after he had attributed their willingness to do so to Jehovah? Certainly not.

"Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth." (Numbers xii. 3).

These words are inappropriate, if proceeding from Moses himself. The attempt of Hengstenberg to explain them as becoming to the lawgiver is a curious phenomenon of exposition. After giving four reasons to shew that they are intended to guard against a misconception of the expression "and the Lord heard" (xii. 2), he still feels that they wear something of a strange air. But this apparent strangeness vanishes, in his view, if we measure Moses by his own standard, not our own. Whoever can report his own defects and offences, as Moses has done, can speak of what the Lord wrought in him with an openness entirely different from what we can use. And besides, Christ said, referring to the present passage, "I am meek and lowly in heart."[1] If this be not a specimen of special pleading, we know not where to find it. There is no real analogy between the cases of Christ and Moses, for the language of the latter is extravagant commendation; "Moses was very meek *above all the men who were upon the face of the earth.*" A modest and meek man, whatever be his faults, will never employ such self-commendation, exalting his own person above all others in the world. Other analogies are equally groundless, such as David styling himself "the anointed of the God of Jacob, and the sweet psalmist of Israel," words *not* written by David; St. John calling himself "the disciple whom Jesus loved;" and St. Paul asserting that he was "in nothing behind the very chiefest apostles," apostles being here *false*, not *true*, apostles.

In like manner Palfrey finds no difficulty in the text, but

[1] Authentie des Pentat. vol. ii. p. 173, et seqq.

renders the word commonly translated *meek* by *distressed, miserable.* Moses does not laud himself, but simply speaks of the great trials of his situation.[1] His paraphrase of the verse is, "Moses, exalted as was his place, was now the most wretched man." This exposition must be rejected as arbitrary; for although the adjective often means *distressed* or *afflicted*, it always includes the idea of meekness or humility; and the Hebrew noun אִישׁ *man* does not convey a sense of dignity except in antithesis to אָדָם expressed or implied. Besides, Moses, supposing him the writer of the Pentateuch, never puts הָאִישׁ before his name. The common translation must be retained, and others contrived to evade the obvious meaning, whether *miserable, unambitious* or anything else, be discarded; for the Mosaic composition of the piece is utterly discountenanced by the clause, "above all the men which were upon the face of the earth."

"An examination of the context," says Macdonald,[2] "will at once manifest that the observations referred to (Exodus xi. 3, Numbers xii. 7) occupy a necessary place in the history, being in every instance called forth by the occasion, and that the object of their insertion was by no means to magnify Moses." Rather do the words and their context disown the determination of such apologists to shut their eyes against all evidence contrary to their prepossessions.

The formula *unto this day* is one that properly and regularly denotes a long interval, as is shewn by its use in Judges vi. 24, 1 Sam. v. 5, xxvii. 6, 2 Sam. xviii. 18, 2 Kings ii. 22, xvii. 23, 41. Hence it is employed as a proof of later composition in the books of Samuel and Kings. It may therefore be rightly used in disproving the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, provided the context harmonize with the application. But it should be applied with discrimination, because it may be employed of a short time, as it is in Genesis xlviii. 15, 1 Sam. viii. 8, and elsewhere. A proper example bearing on our present subject, is in Deut. iii. 14: "Jair called them (the cities of Bashan) after his own name, Bashan-havoth-jair, *unto this day.*" This event belongs to the time immediately before the death of Moses, and therefore it could not have been so spoken of in his farewell discourse; the interval of time being very short. Here Hengstenberg tries to shew that all which occurred from Numbers xxii. to the end, intervened; so that the fact whose continuance is stated was not so very near the present time of the writer. But in this the critic fails; and is therefore obliged

[1] Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities, vol. i. p. 344.

[2] Introduction to the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 346.

to have recourse to *the fluctuating character* of the phrase and the common occurrence of new names not remaining fixed to their respective objects *soon after* their introduction.[1] To say that the phrase was nearly equivalent to our English word "still," is simply absurd.

"Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion; and the Amorites call it Shenir." (Deut. iii. 9).

Surely the different appellations of Hermon must have been familiar in Moses' time, so that he could have no occasion to mention them. Hengstenberg may ask, How do we know this? to which the answer is easy, by a moment's reflection on the nature of the case. This critic resorts to the most improbable hypothesis, that such new information had probably excited an interest among the Israelities by its very novelty, and therefore appeared worthy of record, though it became familiar soon after and presently lost its charms.

"For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of the Rephaim; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? Nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubits of a man." (Deut. iii. 11).

The words follow after the mention of Og king of Bashan. Moses died about this time and may have had no certain information on the subject. A knowledge of the bed's dimensions may have been first obtained when David captured this metropolis of the Ammonites. But we need not have recourse to this supposition, since Og was conquered a few months before Moses's death. Moses could not have considered it necessary to inform the Israelites of Og being a giant; since they had just seen and fought with him. Hengstenberg replies, that Moses wrote for posterity.[2] But it may be gravely questioned whether he would have committed to writing this item of intelligence with posterity in his view. His object, according to Hengstenberg, was to give a striking representation of the greatness of the conquered enemy as well as the greatness of God's grace which secured the victory. How easy it is to find objects when one is in quest of them!

A careful examination of Deuter. ii. 10-12, and 20-23, as also iii. 9-11, shews that they refer to events long past and interrupt the connexion of the discourse. They are parentheses which break the continuity of the composition.

"The Emims dwelt therein in times past, a people great and many, and tall as the Anakims; which also were ac-

[1] Authentie des Pentat. vol. ii. p. 325, et seqq.

[2] Authentie des Pentat. vol. ii. p. 244.

counted giants, as the Anakims; but the Moabites call them Emims. The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their stead; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the LORD gave unto them.....(That also was accounted a land of giants: giants dwelt therein in old time; and the Ammonites call them Zamzummims; a people great, and many, and tall, as the Anakims; but the LORD destroyed them before them; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead: as he did to the children of Esau, which dwelt in Seir, when he destroyed the Horims from before them; and they succeeded them, and dwelt in their stead even unto this day; and the Avims which dwelt in Hazerim, even unto Azzah, the Caphtorims, which came forth out of Caphtor, destroyed them, and dwelt in their stead.)" "(Which Hermon the Sidonians called Sirion; and the Amorites call it Shenir;) All the cities of the plain, and all Gilead, and all Bashan, unto Salchah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron; is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon? nine cubits was the length thereof, and four cubits the breadth of it, after the cubit of a man."

Hengstenberg, as usual, tries to shew that these passages contain what was exactly suited to the state and disposition of the persons addressed by Moses. He supposes that the intention was to root out the prejudices here expressed, by which the older generation was excluded from the promised land. Moses met them by reasoning *a minori ad majus*. What God did for the Moabites, Ammonites, etc., etc., will he not also do it for his own people? This is ingenious but wholly improbable, because it does not apply to *some* of the notices.[1] Keil assumes that they were insertions made by Moses when he wrote out his discourses.[2] This is gratuitous.

In different passages allusions are made to Moses having written *legal prescriptions*, as in Exodus xxxiv. 27, and xxiv. 4. "And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments." "And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rose up early in the morning," etc. The latter passage evidently refers to Exodus xx. 23. In like manner Moses is said to have composed a historical list of the journeys of the Israelites, as mentioned in Numbers xxi. 14. So also he is said to have written an account of the marvellous discomfiture of Amalek, in a book (Exodus xvii. 14). Such particulars, re-

[1] Authentie des Pentat. vol. ii., p. 238 et seqq. [2] Einleitung, pp. 132, 133.

lating to Moses *as a writer*, agree only with a later person who used documents. On the supposition that the lawgiver wrote the whole Pentateuch, they are incongruous. It is improbable that Moses himself should quote *The Book of the Wars of the Lord* (Numb. xxi. 14), *i.e.*, his own work. The fact of such quotation shews a time of learning, and a person posterior to Moses. This is confirmed by the particle *then* commencing the 17th verse, which points both here and in Genesis xii. 6, xiii. 7, to a subsequent author.

"And Moses rose up, and *his minister Joshua*, etc. (Exodus xxiv. 13.) The words in italics are not such as would have been written by Moses himself. Another person long after would naturally use them. This supposition is strengthened by Exodus xxxiii. 11; "And he turned again into the camp; but *his servant Joshua, the son of Nun, a young man*, departed not out of the tabernacle." After the preceding notice of Joshua, this is not the most appropriate language, for it would agree better with a *first* mention of Joshua. As a description of his own servant coming from Moses, it is unsuitable. A later author would insert it. Both places belong, as we shall see, to the Jehovist.

In like manner Moses and the transactions in which he had a chief share, especially those at Sinai are spoken of as *past*. We read in Numbers xv. 22, 23. "And if ye have erred, and not observed all these commandments which the Lord hath spoken unto Moses, even all that the Lord hath commanded you by the hand of Moses, from the day that the Lord commanded Moses, and henceforward among your generations," etc. In the last chapters of Exodus the frequent phrase "as God commanded Moses," shews a time posterior to Moses, for at least *the form* of the laws. Exodus xxxix. 5, 7; xl. 19, 27, 29, 32.)

II. In conformity with the passages to which we have now referred—passages implying that Moses did not write the present Pentateuch, or that the transactions recorded were long past, the writer occasionally intimates that he was in Palestine. He could not therefore have been Moses. Thus in Exodus xx. 10, and Deut. v. 14, occurs the expression "within thy gates," which is inapplicable to the desert. This is consistent with the fact that Moses himself wrote the decalogue at first; though not in the very words of Exodus xx. or of Deuteronomy v.

In Genesis xii. 8, xxviii. 14, Exodus x. 19, xxvi. 22, xxvii. 13, xxxviii. 12, we find the expressions יָמָּה, יָם in the sense of *westward*, which in *most* of the places indicate the locality of the writer or writers to have been Canaan. It is said, indeed, that the present mode of designating the west is conceivable

from one in Arabia or the land of Moab; but this is questionable, at least in some cases. Keil must have felt it to be so when he adds, without evidence, that the geographical designations of the cardinal points *may have been fixed* for the Hebrew language so early as by the patriarchs.[1] At the present time this appears to us improbable.

"Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which *they of old time* have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it" (Deut. xix. 14).

This language obviously implies the time of peaceful settlement in Canaan. It does not comport with circumstances *soon to be realized* by the persons to whom Moses spoke; because they are exhorted to respect the landmarks set up by their forefathers in the country. *They of old time* cannot be referred to the wicked inhabitants about to be driven out. It presupposes a long abode in the land promised to their fathers.

"Thou shalt not *delay* to offer the first of thy ripe fruits, and of thy liquors: the first-born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me" (Exodus xxii. 29).

This belongs to the first legal precepts delivered to Moses at Sinai. Yet the verse presupposes that the Israelites had already brought the first-fruits of their fields and vines to the priests. No regulation is given respecting the manner of their offering; it is simply enjoined that the people should not *delay* to offer. Hence the precept, *in its present form*, was not written by Moses himself. It derives its method of expression from a much later time. The same remarks apply to Exodus xxiii. 19, where we read, "The first of the first-fruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God;" where the existence of the tabernacle in Palestine is presupposed.

"Then shall the land enjoy her Sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemies' land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths. As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest: because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it. . . . . The land also shall be left of them, and shall enjoy her sabbaths, while she lieth desolate without them: and they shall accept of the punishment of their iniquity: because, even because they despised my judgments, and because their soul abhorred my statutes" (Leviticus xxvi. 34, 35, 43).

This language refers to a time when the people should be carried into exile by their enemies. It states that the land should enjoy its sabbaths *then;* which it did not when they dwelt in it. The implication is, that the sabbatical and jubilee

[1] Einleitung, p. 132.

years had not been legally observed by the Israelites while they were peaceably inhabiting Canaan. The later circumstances of their history in the promised territory are presupposed in a manner which Moses could scarcely have done. We can imagine him referring to the earliest circumstances of the people after they had got possession of the promised land; but not to the later, without speaking of them apart. The entire paragraph (Lev. xxvi. 3–45) bears the stamp of a period much later than the Mosaic.[1]

We have thus quoted a few passages which convey the idea of a different author from Moses—one living after Saul became king. They are not the only ones that might be cited for the same purpose, but are perhaps the most reliable. At one time it was usual to look on most of them as interpolations proceeding from Ezra, when he revised the sacred books, and completed (as is supposed) the canon of the Old Testament; or from some of his associates in the work of revision. This hypothesis is justly abandoned at the present day. Whether the places be represented as marginal notes taken afterwards into the text, or as Ezra's own insertions, they belong to their respective connexions as much as any other part of the text, and cannot be pronounced later appendages. They are not all *explanatory*. Some add nothing to the perspicuity of the places in which they occur; on the contrary, they occasionally disturb and embarrass the sequence. Why then did an inspired man like Ezra put them there? Or did they find their way into the present text out of the margin by mistake or accident? If so, would they not have been subsequently excluded, when found to interrupt the sequence? Hengstenberg and his followers, rightly perceiving that the interpolation-hypothesis and Ezra-authorship are alike groundless, have endeavoured to explain them as they now stand, taking them as an integral part of the text. This is the only correct view. No interpolation-hypothesis can be regarded otherwise than as a tacit admission of the insuperable difficulty that exists in the assumption of Mosaic authorship; and therefore we reject all such expedients; especially that adopted by Philippson in his Israelitische Bibel,[2] who imagines four interpolations—viz., Genesis xxxvi. 31-43, xlvi. 8–27; Exodus vi. 10—vii. 7; Numbers xxi. 14–20, 27–30. The question is reduced to one of mere exposition. What is the right meaning of the passages? Does it harmonise or not with their Mosaic authorship? Does it imply that they originated after the Israelites had been settled in the promised land? Our opinion has been already expressed, that their natural sense

[1] See Bleek's Einleitung, pp. 210, 211. [2] Erster Theil, Einleitung, p. xxiv.

is against a Mosaic authorship. Ingenuity, indeed, may find ways of making them agree with the old view—as is exemplified in the case of Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Keil; but an impartial expositor seeks for *the obvious interpretation,* not a fanciful and far-fetched one, having the appearance of being framed for a purpose.

III. After these positive arguments against the Mosaic authorship, let us notice a few striking *omissions,* which point to the same conclusion, indicating that documents or reliable reminiscences were wanting to the writer. According to Numbers xii. 16, the Israelites removed from Hazeroth and pitched in the wilderness of Paran, with which Kadesh is associated as a station in xii. 26. But we learn from Numbers xxxiii., that there were eighteen places of halt between Hazeroth and Kadesh. Surely, it is improbable that nothing memorable or worthy of record happened at any of these. Information respecting them seems not to have been at the writer's command.

Again, a few notices given of Hur, show that he was no inconsiderable personage among the Israelites in the wilderness. It is thought that he was Miriam's husband, and Moses's brother-in-law. Yet, nothing is stated about his descent, nothing of his death; contrary to the practice of the historian. Surely had Moses been the writer, he would have given some particulars. A late author could find no information respecting him.

The accounts of Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, are very unsatisfying and even contradictory. They are evidently fragmentary (Exodus ii. 18, xviii. 1, 12, 27. Numbers x. 29). Yet, he was an important person—a priest at the head of a tribe in Midian.

How is it also, that there is a blank in the history respecting thirty-eight years of the sojourn in the wilderness? Is it not a striking thing that total silence prevails regarding them. Let us see how this long interval of years is treated. In the twentieth chapter of Numbers, we read that the whole congregation of the children of Israel came into the desert of Zin in the first month; and the people abode in Kadesh, and Miriam died there (verse 1). In the twenty-second verse, we find them removing from Kadesh, and coming to Mount Hor. The former relates to the first month of the third year after the Exodus. The latter, however, relates to the fifth month of the fortieth year after the Exodus. Thus, thirty-eight years are passed over within the compass of a few verses, as if there had been no such interval. One would suppose that the occurrences, related in the chapter, happened in immediate succession.[1] The omission

[1] See Bleek's Einleit., p. 222, et seqq.

of many events would not be thought of by the reader, till he had compared *a subsequent* chapter of Numbers (xxxiii). Surely, neither Moses nor a contemporary, would have written in that manner. In the author's time, there were no certain reminiscences of these melancholy years.

IV. Two leading documents, at least, may be discovered by a careful reader in the Books of Moses. The one has been commonly termed the Elohim document; the other, the Jehovah document. These names of Deity are constantly used in certain sections of Genesis. The *fundamental* document, or that which lies at the basis of the Pentateuch, is marked by the employment of *Elohim* alone, and the avoidance of *Jehovah* up to Exodus vi. 2–4; whereas, after that, both are adopted. On the other hand, the writer of the second document, which supplies many things wanting in the first—the so-called Jehovist—*commonly* employed Jehovah.

As the testimony of Exodus vi. 2-4, is most important in relation to this point, it must be carefully examined, because it will be found to cast much light on the plan of the Pentateuch.

"And God spake unto Moses and said unto him, I am the Lord: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of *God Almighty*, but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them," that is, I appeared to the patriarchs as אֵל שַׁדַּי not as יְהוָה. *Jehovah* is a proper name—the holy appellation of the God of the Hebrew theocracy, or God in his special relation to His people. It is derived from הָוָה, the old form of the substantive verb הָיָה *to be;* so that the fundamental idea involved is *being* or *existence;* he to whom *existence* peculiarly belongs; *the only existing, independent one* excluding true being from all except himself, and therefore the only one in whom *being* inherently resides. It does not mean, as Hengstenberg and his disciples suppose, the One *becoming, i.e.*, revealing Himself—the God revealing or developing His nature. Taking the name in connexion with the passage in Exodus, Jehovah is the true God, who is known by His works and His revelation as *the only existing one.* Especially was he known as such, by the revelation made to His people in mercy—a people chosen out of the world, in whom He might accomplish His purposes of grace, and show forth His praise. To Israel exclusively was He revealed as *Jehovah.* They alone knew Him as *Jehovah.* Hence the name is the *theocratic, national* name. The depth of its meaning was only felt in the religious consciousness of *the Hebrew people.* Accordingly, it is the appropriate name in relation to *the covenant* made with the Israelites, and to their religious worship.

אֱלֹהִים is a name of wider scope than יְהוָה. Being more general, it includes the latter. When we take into consideration the singular number אֱלֹהַּ, and the cognate אֵל, its true origin is seen to be אוּל. Hence the idea of *might* or *power* is the fundamental one. The order in which we derive the words successively from one root is אֵל participle of אוּל, the verb אָלָה, the noun אֱלֹהַּ. Hengstenberg, after Schultens, incorrectly runs to the Arabic أَلِهَ *coluit, adoravit,* and أَلِهَ *stupuit, pavore correptus fuit.* The word denotes the Deity as powerful. Accordingly, the heathen must employ אֱלֹהִים when they are introduced as speaking; and when an Israelite puts himself on the platform of heathen consciousness of the Deity, he naturally employs it also. In the old Hebrew view, superhuman divine power could not be separated from the true God (יְהוָה), and, therefore, the one name does not exclude the other. Thus, where the oracle is spoken of, either name may be employed, as in Judges i. 1, xx. 23, 27, 1 Sam. x. 22, 2 Sam. ii. 1, v. 19, 23 שְׁאַל בַּיהוָה; whereas in Judges xviii. 5, xx. 18, 1 Sam. xxii. 15 שְׁאַל בֵּאלֹהִים occurs. The term *Elohim*, therefore, is a general designation of the mighty and powerful God, who unites in himself the essential fulness of the attributes ascribed to the gods in mythological systems. He is the ruler of the universe—the Being who has perfection. But the other term *Jehovah*, designating the same Being, has a particular bearing. In it God is viewed as sustaining a particular relation to his chosen people. He is revealed to their religious consciousness as the true God—the independent fountain of Being—eternal and immutable.

The passage in Exodus vi. 2, 3, announces the epoch when the revelation of God *as Jehovah* took place. With Moses Elohim became Jehovah to the religious consciousness of the Israelites. The pre-Mosaic time did not know of *Jehovah*, but *Elohim*. Hence even when the sabbath-day is said to be hallowed, when circumcision is enjoined upon Abraham as a seal of the covenant, and when Jacob presents his vow to God, *Elohim* is used; whereas Jehovah would have been chosen, in such cases, as more appropriate, had not the fundamental idea, lying in the latter, been still unknown to the religious consciousness of the patriarchs. And yet *Jehovah* is employed in the book of Genesis. It is supposed already in use in Exodus iii. 14-16. Whence or how comes it there? Can it be thought that a writer who uniformly and consistently avoids the employment of that name up to a certain point in the history, should often violate the

peculiar usage he follows by the very side of that usage? Can the author, who introduces the Deity as saying, in Exodus vi. 3, "I appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, by the name of *God Almighty*, but by my name *Jehovah* was I not known to them," adhere to the distinction in certain sections with great carefulness, while in other and parallel ones he neglects it, and introduces *Jehovah* into the patriarchal age? Surely not. These distinctive appellations, therefore, which are employed in the history before the time when *Jehovah* was first made known, must proceed from different writers.

The phenomenon in question can be better accounted for by the hypothesis of two separate writers, than of one, because, in the latter case, the one author would stultify himself by announcing an important distinction which he had uniformly observed in certain sections, and as uniformly violated in others; whereas in the former instance, one writer might not attach the peculiar importance to these distinctive appellations which another did, especially if he lived later. The earlier the era of a writer, the more likely would he be *(other things equal)* to attend to such a distinction; because it marked a considerable advance in the religious development of the race. The assumption of duplicate authorship is confirmed by the fact, that the two names of Deity are intimately connected with pieces *bearing a definite character respectively*, and so distinguished from one another. We admit that the names themselves, apart from other circumstances, would only furnish an external mark of divergence. But the critics who advocate diversity of authorship, do not rely *solely* or *mainly* on the uniform usage of the names in different sections, as evidence of separate authorship. It may be that Elohim *now* occurs occasionally in a Jehovistic section, and Jehovah in an Elohistic one. There are causes which satisfactorily account for these phenomena—phenomena which do not vitiate the general hypothesis. *Along with* the peculiar use of these appellations, there are other circumstances clearly showing diversity of authorship. These circumstances cannot be well accounted for in any way which excludes that diversity. It is necessary to state explicitly, for the sake of the ignorant who do not understand the document-hypothesis and therefore give a false representation of it, that the two names are not *the sole tests;* and that it proves nothing against it to adduce examples of Elohim in Jehovistic sections, or even of Jehovah in later Elohistic pieces. Those who think that they can undermine the hypothesis in that way, are utterly mistaken; showing very plainly that they are ignorant of the case on which they dispute. *At first*, the careful Elohist excluded the use of Jehovah in the matter of Genesis. We do not suppose

that he ever employed it as an appellation of Deity till Exodus vi. 3. *Thenceforward*, Elohim became an appellative; and so the difference between the names was still maintained. But the Jehovist was not so careful to avoid the title Elohim; for though his predominant usage is *Jehovah*, he occasionally employs the older Elohim; as in etymologies, of which examples occur in Genesis iv. 25, and xxx. 6; also in profane as well as human relations, of which we have examples in Genesis iii. 1-4, where words are put into the serpent's mouth. *Elohim*, in the phrase בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים meaning *angels*, could not be *Jehovah*, because it is part of a standing formula.

It is some confirmation of these observations on the word Jehovah, that there are but few proper names compounded with it, before the times of Samuel and David. Yet several have been adduced for the purpose of showing that the name was not unknown prior to Moses; as *Jochebed*, the mother of Moses (Exodus vi. 20; Numb. xxvi. 59); *Ahijah* (1 Chron. ii. 25); *Abiah*, grandson of Benjamin (1 Chron. vii. 8); *Bithiah*, daughter of Pharaoh and wife of Mered (1 Chron. iv. 18); and *Moriah* (Gen. xxii. 2). Little weight attaches to these, because it is well known that the Hebrews often altered older names for later ones, or adapted them to Hebrew etymologies and forms. As to *Moriah*, which is a land not a mountain, the true reading seems to be מוֹרֶה *Moreh*, and the place the same as that in which Abraham had erected an altar before (Gen. xii. 6). Jehovah-jireh was a mountain or hill in the plain of Moreh, which had no connection with the temple mountain of subsequent days.[1]

Jochebed, the name of Moses' mother, is the only one we know that shows a trace of the name Jehovah in the pre-Mosaic period, whence no more can be inferred than that the appellation was common in the family of Moses' maternal forefathers. But it had not then received any special significance. Pre-Mosaic as it was, its importance and value were first apprehended by Moses. It sounds plausibly to assert that a word employed in forming the proper name of Jacob's granddaughter (Jochebed) could not have been unknown to that patriarch himself; but the argument rests on an insecure basis.

The hypothesis of plural authorship is materially strengthened when we see that a certain circle of ideas having a peculiar expression and complexion of language belongs to the pieces in which *Elohim* occurs, as compared with the characteristic conceptions and linguistic colouring of those where Jehovah prevails; in short, when the fundamental conception of Deity

[1] See Bleek in the Stud. und Krit. for 1831, pp. 520–524.

involved in the names affects the character of the parts to which they properly belong. Diversity of authorship, therefore, is not based on the *mere* designations of Deity. As a rule, it arises as much out of *the nature of the text in which they occur* as from the names themselves. The text and names mutually correspond; the features, form, and language of the former being evolved from the religious consciousness implied in the latter.

We are aware that the passage in Exodus has been explained in a manner which is supposed not to militate against Mosaic authorship. It is said that the verb נוֹדַעְתִּי *I was known*, implies *the revelation of God in the capacity of Jehovah*, not *the promulgation of the name Jehovah*,[1] *i.e.*, it means *one kind* of knowledge of Jehovah, not another. It is difficult to see, however, how the name Jehovah could be revealed prior to Moses, and He himself remain unknown in *the character* of Jehovah. *The revelation* of the name is the revelation of the nature or character; and as to its being *promulgated* not *revealed*, the distinction is arbitrary.

Again, we are told that the word נוֹדַעְתִּי is of pregnant meaning, implying not *bare knowledge*, but the *perception* or *experience of the full power of Jehovah*. The fulness of the working power and covenant-meaning involved in the term was never unfolded to the patriarchs. They had only a preparation for the exercise of the effectual might which the name contains. This interpretation has been given in various forms; and is the most usual among apologists for the Mosaic authorship. Thus Kalisch gives as "the only possible explanation," "my name Jehovah has not been *understood* and comprehended by the patriarchs in its essence and depth, though it was even in their time already occasionally introduced."[2] Nor is Hengstenberg's view essentially different. It amounts to saying, that Jehovah was not *so fully* revealed to the patriarchs as to Moses. Thus the apparent opposition between the earlier non-revelation of God as Jehovah and the later manifestation of him as such is simply *relative;* the more glorious one of the later period eclipsing the former, and making it as if it had never been. The less, in relation to the incomparably greater, is regarded as *non-existent*.[3] The same explanation is given by Munk.[4] There are *comparison* and *contrast* in the passage.

It may be so. We do not deny that the name *Jehovah* was sometimes employed in the pre-Mosaic time. Probably it was usual among the maternal forefathers of Jochebed, as the

[1] Hengstenberg, Authentie des Pentat. vol. i. p. 289.
[2] Commentary on Exodus, p. 101.
[3] Authentie des Pentat. vol. i. p. 289.
[4] Palestine, p. 142

composition of her name implies. Nor do we deny that between the ante-Mosaic and Mosaic employment of the appellation there must have been a great distinction; because the import of it was not properly understood till the time of Moses. But we cannot believe that *the writer* of Exodus vi. 3, *intended* such a contrast. Had he done so, the text would have been different. The present verb *appeared*, would have had associated with it, not *El-Shaddai* but *Jehovah, i.e., I appeared* to the patriarchs as Jehovah; but the fulness of meaning implied in the name—the practical experience of my working power as a covenant-God was imperfectly apprehended by them. Or, some other verb would have been used as antithetic to נוֹדַעְתִּי, *Jehovah* still standing in place of El-Shaddai, *i.e.*, I was known to the patriarchs as *Jehovah;* but I was not experimentally known to them in the fulness of the working power and covenant meaning which the appellation implies. Their knowledge of my character was only superficial. The fact that *El-Shaddai* occurs in the first clause, not *Jehovah*, is unexplained, according to the interpretation we are considering. Had the author of vi. 3, freely employed *Jehovah* before, and intended the alleged contrast between the acquaintance of the early patriarchs and that of Moses with Jehovah, it is all but certain that he would not have used in vi. 3, any but the one appellation, because it brings out the contrast; whereas *El-Shaddai* does not. On the contrary, the latter introduces a difficulty—the difficulty of understanding how the knowledge of Jehovah could be first revealed and promulgated to Moses. But it is clear to the unbiassed reader that there was no such marked difference between the apprehension of Jehovah in the fulness of his power and covenant relation before and after Moses, as one-sided apologists would lead us to suppose. Take their alleged one writer employing Jehovah as well as Elohim from the commencement of the history, and see whether the interpretation put upon vi. 3, is justified by usage. In Genesis xv. it is recorded that God was manifested to Abraham, who *believed* in *Jehovah*, and therefore his *faith* was counted for righteousness. There the Lord promises him an heir; declares to him that his seed shall be numberless as the stars of heaven, shall be afflicted in a strange land 400 years, but come forth from it with great substance. Jehovah too *made a covenant* with Abraham, and assured him that he had given the land of Canaan, from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates, to his posterity. Here is Jehovah the covenant-God revealing himself to Abraham in a peculiar manner, encouraging him by a fulness of promise, and confirming his word by a sign, entering into covenant with his servant, and condescending to inform him of the future of his

race. That Abraham apprehended aright the character of the Being who thus revealed himself, is evident from the words of the sixth verse, as well as from the language he addresses to Him in the eighth, *Lord God.* Hence on the hypothesis of one and the same writer of the Pentateuch, and the correctness of the alleged explanation, we argue that the contrast between the acquaintance of Abraham, with the name Jehovah, and the full knowledge of that name first made known to Moses, is groundless. There is no perceptible or marked distinction between the respective knowledges of the two personages. If it be alleged that the antithesis is between the *theoretical* knowledge of the one, and the *experimental* knowledge of the other, since Abraham did not witness *the exertion* of Jehovah's might in bringing the Israelites from Egypt and establishing the theocracy, we reply, that the wonderful faith of Abraham implies *an actual realisation to himself* of all that Jehovah promised, though he did not see it with his eyes. The *essential character* of the knowledge is the same; because a mere outward observance of Almighty power in exercise does not affect its nature. It may be as far-reaching in the one case as in the other—faith anticipating futurity, because it is the substance of things not seen.

It is vain for Keil to state that the contrast is not between *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, but *El-Shaddai* and Jehovah in Exodus vi. 3[1]; because *El-Shaddai* is entirely consistent with the fact of *Elohim* being used *prior to*, or *along with*, itself; while neither marks so advanced a stage of the national religious consciousness as Jehovah; and both, strictly speaking, exclude the last from their distinctive epoch.

If our view of Exodus vi. 3 be correct, it is all but certain that one writer could not have composed the book of Genesis, else he would have violated a principle expressly enunciated by himself in the passage. The words appear very plain, "by my name Jehovah was I not known to them"; but they are easily contradicted by self-sufficient writers, who boldly affirm that "the passage can afford no countenance to the supposition that this was the first promulgation of the name Jehovah."[2] It was the first *revelation* of the name on the part of Jehovah; or, in other words, its import was then first understood by the God-consciousness in man. Admitting, however, that vi. 3 in Exodus means only a comparative knowledge of Jehovah *before* and *in the time of* Moses, it can be proved that the hypothesis of one author is untenable. Only two cases are then possible, viz., that he used the two names Elohim and

[1] Einleitung, p. 68.
[2] Introduction to the Pentateuch, by D. Macdonald, vol. i. p. 168.

Jehovah appropriately in every instance; or, that he used them without distinction. The former view is adopted by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Drechsler, who hold that there is a clearly marked difference of meaning in the terms themselves; the subject where each occurs accounting for their distinctive usage. They think that the general grounds of the varying use are a clearly marked difference of meaning in the names in addition to a clearly marked difference of object on the part of the writer. Each is appropriate to the connexion in which it stands, and therefore there is no room for arbitrariness. The same writer chose different appellations, as the one or other suited better the character of the accompanying contents. In reply to this reasoning we remark, that Hengstenberg and Drechsler have failed to shew that the name employed is *always* the one which alone suits the connexion. To prove the exclusive suitableness of each appellation where it stands, they have taxed their ingenuity to the utmost without success. Thus in trying to account for the use of Jehovah in Genesis iv. 1, where Eve says, "I have gotten a man with the help of *the Lord*;" and of *Elohim*, in the 25th verse of the same chapter, where the mother likewise says, "*God* hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel," etc., Hengstenberg maintains that the second term marks the different state of the mother's mind: "At the first birth her consciousness of the divine presence and being is particularly vivid. By inflicting punishment, God had shewn himself to be Jehovah; as Jehovah also is he recognised in the benefit. In the birth of her first son Eve discovers a dear pledge of his favour. At that of Seth this feeling is not a little qualified. She merely recognises a general divine influence; and the naturalness of the event does not, as on the first occasion, appear to her entirely in the back ground."[1] Not less fanciful is the reason for the difference in the two verses given by Drechsler, who supposes that the choice of Elohim in the 25th marks the opposition between God and man. "God replaces in the person of Seth, what Cain had attempted to destroy in that of Abel."[2] Macdonald improves upon these critics in a way of his own, which is this:—Eve relying on the promise respecting her seed who was to bruise the serpent's head, gave her first-born son the name יהוה, "he that shall be," "or shall come"—*the Coming One*, to whom the entire Old Testament Scripture pointed: "I have gotten a man—*he that should be.*" The general designation afterwards became a proper name.[3] The absurdity of this statement is obvious, based as it is on a false

[1] Authentie des Pentat. vol. i. p. 320.
[2] Die Einheit und Ächtheit der Genesis, p. 86.
[3] Introduction to the Pentateuch, vol. i., pp. 170, 171.

translation of the original, which means, "I have gotten a man with the help of Jehovah."

Another example of far-fetched hypothesis to account for the two names in Genesis vii. is furnished by Hengstenberg. It is said that the provision for the preservation of the clean animals belongs to *Jehovah*, but that for the unclean to *Elohim*. The respective agencies of Elohim and Jehovah are contrasted in vii. 16, "And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as *God* had commanded him: and the *Lord* shut him in." The futility of this unnatural refinement is apparent from vii. 1–5, where *Jehovah alone* is used, both in regard to Noah himself entering into the ark, as well as the clean and unclean animals that went in with him. The allusion of the former clause of verse 16 is to these commencing verses; yet in the one case *Elohim* occurs, in the other *Jehovah*. Noah did as *Elohim* commanded; whereas when we look back it is *Jehovah* who gave the command. The 9th verse confirms the same thing, and equally dissipates Hengstenberg's notion, for in it we find that the animals, clean and unclean, went into the ark as *Elohim* had commanded Noah to take them. Well may Turner say of Hengstenberg and Drechsler, "they sometimes make the sacred writer scrupulously and minutely particular in the choice of his terms, at the expense of simplicity and nature."[1]

The other case, in which Elohim and Jehovah are accounted for on the supposed interpretation of Exodus vi. 3 is, that they are employed without any distinction. Many phenomena appear at first sight to favour this view; but other considerations are clearly against it. Whatever explanation of the passage be adopted, an importance is attached to the name *Jehovah*, which does not agree with a prior indiscriminate use of it.

There is no middle course that can be followed. The one writer always employed the two names indiscriminately, or he did not. He had a method in them, or he had none. All the phenomena fully justify us in asserting this. Whether Moses, the sole author or compiler, as many think, had documents or not, the names must have been used intentionally or promiscuously throughout.

The more the point is studied, the more will it appear that the usage of both is *not invariably* founded on *internal* grounds. It often arises from different authorship. Internal considerations have their influence in the varying appellation; but authorship has also its effect.

If the writer used them promiscuously, his readers would be

[1] A Companion to the Book of Genesis, Introduction, p. 42.

misled by the fact enunciated in Exodus vi. 3, *By my name Jehovah was I not known to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,* because his language in Genesis often contradicts, or appears to contradict it. If he used them intentionally throughout, how does the employment of *Jehovah* in Genesis xv. and elsewhere (comp. xii. 1, xvii. 1, xviii. 1, xxiv. 3, xxv. 21) agree with Exodus vi. 3?

We shall now show—

V. *That the pieces where the distinctive usage of the two occurs, exhibit such inherent and essential peculiarities as exclude unity of authorship.*

Peculiar circles of ideas belong to certain sections. Some are distinguished by the expression of certain views; others by sentiments of a different kind. This fact has been employed as a criterion towards different authorship. In other words, it has been found that the Elohistic pieces contain ideas which are wanting in the Jehovistic; while the Jehovistic sections present ideas foreign to the Elohistic.

In the parts belonging to the Elohim document there is no mention of sacrifices and altars, because these were Mosaic forms of religious intercourse between God and man; no distinction of clean and unclean animals; nothing expressly *Levitical.* Antiquity is described in primitive simplicity. The patriarchal period is a sacred time of preparation for the legal. The mode of revelation and superintendence is fatherly and free. God appears and speaks with his servants without the peculiar forms of communion afterwards employed, such as angels, dreams, visions, etc.; and without solemn formalities to give intensity or confirmation, as oaths, curses, sacrifices, etc., etc. The only form in which the divine promise appears is that of *blessing* and *covenant.* Nomad life is artlessly and faithfully depicted. The patriarchs move about freely. Their wealth consists of herds and servants. Presents are taken from their flocks, or from the productions of the field. The patriarch has supreme power in his tribe; dismissing and adopting family members at pleasure; taking away the privileges of one, and bestowing them on another. Public transactions are conducted by word of mouth; and their memory perpetuated by commemorative stones. The tent is the dwelling place. The whole history is disposed *in epochs,* according to certain leading points of historical development; so that it has an epic form and character, with evenness of proportions and equability of manner. It resembles *a poem* more than *a history;* since only the more important points of sacred history are touched on summarily, except where facts are presented of importance in relation to the point of view from which the whole is surveyed. In this latter case we find circumstantiality and copiousness. Indeed there are consider-

able repetition and wordiness generally; though these qualities can scarcely be called *characteristic*. The writer had a great fulness of expression at his command, and indulges it occasionally.

A definite plan and consistent order appear in this document, which may be said to have embraced two divisions, a *legal* and a *historical* one. The primary idea of the whole was the promise in Genesis xvii., in accordance with which the author intended to shew how the people of Israel came into possession of Canaan, and so received fulfilment of the promise. Hence the Elohist could not leave off with the death of Moses. He must describe Joshua's arrangements. Accordingly he begins with the creation of the world and of man, terminating with the conquest of Canaan. The historical portion is brief, because the main object was to shew Israel's actual possession of the land promised to the patriarchs. The legal part is copious. Here the substance of tradition is followed with great fidelity; and though primitive history cannot be free from myths and legends, a simpler religious consciousness and a more natural view of the olden time before Moses, is presented, than in the Jehovist or later writers, where poetry and prophecy influenced the national history.[1] The descriptions of the Elohist are regular, orderly, clear, simple, inartificial, calm, free from the rhetorical and poetical. His language is less cultivated; for though it be occasionally of an intermediate character between poetry and prose, it is not commonly facile, smooth, or flowing. There are a number of standing expressions and stereotype phrases, such as נָתַן בְּרִית, הֵקִים בְּרִית, till Jehovah had revealed himself as the God of sacrifice, when כָּרַת בְּרִית (Jehovistic) taken from sacrifice, might also be employed. It is wholly incorrect to say with Kurtz that different shades of meaning belong to the three phrases; and that one or other is used according to the precise idea of the writer. They all mean *to make a covenant;* while it is plain that כָּרַת בְּרִית was taken at first from the slaying of a victim or victims at the ratification of it. The Elohim-document never has כָּרַת בְּרִית; for Genesis xxi. 27, 32, xxxi. 44, sometimes quoted to shew that it does, belong to the junior Elohist; and הֵקִים בְּרִית cited to prove the Jehovist's use of a (primary) Elohist-document in Leviticus xxvi. 9, is equally irrelevant, because it occurs here in the junior Elohist. Passages in Deuteronomy should be cautiously referred to the documents in question, because the Deuteronomist himself writes much of that book. The distinction between male and female is denoted by זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה.

[1] See Bleek, Einleit. p. 258, et seq.

It is no argument against this that the phrase occurs once in a Jehovistic place, viz. Genesis vii. 9 (not 3), because a single exception cannot vitiate a rule. In classification, לְמִינֵהוּ is used. The compound phrase הִפְרָה וְרִבָּה often occurs. The land in which the pilgrim abides is always אֶרֶץ מְגֻרִים, and the possession of it אֲחֻזָּה. The writer terms Mesopotamia פַּדָּן or פַּדַּן אֲרָם, not אֲרָם נַהֲרַיִם, as in the Jehovist. It is ineffectual for Keil to allege that the names Padan-aram and Aram-naharaim are not identical, and therefore their distinctive usage favours the hypothesis of one writer. Padan-aram is said to denote a district of Mesopotamia, that lying around Haran, while the other comprehends all Mesopotamia.[1] There may be truth in this as far as *the original meaning* of Padan-aram is concerned, because the word *Padan* means *plain*, and the western part of Mesopotamia is especially referred to. But we deny that there was any difference between the two names *in actual usage*. Both were employed alike for the whole country. This is confirmed by the ancient versions. The Elohist has וַיִּרָא, וַיַּעַל, וַיַּעְתֵּק, רָכַשׁ and רְכוּשׁ. He utters poetical ideas respecting the structure of the world, as in Genesis i. 6, etc., vii. 2; and occasionally we meet with a poetical expression, as חַיְתוֹ אֶרֶץ, especially when he introduces solemn speech and poetical pieces not original. Other words of the Elohist are רֶמֶשׂ and רָמַשׂ, שֶׁרֶץ, כָּל־בָּשָׂר, אָבְלָה, compounds with עוֹלָם, and phrases like *he and his sons with him; you and your seed after you.*

The Jehovist's was different from the Elohist's object, viz. to present the national history and laws in a favourable and imposing light. But he traces the genealogy of the Hebrews no farther back than Abraham, and does not come down so late as the Elohist. The popular traditions had not been exhausted by the latter and other writers prior to the Jehovist. There was still a considerable stock for the Jehovist's purpose. The ancient history of Israel had also received *a new form* from the prophetic point of view. Many laws had been changed, according as practice had pointed out necessary alterations. Hence the characteristic manner of the Jehovist differs from that of his predecessor. He is fuller and freer in his descriptions; more reflective in his assignment of motives aud causes; more artificial in his mode of narration. He has not preserved the distinctions between Jehovah and Elohim, or between the earlier and later periods, as carefully as the Elohist. The patriarchal and Mosaic epochs are not strictly separated. Accordingly he puts the worship of *Jehovah*,

[1] Einleitung, p. 87.

and therefore *pure monotheism*, into the earliest period, as into that of Seth (Gen. iv. 26) and the patriarchs. This is historically incorrect; for *the primitive* was not the true religion preserved in its genuine form only in one line, and divulged to the chosen people in successive regulations. In this respect there is a fundamental distinction between the views of the Jehovist and Elohist; because the latter represents the divine Being as manifesting himself in the primitive period only as *Elohim*, the Almighty and Omniscient One appearing *immediately* to men, and communicating his will by commands or promises. Thus no regular development appears in the Jehovist. The historical distinctions of different times are not exactly preserved. The current conceptions of the age he lived in, as well as the peculiar complexion of the language, are often transferred to primitive times. Arts, the building of cities, etc., are also transferred to the first generations of men. In like manner articles of luxury are put into the patriarchal time. (Genesis xxiv. 22, 30, 47, 53: xxxviii. 18.) Genesis xxxv. 4, where ear-rings are mentioned is no exception, because the verse is the redactor's. So also sacrifices are offered by Abel and Noah; altars are frequently reared, and the name of Jehovah invoked. The distinction of clean and unclean animals appears even at the time of the deluge; Jehovah is *consulted*; and the Levirate is spoken of. Thus there is a *Levitical* tone which it is useless to deny by quoting a Levitism in Elohistic passages which are not Elohistic at all; for *cleansing*, in Genesis xxxv. 2, belongs to the redactor; *the erection of altars*, Genesis xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 1-7, is in the Jehovist and redactor; *burnt-offerings and drink-offerings*, Genesis xxii. 13, xlvi. 1, are in the Jehovist and junior Elohist; *vows and tithes*, Genesis xxviii. 20, 22, are in the junior Elohist; *the appearance of angels*, Genesis xxi. 17, 18, xxviii. 12, is in the redactor and junior Elohist. Theocratic consciousness appears in a much more developed state in the Jehovah-document. Mosaic conceptions had penetrated into the mind of the people, effacing the consciousness which characterized and separated different stages of the people's history. The whole style of thought and expression resembles the prophetic. Accordingly there is a much stronger feeling of the divine preference for the Israelites, with a proportionate lowering of their neighbours. The phenomena of the world and of nature are spoken of in a way shewing advanced reflection, as is apparent in the account of creation, of the introduction of evil, the origin of different languages and conditions, etc. The enlarged state of tradition is seen in ethnographical descriptions, and the mythology is richer. The media of intercourse between God and men are less simple and more numerous,

such as visions, dreams, oracles, and angels, sometimes in human form.

As the institutions and inventions of more civilized society are transferred to the earliest period, so the manners, customs, and actions which characterise human beings, are of the later type. Bad passions, vengeance for blood, murder, come into play; and these are even transferred to the first generations of men. Covenants and contracts must be attested with oaths and other impressive formalities. God is described in an anthropomorphic way, the *human* being attributed to Him; as when he is *grieved at the heart* for having made man, etc.; confirms his promises with an oath; allows his threatenings to be kept off from stage to stage by intercession (Abraham); *tempts* or *tries* men; blesses, pardons, curses, etc., for the sake of another. Jehovah is even represented as appearing in human form, accompanied by two angels (Genesis xviii.) All this is made to consist with the free use of the name *Jehovah* applied to God, though it be the genuine theocratic appellation. At the same time the liberal employment of expressions properly belonging to the Jehovist's age is not indiscriminately applied to an anterior one. Some disinclination to their transference may be detected; for example, in the rare occurrence of the phrase נְאֻם יְהוָה (*thus saith the Lord*) so common among the post-davidic prophets (Genesis xxii. 16).

The Jehovist's manner is more elaborate than that of the Elohist. He evinces more fulness, throwing in traits which make a better picture, and secondary circumstances which add life to the description. Poetical pieces are inserted by him, of which there are examples in Balaam's prophecies, and Jacob's last address to his sons. He has also proverbs in a poetical form. Of etymologies he is a diligent seeker. The propensity to make or find etymologies is a prominent feature, of which there are many instances; as in Gen. v. 29, where the fragment of a Jehovistic verse is inserted by the redactor in an Elohistic chapter, and *Noah* is explained as *comforter*, from נָחַם, *to console*, or נוּחַ, *to rest*, to which Gesenius thinks the former verb cognate;[1] but the true root is נַח, which, though not now occurring in Hebrew, is seen from the analogous form נָא (Exodus xii. 9), meaning *fresh, new*. The name was given to express the idea of a *renewed* and better world.[2] Preston himself admits that the derivation given in Genesis v. 29, is incorrect.[3] Another instance is in the forced etymology of *Levi* (Genesis xxix. 34). The name is

[1] Thesaurus, p. 862.
[2] Ewald, Geschichte des V. Israel, i. p. 360, second edition.
[3] Phrascological Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis, p. 43.

from לָוָה, *to hang upon* a person, *to belong* to him; because they were *attached to* the priests as their assistants. The Jehovist's mode of expression is usually lively, fresh, smooth, and flowing. His descriptions are full and graphic, and his writing is on the whole a masterpiece of Hebrew prose. Like the Elohist, he has a definite circle of phrases and images. Thus he uses נִבְרְכוּ הִתְבָּרְכוּ בְךָ כֹּל מִשְׁפְּחֹת הָאֲדָמָה, קָרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה. The numerous posterity of Abram, Isaac, and Jacob is frequently compared to *the dust of the earth, the sand of the sea, the stars of heaven,* etc. When extension in all directions is indicated, צָפְנָה וְנֶגְבָּה וְקֵדְמָה וְיָמָּה is used (Genesis xiii. 14); when victory is promised to posterity the formula יָרַשׁ זַרְעֲךָ אֵת שַׁעַר אֹיְבָיו occurs. Again, אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ stands for *male and female.* The Elohist employs זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה instead. It is no objection that אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ occurs in Numbers xxx. 17, which is Elohistic, because one exception does not spoil a rule. The difference of meaning conveyed by the two phrases, which Kurtz tries to find, is the offspring of his own ingenuity. הֶעְתִּיק is used for *to shift a camp,* for which the Elohist has נָסַע; עָתַר *to pray,* for which the other has הִתְפַּלֵּל; אֲרָם נַהֲרַיִם, not פַּדַּן אֲרָם. The Jehovist uses the rare words תְּרוּמָה, תִּשׁוּקָה; as also בָּרוּךְ, לִקְרַאת, עַל דְּבַר, עַל אֲדוֹת, בְּגִלַּל, הִפְרִיד, נִפְרַד, אֶרְצָה, הִתְבָּרֵךְ for נִבְרַךְ, בְּרִית כָּרַת, הֵבִיט, אִישׁ וְרֵעֵהוּ, יְסוֹד, בִּלְתִּי, אוּלַי, בַּעֲבוּר, עָשָׂה חֶסֶד, מָצָא חֵן. The mode of reply adopted by Kurtz, Keil, and others, to the fact that there is a characteristic phraseology in the Jehovah and Elohim documents is unsatisfactory. If a phrase belonging to the one writer happens to occur in the other, it is immediately adduced as an objection. Some of the phrases that are considered peculiar to one writer, may be found, now and again, in the other. Our argument is based on the *prevailing,* not *exclusive,* usage in each. It is also incorrect to say, both that the phrases peculiar to the one document, often occur in the other; and that *when they do,* the use of this one or the other, is determined by a particular shade of meaning. Subterfuges like these betray a weak cause.

In biographies, the difference between the Elohist and Jehovist is remarkable. The former is briefer and more historical: the latter presents sacred persons in a more imposing light, so as to make everything subservient to the glorification of the nation. Tradition had invested the heroes with more dignity in his day. Thus he sets forth Abraham in prophetic activity, because prophetism had then attained its height. (Comp. Genesis xii. 1-3,

xxii. 14). On the other hand, the Elohist's description is simpler, and more consonant with the patriarchal time. The Jehovist depicts Moses as a great prophet. According to him, the lawgiver was favoured with such relationship to the Deity as none other enjoyed; and as the *peculiar* friend of heaven, he frequently interceded for the sinful people. But the Elohist never calls him *a prophet*, nor does he place him on the same elevation as the Jehovist does. According to the Elohist, Moses finds, at first, no recognition among his people. He is taken for their leader almost against his will; but the Jehovist makes the people recognise the divine commission he had received, and gladly fall in with his proposal. It is only the heads of the Israelites, the officers, who complain of Moses and Aaron causing additional burdens to the people by their request to Pharaoh. The Elohist represents the rod to be in Aaron's hand. It is *he* that is the worker of miracles and signs, though only Moses's subordinate. But the Jehovist makes Moses himself carry the rod, and do the wonders commanded by God. The difference between the two writers is clearly seen from Numbers xxvii. 20, 23, and Exodus xxxiv. 35. In the former, which is Elohistic, we read: "And thou shalt put some of thine honour upon him (Joshua) that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient. . . . . And he laid his hands upon him, and gave him a charge, as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses." In the latter, which is Jehovistic, we read: "And the children of Israel saw the face of Moses, that the skin of Moses's face shone: and Moses put the vail upon his face again, until he went in to speak with him (God)." The Elohist describes the Israelites as departing from Egypt with a high hand, having taken advantage of the embarrassment of the people. According to the Jehovist, they were forced by Pharaoh, his servants, and the Egyptians, to go out in haste, so that they took their unleavened dough with them, and baked on the journey. The Elohist speaks throughout of the entire liberation of the people by Pharaoh; the Jehovist of a temporary absence in the wilderness to keep festival at Mount Sinai. In fine, the Jehovist presents a more developed theology. Thus while the unity of God is always *presupposed* in the Elohim document, but never prominently adduced; it is definitely presented by the Jehovist, in opposition to the gods of other nations. The immateriality of the Divine Being is also more decidedly expressed in the latter, the necessity of abstaining from idolatry being derived from the impossibility of making an image of the supreme Being. In the Elohist, idolatry is commonly regarded as disobedience. Manifestations of angels *as representatives of God* first appear in the Jehovist, growing

out of the idea that the Divine Being is too exalted to manifest himself. Accordingly, the expression *angel of Jehovah* or *angel of God*, does not occur in the Elohist; Genesis xxi. 17, xxxi. 11, and Exodus xiv. 19, being no exceptions; for the first belongs to the redactor, the second to the junior Elohist, and the third to the Jehovist. This angel is interchanged with Jehovah himself, the writer intimating that the appearances of God and of angels were in his view the same (comp. Genesis xvi. 7–13, Exodus xiv. 19, 24). The history of man's moral development (Genesis ii.–iv.) evinces considerable advancement in comparison with the ethics of the Elohist. According to the Elohist, man is made up of body and soul. Man is also said to have been formed *after the image of God*. But in the Jehovist, human anthropology appears in another stage of development; because, in addition to the soul which is in the blood, *a breath of* God is assumed (Gen. ii. 7). Such views also respecting the sinfulness of man as appear in Genesis vi. 5, viii. 21, shew a deep sense of its nature, harmonising with the Christian doctrine of original sin, and exhibiting a more advanced consciousness of the divine. Indeed the Elohist gives a much more favourable view of man at the beginning, for he does not speak of him as corrupt till near the time of the flood; whereas the Jehovist describes him as wicked from a very early period (comp. Genesis vi. 12–13, with vi. 5).

The Jehovist speaks of obedience to God, on which he lays great stress, oftener than of sacrifices. He requires *faith* and *trust* in God, shewing that he was deeply penetrated with the idea of effecting an intimate union between God and man.

The Elohist, though holding the omnipotence of God, never speaks of other nations than the Hebrew being brought to worship Him. Hence the Divine Being, as conceived and described by him, is the God of the Hebrews. Of his relation to other peoples there is no mention. He is, in effect, *the national God.* Israel has still no place in universal history; and therefore the blessings promised to the patriarchs reach no farther than the possession of Palestine. The idea of God's universal providence had not taken possession of the Israelite mind so early. The heathen are spoken of *only in connexion with the chosen people.* The less developed consciousness of Israel is apparent in this. The Jehovist infers from the unity of God, that all *the earth* belongs to him (Genesis xxiv. 3). Accordingly all nations are represented as participating in the blessings promised to the patriarchs. They are destined to a share in Israel's salvation. In like manner, while the possession of Palestine is the highest aim of the Hebrew nation, according to the Elohist; a loftier import belongs to it in the view of the Jehovist. Israel is to be

a nation of priests (Exodus xix. 6), *i.e.*, a nation by whose agency others are brought to God.

The opposition in which the Israelites stood to other peoples is mildly expressed in the Elohim document, which contains no commands directed against the heathen *immediately*. The national aspect of the theocracy is not so prominent or exclusive as to hinder the author from speaking with moderation of other peoples. Of the Egyptians he says nothing exaggerated or severe. The Midianites alone, who had been dangerous enemies, are rather sharply spoken of. The Canaanites appear in a favourable light in their transactions with Abraham and Jacob; and their extirpation is not mentioned. But the later legislation of the Jehovist (and also of the Deuteronomist), exhibits a sharply-defined position against the Canaanites in particular. In the Elohist it is nowhere forbidden to make a covenant with them. The contrary appears in the Jehovah document. The severe injunction to extirpate the Canaanites is found only in the latter (Exodus xxiii. 25, etc., xxxiv. 11, etc.) Thus the national feeling is very prominent in him. In fact, he takes an unfavourable view of all who are not Hebrews, as of Ham, Canaan, the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrha, the Philistines. Nothing shews this more palpably than the myth respecting the origin of the Moabites and Ammonites.

From these observations, it appears that two main forms of the national tradition, respecting the earliest age of humanity and the Hebrew people, were current; the one older, simpler, short, and summary, containing leading points of jurisprudence; the other later, more ornate, and largely occupied with the principal heroes and events of history. We are not to suppose them *the creation of two writers*. They had assumed their characteristic features in the circle of the nation's traditions before they were committed to writing; and are therefore transcripts of different shapes into which those accumulated traditions had been moulded.

It may be observed that the Elohim document properly possesses a three-fold gradation with respect to the Deity. In *the primitive era* till Abraham, the general and comprehensive *Elohim* appears; in the *preparatory theocratic* period, or that of the Hebrew patriarchs, *El Shaddai* is found, but only in the *manifestations of God* and *their repetitions* (Genesis xvii. 2, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 10, xlviii. 3); in the *proper theocratic* or Mosaic period, *Jehovah*. This fine gradation, indicative of a corresponding development of the religious consciousness, is not observed by the Jehovist, who is less correct in the application of terms, because he employs Jehovah, the Mosaic divine name, to designate the Deity in *the patriarchal times;* while he also uses occa-

sionally, *but rarely*, the term Elohim. It has been too hastily assumed, that the Jehovist uses Elohim *often*. The correct state of the case is, that portions occur in which *Elohim* appears *exclusively*, which is not always the case with respect to *Jehovah*.

It has been a point of inquiry whether the Elohist was the earliest Hebrew writer that treated of the origin of mankind and the beginnings of Israel as a people. The probability is that he was not. He may have employed older documents relating to the times and events which occupied his attention. It is likely that he did. But it is impossible, at this distant period, to discover such pre-elohistic materials with any degree of probability, because they have been more or less conformed to the manner and style of the writer or writers that used them. Perhaps some of the graphic accounts of Joseph's history were originally written in Egypt.

Hiatuses or gaps in the Elohim document form an argument against its existence, in the hands of critics like Keil; but the instances of them are fewer than he supposes. It was to be expected that a redactor would not leave the fundamental document unscathed. Here and there portions have been suppressed, either to make room for others, or because they appeared unnecessary. Vaihinger, who has examined all Keil's examples, finds no more than two to the point, and even *their* validity to be *partial*. The hypothesis cannot be shaken by the objection drawn from gaps in the Elohist. "Gaping hiatuses," as they are termed by persons ignorant of the document-hypothesis, is a phrase which sounds contemptuously; but coming *from them* means nothing. Thus it is a mistake to suppose that Genesis xx. 1–17, belonged to the original Elohim-document; and therefore to talk of such a "gaping hiatus" as there must have been in it between xx. 17, and the second verse of xxi., is to misapprehend the state of the case. Yet we have seen the blunder committed. Nor does the general corruption mentioned in vi. 11–13 (Elohistic) appear unintelligible, though everything is pronounced very good after the creation. It is true that the fall is narrated by the Jehovist alone; but there is no enigma in the Elohist writing as he does in vi. 11–13, though such a history of the fall as that in Genesis iii. had not preceded. All is natural in the Elohim-document as it stands. Again, it is said, that there is an unnatural hiatus between chapters xiii. and xvii. of Genesis. The composition, according to Kurtz, would be imperfect, if chapter xvii. followed chapter xiii. immediately; for Ishmael appears in xvii., the story of whose birth is related in xvi. Very true; but xvi. 15, 16, as well as xvi. 3 are Elohistic, and relate to Ishmael's birth.

Much injury has been done to the hypothesis in question by

terming the Jehovist a *repairer* or *interpolator* of the Elohim-document. His sections were not intended as interpolations. Nor is it accurate to call him a *reviser*. He wrote independently; and has his own peculiarities which distinguish him from the Elohistic ones. Even if the appellations *Jehovah* and *Elohim* were absent, two documents, at least, might be traced here and there with tolerable distinctness. The facts of the case necessitate a hypothesis which assumes the employment of two or more documents by a final editor. A full induction of particulars makes this apparent. The larger the induction, the more manifest does the need of the hypothesis become. It is easy to say that it is "encompassed with absurdities," and to refer, as B. B. Edwards does, to the disagreement of critics on the Pentateuch in relation to it, as enough to condemn the whole procedure. But most recent scholars who have *studied* the subject, are agreed in holding the existence of, *at least*, two such documents forming the main body of the Pentateuch. However differing in details, they think they can clearly trace *two documents*. That they should disagree at times in tracing all component parts of the documents, is no more than might have been expected. We submit, therefore, that writers who speak of it as "an arbitrary assumption from beginning to end," give a false idea of the method in which the advocates of the hypothesis have proceeded; because *many phenomena* have led to it—*distinctive characteristics in passages marked by the two appellations of Deity respectively*—which are neither obscure nor fictitious. No one who has patiently examined the question with the care and sagacity it demands, can indulge in the random assertions about it which perfunctory writers in ephemeral publications indulge in, who usually know so little of its nature as to be unable *even to state the case*, since they speak of it as resting solely on the use of the names Jehovah and Elohim.

It shews equal ignorance of the subject to talk of the supplementer or the editor intending to harmonise the parts, and taking pains to fit them in with so great nicety, that the sharpest eye has failed to detect the junction in all cases. This was the object and aim of neither. *The Jehovist* did *not* unite the documents in any way whatever. That was the *redactor's* work; who, forming them into a connected text, was not solicitous of exact agreement; nor indeed could he have introduced it everywhere, without materially altering the nature of the documents. All that he wished to effect was a *general* harmony compatible with the characteristics of the documents. It is therefore absurd to talk of him as clear-sighted and blind at the same time—clear-sighted in the minutest points, while blind to a great contradiction respecting the name Jehovah—at

once careful and careless. His *real object* was to unite documents embodying different traditions of the national history. In so doing he was obliged to take liberties in the way of omission, addition, interpolation, etc., etc., but not always on a large scale. The modern notion of *perfect harmony*, as necessary to the records of his nation, was unknown to him. *Infallibility of writings* had not been discovered in his day. It was enough to incorporate the documents with judgment, so that the history might appear a connected, continuous, and tolerably complete work.

It is desirable, perhaps, to illustrate the nature of the Jehovah and Elohim-documents by a few examples given at length. Thus there are two accounts of the creation—one in Genesis i–ii. 3; the other in Genesis ii. 4–iii. 24; also two narratives of the flood in Genesis vi.–ix. Let us examine these sections:—

At the fourth verse of Genesis ii. a new piece begins. This appears from the new *inscription* or *title* אֵלֶּה תוֹלְדוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ בְּהִבָּרְאָם *these are the generations of the heavens and the earth when they were created;* for there is little doubt (notwithstanding the endeavours that have been made to shew that it is the subscription to what goes before) that it is a proper title to the account immediately following. In all other instances, אֵלֶּה תוֹלְדוֹת is a title. In any case it cannot refer, as Drechsler assumes, to the preceding as well as subsequent history—to both at the same time. As used elsewhere, the words shew that they stand at the head of a leading historical section, where a new epoch, a new genealogy, or the account of another patriarch, commences. Hence they must point to a new and independent statement. Thus the title is adverse to the supposition that section ii. 4–iii. 24, is a mere continuation of the foregoing, or a supplement to it. And this is confirmed by *the contents*, which shew that they were intended to stand at the head of a separate history. The narrative begins at a certain point or condition of the creative work, the primary creative act being presupposed. Earth and heaven already exist; the former alone becomes the subject of discourse. The earth is still without plants and creatures, but not covered with water. Neither has it risen out of the water; it is dry; the want of vegetation arises from the fact that there had been no rain. It is first moistened by an ascending mist or exhalation, which does not harmonise with its being previously submerged in water. Accordingly, no separation is mentioned as taking place between the waters above and below, as in the first chapter. Nor do we read here of the separation between light and darkness, and the creation of the heavenly luminaries. All this is involved in the first creative

act. In the prior narrative, the effect of the first creative work is a waste chaos, out of which the present world with all its arrangements and creatures emerges in a certain number of days, by gradual and successive acts of creation. But at the commencement of the second narrative, the present world is supposed to be brought forth *at once*. Instead of various creative acts, a single one, *in one day*, educes all, for it is said, "*in the day* that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew," etc. The phrase *the earth and the heavens* denotes the earth without organised creatures in it. The introduction to the present history of creation, ii. 4–6, describes more particularly the state of the earth after the first creative act, shewing the sense attached by the writer to the expression "the earth and the heavens." In the first place he describes it *negatively*, by speaking of *what it was not yet*. Plants and herbs did not yet exist. They are *first* referred to because they were the first products of the earth. But they did not exist as yet, because two necessary conditions were wanting—rain and man's culture. Rain had not fallen; and man was still uncreated. The want of rain is supplied in part by a mist which watered *the face* of the ground. The absence of these two conditions forms the point of transition between the state of the earth negatively described, and the successive development of the creative processes. From the *negative* the writer passes to the *positive*, or in other words, to *the proper history* of the method in which the earth became what it was intended to be. But instead of commencing with the fulfilment of the conditions necessary to the appearance of plants and herbs; instead of rain and its effect, *vegetable productions*, *man's* creation must be introduced. And not only so, his history also must be given up to the time when he sinned and the ground was cursed for his sake, because rain does not seem to have fallen in Paradise, and human labour followed the introduction of sin. Thus the history begins with man's creation. There are two successive stages in the origination of the first human pair, one of freshness and innocence newly springing from the Creator's hand; the other, of evil and imperfection in consequence of disobedience. Man's creation is described as *a putting together* of the component elements of his nature. Body and soul—the one of the earth, the other breathed into the body by the Spirit of God—make up the compound man, as introductory to the description of the curse which separated the two. The newly-formed man is put into a garden full of trees—of fruit-trees to serve as his sustenance. They were the *first* vegetable production of the earth. But as there was still no rain, God is said to have made those trees. For the

preservation of the garden-trees two things are mentioned as existing—a stream to water the garden; a man to keep it, not in the way of labour but pleasure. The beasts of the field and the fowls of the air are then created for the sake of man, and brought to him to receive names. Afterwards the woman, who is not taken from the earth, but from man's body, to shew dependence and mutual attachment, is brought to him. With the fall, woman loses her original position. Instead of being man's companion, she is doomed to be in some sense his servant.[1]

From this survey it will be seen how very different are the two narratives of creation. The second centres in the first human pair. Man is the prominent creature in it, around whom all others are grouped, and in subordination to whom they are specified. It is emphatically the history of *man's* creation; though it is also a history of creation in general. But in the first account man is lost in the graduated series of creative acts. And it consists of large outlines, unlike the second. In some points the two are inconsistent; for whereas in the first chapter the man and woman are represented as created together, *after* the lower animals; in the second, the man is created first, then the beasts, and lastly the woman. In the first man is *made* in the image of God; in the second, likeness to the Deity comes to him subsequently by knowing good and evil. It is impossible to adopt the interpretation which regards the two as one harmonious narrative, since they are inconsistent in one particular at least. Kurtz asserts[2] that the same writer recapitulates certain creative acts, merely arranging them according to association of ideas, as an introduction to the narrative of the Fall. But surely the first account of creation is given as complete, needing no supplement or complement. Several particulars in the second chapter did not require repetition as introductory to the history of man's fall. No reason is offered by the critic why the historian should follow the succession of ideas, instead of the order of time, as in the first chapter; so that the argument or reply is invalid. The writer groups certain facts. That is admitted. But in grouping them he does not wholly disregard time and sequence. While he groups he shews an order of creation different in some respects from that of the Elohist, and even contradictory in one point. The reasoning of Kurtz and Keil is illogical in its apologetic tone, because it makes the association introduced by the writer into his narrative *cover* and *exculpate* inconsistency. It is the voucher for every unchronological sequence which may be required. To say with Kalisch that the "writer's end is the history of man's fall; the serpent

[1] See Hupfeld, Die Quellen der Genesis, p. 104 et seqq.
[2] Einheit des Pentat., p. 42, et seqq., and Einheit der Genesis, p. 1, et seqq.

occasions, the wife shares it; it is therefore necessary to introduce the creation of the animals, and of woman,"[1] amounts to nothing; because *the way* in which the animals are introduced *after* man had been created, "And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam," etc. (verse 19), is averse to that. Had the sacred writer stated that the Lord God had *previously* formed every beast of the field, etc., the case argued would have been plausible; but as the words stand they imply nothing else than that both beasts and fowls were formed after the man. To mention *the fowls* was not at all necessary, previously to the fall. We explain the compound name Jehovah-Elohim in the second narrative not by the fact that the writer wished to shew the identity of Jehovah in this section with Elohim of the preceding one; but by supposing that the full name was the only one suited to Paradise in the writer's view. After the loss of Paradise Jehovah alone is employed. Boehmer's hypothesis that Elohim was added to Jehovah by the redactor is less probable.[2]

It is only necessary to *study* the two accounts to perceive how essentially different the development of the order of nature and the origin of man are in both. The first is contained in palpable outlines, presenting objects in regular gradations, but somewhat detached. The second adheres to one fundamental idea, around which all is grouped in proper relations. The latter shews an advanced reflectiveness foreign to the other. It contains *the reasons and conditions* of things, which in the first we look for in vain.

Again, in the narrative of the Flood (vi.–ix.) two connected parallel accounts may be traced—a more copious and a briefer—each possessing characteristic peculiarities of view and expression. Take the pieces (Elohistic) vi. 9–22; vii. 6, 11, 13-24 (except vii. 10, 12, 16*b*, 17, 22, 23); viii. 1–19 (except parts of 2, 3, 4 and 6–12); ix. 1–17; and the Jehovistic pieces, vi. 5–8; vii. 1–5, 10, 12, 16*b*, 17, 22, 23; viii. 6–12, 20–22. Compare them together, and the following phenomena appear. The one account is distinguished by an universality of representation. It sets forth not merely men but beasts; and not only the latter, but the earth itself as corrupt before God. In consequence of this universal corruption, the punishment is that all living creatures shall be destroyed *together with the earth.* The other narrative presents things in a more limited aspect, with reference to their nature and actual conditions, yet *intensively.* Hence while corruption is only *human,* it is

[1] Commentary on Genesis, p. 113.
[2] Liber Genesis Pentateuchichus, ex recognitione Eduardi Boehmer, 8vo., 1860.

total and *deep*, extending to all the thoughts of the heart from youth upward. In contrast with the punishment depicted in the other narrative, the wrath of God is so intense as to amount to repentance that he had created man and a resolution to destroy him. In the one history, not merely Noah himself but some of all creatures are saved; *two* of every kind. But in the other, all kinds of creatures are not included in the deliverance; only cattle and birds, seven *pairs* of clean animals and *one* pair of unclean. Thus the two accounts clash, in that *pairs* of all animals were to be preserved, according to the Elohist; but *seven* pairs of clean animals and *one* pair of unclean, according to the other. The plain statement cannot be evaded by the arbitrary assumption of two commands given to Noah at different times; the first when he was ordered to build the ark, the other when it was finished; pairs generally being mentioned in the former, but more specifically seven pairs of clean animals in the latter. The narrative contradicts this, because *in connexion with the supposed later command* it is expressly said, "Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth upon the earth, there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark," etc. (vii. 8, 9, compare also verse 15). The language here used forbids the interpretation that they entered the ark *by pairs, whatever their numbers*, because it runs thus: "*Of* clean beasts, and *of* beasts that are not clean, ... *two and two* went into the ark;" *not* "clean beasts, and beasts not clean, and fowls, ... went into the ark two and two." The language of the seventh chapter in relation to this point is explained by that of the sixth (19, 20), where *the number* of pairs is confessedly stated. In the former account, the restoration appears in the form of a blessing upon and covenant with all the creatures, as well as with the earth. The animals are commanded to breed abundantly: man is blessed and enjoined to be fruitful, with dominion over the creatures; he is assured not only of their subjection to him, but of his farther right over them for food. In order to the preservation of human life, life is required of the beast or man that sheds it. Finally, a covenant, with its token, is established between God and all animals, even with the earth itself. In the latter, the restoration of Noah is marked by a sacrifice of the clean animals saved from the flood, whose sweet savour Jehovah smelled, and by which he was propitiated; so that he resolved to curse the ground no more for man's sake, but to establish the order of nature for ever. Thus a later, more developed, subjective religion appears in the Jehovist.

In describing the progress of the flood and the proceedings of Noah in relation to it, as also in the notation of times, there

is a diversity in the two narratives. The one has a *regular gradation* and *exactness of description* in strong contrast with the summary method of the other. Thus the former represents the ark as built after a divine pattern. Two sources contributed to the formation of the flood—earth and heaven. It gives the height of the waters; the month and day are stated several times, as well as Noah's age, when he entered into the ark. Lastly, the saved Noah comes forth. But the second (Jehovist) account does nothing more than touch upon the main points, deviating from several particulars in the first. The flood is caused by forty days' and forty nights' rain. Periods of time are designated by two numbers alone—seven, and forty. The flood is announced seven days before its commencement, and marked by the forty days' and forty nights' continuance of the rain; whereas in the prior narrative 150 days are represented as the time of the flood's rising before it began to abate.

The word *prevailed* (וַיִּגְבְּרוּ) applied to the waters during the 150 days (verse 24) cannot consist with the hypothesis that while the rain lasted for forty days, the waters still prevailed during 110 after the cessation of the rain; so that there was no *perceptible* subsidence of them to Noah. No such *imperceptible* subsidence is ever alluded to. All that *is* stated is in viii. 3 (second part), the abatement of the waters at the end of the 150 days. The verb וַיִּגְבְּרוּ in vii. 24, is explained by its like use in vii. 18, where וַיִּרְבּוּ (*and were increased*) is joined with it as if for the purpose of shewing that it is inconsistent with the subsidence of the waters. It is incorrect to assert that a different term from וַיִּגְבְּרוּ, viz., וַיִּרְבּוּ, is used to express the *rise* or *increase* of the waters; because the latter is appended to the former in the 18th verse, which is Elohistic. The use of both together in this verse determines the sense of the one in the 24th; and therefore precludes the idea of imperceptible subsidence. Besides, it is utterly improbable that so many as 110 days' subsidence followed 40 days' rain. The proportion is unnatural.

Such are the two parallel accounts of the flood, each complete in itself, and independently written. The earlier and more comprehensive is the Elohist one. The later shews another stage of religious development. It will be noticed that they disagree even to contradiction in some particulars, such as the flood's continuance, the animals taken into the ark, etc. Critics have tried in vain to harmonise them. Strange as it may appear, we have seen an attempt to shew from parts of the two flood-narratives that there is nothing but one and the same historical account. It has been alleged that Genesis vii. 1–5, instead of being Jehovistic as compared with

the immediately preceding, contains the natural advance upon the narrative in the close of the sixth chapter. *There* (it is said) we have what God spake to Noah when he commanded him to make the ark; *here* (vii. 5, etc.) what God said to him after the ark was made. But the sixth chapter relates that God not only commanded Noah to make the ark, but to go into it when it *was made* (vi. 18); so that the command to enter the ark is the same in both; and it is wrong to separate a solitary verse or part of one from its context, in order to make out the semblance of historical continuity in the narrative. Let the surrounding verses be taken along with the commandment addressed to Noah in vi. 18 and vii. 1; and it will appear that the latter is a repetition of the former; not a natural advance upon it. It is true that vii. 1–5 contains no directions about making the ark, but merely pre-supposes its construction. Yet the injunction to enter is the same in both; which is *repetition* not *advance*.

It would be superfluous to give other examples. One writer may repeat the same particular substantially, in different connexions and for different purposes. But in doing so his identity will be seen. The diversities of his narratives will not be *characteristic* ones. His accounts will scarcely be constructed on a different plan. They will not present forms fundamentally unlike; or be regularly pervaded by two lines of expression. Above all, they will not commonly present *discordant* aspects, the one excluding the other. *Discrepancy* will never become *irreconcilable contradiction*.

VI. While it appears that two documents may be distinctly traced by the aid of Exodus vi. 2, 3, and the separation of the names up to that time, especially on the part of one writer, it is by no means certain that others were not employed. It is pretty clear that there were one or more writers between the Elohist and Jehovist; though there is great difficulty in determining particularly who they were. Ilgen[1] discovered another Elohist, whom Hupfeld[2] has recently endeavoured to trace. Knobel[3] has found two documents which he describes very fully, pointing out all their characteristics, and the respective pieces the Jehovist took from them. It is improbable that the Jehovist was a *mere supplementer*, piercing his own matter here and there into the Elohist, and expunging or altering as he thought fit. That presupposes a very subordinate part. By giving him one or more important documents far exceeding his own materials in compass, the improbability of his position as a mere supplementer is lessened.

[1] Urkunden des ersten Buchs von Moses, 1798.
[2] Die Quellen der Genesis, 1853.
[3] Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium, und Josua erklärt, p. 524 et seqq.

The first document used by the Jehovist, Knobel calls the book of Jashar—a work cited in Joshua x. 13, and 2 Sam. i. 18, and interpreted *the book of right* or *justice;* a juridical work containing *laws,* as its name imports. According to this critic it began with Genesis xx. 1–17, *i.e.* the sojourn of Abraham and Sarah at Gerar, and their relations there to Abimelech. That this paragraph belongs neither to the fundamental document nor to the Jehovist is obvious. But why give it to the book of Jashar? The only existing evidence respecting Jashar is, that it was a poetical anthology relating to the most remarkable occurrences of Hebrew history during a certain period; as the two places in which alone it is quoted indicate. Why then convert it into an extended document containing laws and history as well as poetical pieces? It appears to us that the Jehovist did not incorporate into the Pentateuch a lengthened, independent prose document called Jashar. Many of the pieces attributed to it by Knobel belong to the junior Elohist. The second document, which this critic supposes the Jehovist to have used, is that referred to in Num. xxi. 14, as *the book of the wars of the Lord.* Here is a disjointed fragment torn from its connexion so as to be unintelligible—a thing which would not probably have been done had the Jehovist given most of its contents. The document respecting the wars of the Lord's people appears to have been a collection of poems or songs relative to the contests in which the Israelites were engaged, beginning with their deliverance from Egypt, proceeding with their march through the wilderness, and terminating with their conquest of the promised land. We cannot therefore perceive the propriety of assigning to it such pieces as those describing the birth of Esau and Jacob, and the transference of the birthright to the latter (Gen. xxv. 21–23, 25–26*a*, 29–34). Knobel makes it a lengthened document, containing both history and legislation like the book of Jashar. This is precarious; nor can his extended description of all its parts and features be regarded otherwise than as an ingenious hypothesis. Why the Jehovist himself should be robbed of the honour of writing what is supposed to have belonged to the *book of the wars,* we confess our inability to perceive.

The authors of these two documents are put into the Assyrian period and the time of Jehoshaphat respectively. The writer of the wars of the Lord is also thought to have employed both the Elohim document and Jashar. This complicates the problem. Both are traced, not only through the five Mosaic books and Joshua, but also in Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings. Thus the criticism of the Pentateuch has greatly advanced in the hands of the learned critic; whether safely is a questionable

matter. We cannot follow him in assuming two *such* documents as he has given to the Jehovist; but abide by the junior Elohist; and assign to the Jehovist himself much more than the fragments left him from Knobel's *right- and war- books*. It is not likely that the two documents contained what he has given them; or that the Jehovist's materials should be so distributed. He has made the Jehovist lean too much on other compositions, and draw too little from tradition.

How have traces of a junior Elohist been detected?

Certain portions of the Pentateuch belong to neither of the two documents exclusively, but present peculiarities resembling both. Though Elohim occurs in them, they are not what are termed Elohistic. Their tone and manner more resemble the Jehovist's. Such phenomena appear in the history of Jacob and Joseph. They are less observable in the narrative of Abraham's life. Thus there is no doubt of Gen. xxxv. 9–15 belonging to the fundamental document. It relates that the name *Israel* was given to Jacob as he returned from Mesopotamia, on which occasion the patriarch erected a pillar of stone, dedicating it by a drink-offering and oil, and calling the place *Bethel, house of God*. But according to the preceding history of Jacob (chapter xxxii.), he received the name *Israel* from his night-wrestling with God (xxxii. 28). Hence different traditions were employed in the two chapters, as is clear from the contents. In conformity with this twofold tradition, relative to the name Israel, is the double origin of *Bethel;* for while in the fundamental Elohim document (xxxv. 9–15) the place is said to have got that name from Jacob as he returned from Mesopotamia; it was so styled from a much earlier manifestation of the Deity there, according to xxviii. 11, etc.: and with the latter agrees xxxv. 1–7, stating that the patriarch fulfilled his previously-made vow, on returning from Mesopotamia, by erecting an altar. Hence xxviii. 11, etc., and xxxv. 1–7, though marked by the same name Elohim, are of later origin than xxxv. 9–15. And if chapter xxxi. be minutely examined in connexion with xxxv. 1–7, it will be found that, though partly Elohistic, it does not belong to the *primitive document*, from whose genuine parts it varies, but to a later Elohim document agreeing more nearly with the Jehovistic parts of Jacob's history.

The history of the settlement of Jacob's family in Egypt, which is largely interwoven with Elohistic materials, belongs, in a great degree, to the junior Elohist. This is shewn by the contents, manner, and style. The narrative is too diffuse and minute to harmonise with the summary notices of the primitive Elohist, unless the occurrences bore a particular theocratic and legal significance, which they do not. Great stress, too, is laid

on dreams; which is unlike the original document. Hence the Elohistic parts of Gen. xxxvii., Exodus i. 7–22 point, for the most part, to the younger Elohist.

Nor is the history of Abraham without indications of the later Elohist, particularly in the twentieth chapter of Genesis. The difficulties of this chapter are perplexing, especially those arising out of its connexion, inasmuch as it stands between the promise of a son's birth to Abraham within a year (xvii. 21), and the fulfilment of the promise (xxi. 2, etc.) That it cannot belong to the primitive document is shewn by the commencement, "Abraham journeyed from thence, מִשָּׁם," implying a definite locality in Canaan; whereas no such abode is given before in the Elohist, who speaks vaguely of the land of Canaan (xii. 5, xiii. 12, xvi. 3). Indeed its entire spirit and tone are inconsistent with the older Elohist. Besides, the manner of expression approaches that of the Jehovist; as where Abraham is called *a prophet;* the coming of God in a dream to Abimelech; Elohim with the plural; "My land is before thee" (xx. 15); "thou shalt surely die" (7); הַנֶּגֶב "the south country" (1); עָשׂוֹה חָסֶד (13), etc., etc. The eighteenth verse of the chapter was added by the Jehovist.

To the same Elohist must be referred Gen. xxii. 1–13, 19, etc. Apart from the use of Elohim (verses 1, 3, 8, 9), the entire conception and point of view shew a higher development of the religious idea than that which belongs to the primitive Elohist. The sacrifice of an only son is remote from the conception of the first writer; who studiously kept sacrifices away from the time of the patriarchs. The call of the angel from heaven (11), the formula of the call and the reply (2, 11), with the reference of the proverb to the name *Moreh* (8), are of later and Jehovistic tendency. God is also represented too anthropomorphically for the primitive Elohist; since he *tries* Abraham; *is convinced* that the patriarch fears him (12), etc. Verses 14–18 are evidently a Jehovistic appendix, loosely added to the preceding.

The third chapter of Exodus belongs to the same; for not only does the title *Elohim* appear in it seven times along with *Jehovah*, but an explanation of the latter name is given, which cannot belong to the Jehovist, because of vi. 3. The old Elohist would not use Jehovah as is done by the writer of the chapter; and therefore it belongs to the junior Elohist.[1]

Whatever conclusion be drawn from the sections just referred to, one thing must be allowed, that they belong to some other document than the two leading ones already described. A third source of tradition shines through them. And it will be gene-

[1] See Hupfeld's Die Quellen, u. s. w., p. 167 et seqq.

rally found that the so-called younger Elohistic pieces form parallels to the Jehovistic. The point of view from which they look at history is much nearer the Jehovist's than the Elohist's. They occupy a position between the two prominent documents. In relation to time, the junior Elohist was much nearer the Jehovist than to the primitive Elohist, because things are described in their leading features very much as the Jehovist depicts them. Like motives appear. The principal traits in him and the Jehovist resemble one another. He is distinguished from the latter, not only by the use of Elohim, but also by the absence of strong expressions of hatred against neighbouring tribes, and a milder apprehension of sin. In many particulars he has an analogy to the Elohist; in more to the Jehovist.[1]

His mode of writing is easy, clear, flowing, exact. Many peculiar words and expressions occur in him, as אֶרֶץ הַנֶּגֶב, בְּעֻלַת בַּעַל *a wife.* God is described with a strong anthropomorphic colouring and very human qualities. He commands the act of spoiling the Egyptians, and even promotes it; comes to men in dreams, and speaks to them. He even wrestles with Jacob; and talks with Moses face to face, as a man converses with a friend. The lawgiver sees His back parts; his face being covered with the hand of the Almighty passing by. Compare Ex. xxxiii. 11, 19, etc., xxxiv. 5, etc., Num. xii. 8, in chapters prominently Jehovistic, but with materials from the junior Elohist incorporated. The spirit of this Elohist is not so strictly religious as that of his predecessor.

Ewald has pointed out the evidences of writers prior to the Elohist, the chief of whom is the author of the document termed *the book of the covenants.*[2] Proceeding on this foundation, Vaihinger has attempted to shew the various pieces belonging to the writer, whom he calls the fore-Elohist, and assigns to the 12th century B.C.[3] His work, it is said, appears in a fragmentary and unconnected state. Even at the Jehovist's time, it was incomplete; but he worked upon its basis, using it to supplement the narratives. The evidence is hardly sufficient to justify the hypothesis. The peculiar words and expressions, supposed to characterise the fore-Elohist, are scarcely adequate. Very much of what is thought to belong to him is the Jehovist's; some is the Elohist's. It is probable that the Elohist used several brief documents besides oral tradition. So the Jehovist too may have done. For this reason various traces of older documents appear in these two. But it is an

[1] Hupfeld's Die Quellen, u. s. w., p. 167 et seqq.
[2] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, second edition, vol. i, p. 80 et seqq.
[3] Herzog's Encyklopædie, vol. xi., p. 335 et seqq.

over-refined speculation to find *a particular document* prior to the Elohist, whose parts appear in the Pentateuch. Gen. xx. 1–17 is given as an example of the fore-Elohistic document. It belongs, in our view, to the junior Elohist. Ewald detects too many writers. *Five,* in addition to the Deuteronomist, will hardly be adopted by other critics. Two historical works are supposed to have preceded that termed *the book of the covenants,* or the fore-Elohim document, though he calls its author *the first* narrator. His *book of origins* coincides with the commonly admitted Elohim document. The author of it is assigned to the reign of Solomon, and is his *second* narrator. His *third* narrator is put into the 10th or 9th century. He is the author of what is called *the primitive histories.* His *fourth* narrator is placed at the end of the 9th or beginning of the 8th century; and the *fifth* is put in the 8th century under Uzziah or Jotham. Here the Jehovist disappears, except he be discovered in the fifth narrator.[1] Bleek makes some pertinent observations on the hypothesis in question.[2] The fore-Elohist is the most probable of these; and is therefore adopted by Vaihinger, who has ingeniously undertaken to trace him in his minutenesses. We are unable to see his individuality.

VII. Let us now inquire into the respective ages of the Elohist, Jehovist, and junior Elohist, and so complete at once what we have to say about these writers.

It is plain that the primitive Elohist wrote after the Canaanites had been driven out of Palestine. In Gen. xvii. 6–16, and xxxv. 11, a promise is made to Abraham and Jacob that kings should spring from them—an idea which would not suggest itself to the mind of a Hebrew till after a king had been appointed. Edom is still spoken of as an independent kingdom (Gen. xxxvi.). The high-priest occupies a position as head of the theocracy, which does not suit the time of the powerful rulers David and Solomon, when the former was only a person walking before the king and deposable by him; not to mention the fact that in David's time there were two high-priests, and two sanctuaries. In this way we are brought to the time of Israel's first king—not farther. There is no trace of Jerusalem being the place of the national sanctuary; as we should expect in the age of David and Solomon. The writer dwells upon the consecrated spots of Palestine; which were not yet illegal for worship. The sovereignty had not passed to the tribe of Judah, as far as any hint is given. It is apparent that north and south

[1] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, second edition, vol. i., pp. 80-175, and vol. ii., pp. 19-45. We refer to the second edition particularly, because the first differs in the assigned writers.

[2] Einleitung, p. 256 et seqq.

were not yet separated; that Solomon's temple was not built; for the writer never speaks of the place of worship as *a house*, but always as *a tent*. Nor are any general pilgrimages to the sanctuary mentioned; the people worshipped Jehovah at Bethel, Shiloh, and other places, though the most holy spot was that of the tabernacle. David and his dynasty had not awakened the interest of the nation. All this coincides with the time of Saul, beyond which nothing points. The flourishing time of royalty had not yet come; but at the commencement of the monarchical constitution, blessings might be expected from it which would suggest such a promise as Abraham and Jacob are said to have received respecting kings among their posterity; in contrast with the unsettled period of the judges. It is certain that the tabernacle still existed in all its sanctity, and had not been displaced by the temple in the days of the writer, else he would not have finished his description of its arrangements with the remark, "It shall be a statute for ever unto their generations on the behalf of the children of Israel" (Exodus xxvii. 21). The threatening in Leviticus xxvi., respecting the scattering of the people, would reduce the date much later; but that chapter does not belong to the Elohim document. The same conclusion is corroborated by the way in which Joseph is prominent among the sons of Jacob. Had the tribe of Judah attained to the pre-eminence it reached under David and Solomon, it is probable that its head (Judah) would have stood forth conspicuously in the writer's narrative. The peculiar favour which Joseph obtained both from God and man is not unhistorical, as it is set forth in the Elohist; but that is perfectly consistent with the practicability of Judah's prominence, had the reigns of David and Solomon arrived in their splendour.[1] The Elohist's person must always remain unknown. It is probable that he lived in the tribe of Judah, because he gives prominence to its first head; and that he was a Levite, for all matters relating to the Levites are carefully described—their employment, duties, and the laws affecting them. He was well acquainted with the ancient history of his nation, especially the genealogical and ethnographical parts; as well as with the law in all its extent. For ecclesiastical law he had a particular predilection. The *priest* rather than *the prophet* appears. None but a priest possessed so much information, or had the documents which he employed.

As the Jehovist was posterior to the Elohist we are brought at once to the kingly period for *his* date. The Israelite was settled in Canaan, as we infer from the Jehovist's remark, "And the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. xii. 6, xiii. 7). The people had experienced the blessing of an established and well-

[1] See Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii., p. 522 et seqq.

ordered worship. They had also attained to the enthusiastic idea that such worship was destined to unite all the nations of the earth. This fact could only consist with settled, peaceful times; not with those of David, when attention was turned mainly to externals. We are therefore led to think of the long reign of Solomon; unless notices adduce the assumption of a later period. Saul's victory over the Amalekites (Num. xxiv. 7, 20; comp. 1 Sam. xv. 2–8) was past. David's conquests of the Moabites and Edomites (comp. Num. xxiv. 17–19 with 2 Sam. viii. 2, 14) were also past. The dependence of Esau on Jacob, put in the form of a prophecy in Gen. xxv. 23, and unknown to the Elohist, implies these conquests. But the words of Gen. xxvii. 40—"And it shall come to pass when thou shalt have the dominion that thou shalt break his yoke from off thy neck"—refer to the time of Jehoram, when Edom first threw off the yoke of Judah, and elected a king of its own. It is true that the Edomites made several attempts to shake off the yoke before they succeeded; but none of these is sufficient to explain the prophecy put into the mouth of Isaac. Their rebellion in the last years of Solomon's reign (1 Kings xi. 14, etc.) was not a proper liberation from Judah's dominion over them; for Solomon retained possession of their ports; and the Edomites continued to pay tribute after the tribes divided into two kingdoms. In this way we come down till about 890 B.C. It might be supposed, at first sight, that because the Jehovist attributes dreams and other lower forms of revelation to the patriarchs, that he belonged to the incipient stage of prophecy; before it had developed itself so far as to feel that dreams and visions might contain the element of self-deception. But this would be a hasty judgment; for Moses is described as a prophet far exalted above dreams and such inferior revelations: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream. My servant Moses is not so, who is faithful in all mine house. With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold: wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?" (Numbers xii. 6–8). These words evince an advanced stage of reflection in the religious development of the nation. It is difficult to understand with exactness the historical notices in Num. xxiv. Assyria is there spoken of as a formidable power to the Kenites or southern Arabians (Num. xxiv. 21, 22). Now the Assyrians first appear in Jewish history under their monarch Phul, in the reign of Menahem king of Israel, *i.e.* about 772 B.C. Thus we are brought to the first half of the eighth century as the time when the Jehovist wrote. The twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses of Num. xxiv. appear to

some to reduce the time still later; but it is not certain that they proceeded from the Jehovist at first; and the allusion of the twenty-fourth verse is ambiguous, if indeed it have a specific historical reference. We can only rely, therefore, on the twenty-second verse. During the reign of Uzziah, characterised as it was by various reforms, the Jehovah document seems to have been composed. It is true that in Gen. xxv. 18, no more is implied than that the Assyrians had already passed the Tigris and spread themselves in Mesopotamia; and also in Gen. ii. 14, that they had crossed the Tigris westwards, and extended their dominion as far as the Euphrates; but these historical notices, though consistent with a Solomonic date, cannot control the twenty-fourth chapter of Numbers, so as to reduce all its allusions to the same point of time. Hence we cannot agree with Tuch, who assumes that the prophecy in Num. xxiv. 22, etc., is quite general and indefinite, referring to the rising power of Assyria from the east, of which the Hebrews may have heard in the time of Solomon.[1]

It is unnecessary to consider the bearing of Gen. ix. 25–27 on the question; not only because the interpretation is doubtful, but because it belongs, in our opinion, to the redactor. Tuch, in putting the Jehovist in Solomon's reign, has surely had too little regard for the degree of religious development exhibited by him in comparison with the Elohist's, for which much more than a century is required. At the same time Von Lengerke seems to bring the Jehovist too late when he fixes on Hezekiah's reign.[2] Gen. ix. 27, even if it belonged to the Jehovist, is a precarious basis for 724 B.C., because it is not certain that the prophecy was fulfilled by *the Assyrians* subjugating the Phenicians. Knobel appears to make him even later than Hezekiah, for he speaks of his having lived in the last years of that king *at the earliest;* but the main argument on which the opinion rests—the Jehovist's acquaintance with oriental things that the Jews did not know of till the Assyrian period—is hardly decisive.[3] The author seems to have belonged to the northern kingdom, because he uses expressions found only in writings proceeding from it.[4] He takes a prophetic view; and therefore lived in the time of the prophets.

The Elohim document was a private writing, which attained to general acceptance, and was circulated among the people who could read, by whom its contents were made known to others. The Jehovah document was composed independently by a much later party, not without a plan. But its unity and sequence are more difficult to trace, because the redactor or editor who put the two together dealt with it freely and suppressed

[1] Kommentar ueber die Genesis, pp. 97–98.
[2] Kenaan, p. 595.
[3] Exeget. Handbuch, xiii., p. 579.
[4] Ibid., p. 579.

many parts. It appears to us that it was in a proper state to be understood by itself. Yet we are not insensible to the considerations urged by many learned men against the idea that the Jehovistic was a connected document parallel with the Elohistic, which existed at first independently, and was afterwards attached to the older. The arguments of Bleek, the ablest advocate of the view that the Jehovist was nothing but a *supplementer, enlarger,* and partly *re-writer* of the Elohim document, deserve the most respectful examination; though they have not convinced us. His rejection of a younger Elohist, and adherence to the view which he had early advocated, led to his assuming *an author* of the Pentateuch, instead of a mere *redactor* or *editor*.[1]

The junior Elohist probably lived in the time of Elisha (about 880 B.C.) The redactor was not identical with the Jehovist. Some time must have elapsed between them. It is scarcely necessary to say that he was not Ezra, since he preceded the Deuteronomist. In binding together the three documents he acted with considerable independence, adding occasionally a connecting link, omitting what seemed to stand in the way of the connection, abridging in different modes, and transposing pieces according to his own view.

VIII. Let us now endeavour to bring out the historical traces of the existence of the first four books of the Pentateuch in other biblical writers. In doing so it is necessary to avoid all prophetic or poetical books whose time of composition is doubtful. Allowance must also be made for the fact, that prophets and others may have derived allusions to earlier circumstances in the national history from *tradition,* not from *written records.* Hence *the manner* and *language of reminiscences* pointing to prior portions of sacred history, should be attended to. It will also be necessary to consider whether there be a reference to the Elohist or the Jehovist; since the work of the former was known before that of the latter. Any clear allusion to Deuteronomy will testify to the existence of *our present Pentateuch* at the time; but the same fact does not hold good in relation to the Jehovist.

David's psalms owe much of their tone and character to a knowledge of the law. This is consistent with the date assigned to the Elohim document. Such as celebrate the works of creation may have been inspired in part by the history of creation in the Elohist; but the entire fifth book of the psalter was certainly made up after the Pentateuch had been completed; and most of it was even composed after the redaction of the latter. Thus we admit that the literature of the Davidic and Solomonic period was largely based on the law of Moses. Without the latter, David could scarcely have been such a master of lyric song; nor could Solomon have uttered so many proverbs.

[1] Einleitung, p. 262 et seqq.

But it is extravagant in Delitzsch to say,[1] that Exodus xv. is the key-note of all following hymns, and Deut. xxxii. the *magna charta* of prophecy; both were composed much later than Moses, after noble hymns had appeared, and prophecy flourished.

Keil and others find allusions in Joel to the Elohist and Jehovist united. The prophet writes: "A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness, as the morning spread upon the mountains: a great people and a strong: there hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it, even to the years of many generations" (Joel ii. 2), which has been referred to Exodus x. 14, "Before them there was no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such." But the resemblance is too slight to shew borrowing. The same may be said of Joel ii. 13, "He is gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great kindness," in relation to Exodus xxxiv. 6, "The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth."[2]

It has also been disputed whether Amos and Hosea, who flourished at the beginning of the eighth century, were acquainted with the Jehovist. Amos writes: "Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks" (ii. 9), which merely resembles the description in Num. xiii. 32, 33 (an Elohistic portion), but is free and independent. It is probable that the prophet did not follow the description in the book of Numbers. The reference of Amos iv. 11, "I have overthrown some of you as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah," to the Elohist in Gen. xix. 29, cannot be entertained, even though the two cities are spoken of to which the tradition in the Elohist confined the catastrophe; because the tradition, in that very state, must have been well known.

In Hosea iv. 6, where the prophet speaks of the people being rejected by Jehovah from being priests to Him, there is no reason for thinking that he had before him Exodus xix. 6, or that he took the idea from that place. Nor in alluding to the degeneracy of the fathers in falling away to the idolatry of Baal-peor (ix. 10) does Hosea shew his acquaintance with the narrative in Num. xxv. 15, which is Jehovistic. In like manner the prophet does not allude to Gen. xiv. 2, 3, xviii., in xi. 8. As little does xii. 4, etc. (Hosea) presuppose Gen. xxvii. 36, xxxv. 15. The words in xii. 12, "And Jacob fled into the country of Syria," shew that the prophet knew the Jehovist tradition embodied in the Jehovist document, which alone speaks of the separation between the two brothers; and represents Jacob's going to Haran as a flight (Gen. xxvii. 41–43).

[1] Kommentar ueber die Genesis, third edition, p. 14, Einleitung.
[2] See Keil's Einleitung, p. 120.

Thus we cannot adopt Tuch's opinion in maintaining the acquaintance of Amos and Hosea with the Elohist or the Jehovist.[1] The passages referred to do not necessitate the supposition that the allusions are as he has indicated. The prophets in question had not the two or more documents united, as they are now. Nor is there any evidence that they knew the Jehovist separately. If indeed the writers of the documents had *invented* the historical traditions embodied in their composition, the prophets must have *borrowed* their allusions; but as their traditions were the inheritance of the nation, and did not cease to be handed down orally because they were embodied in writings, the case is different. The *form* in which they are described must be reflected in later writers, in order to prove *imitation*. Unless the *mode of statement* be similar, it is illogical to infer that one is borrowed from another. In none of the oldest prophets—Joel, Amos, Hosea—does such verbal resemblance appear.

In Isaiah i. 9, 10, there is a reference to the destruction of the Jordan-vale similar to that in Amos, in addition to the viciousness of the inhabitants, which implies acquaintance with Gen. xix. The same conclusion follows from Isaiah iii. 9, "They declare their sin as Sodom, they hide it not," from Gen. xix. 5. But in Isaiah iv. 5, 6, where we read, "And the Lord will create upon every dwelling-place of Mount Zion, and upon her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night: for upon all the glory shall be a defence. And there shall be a tabernacle for a shadow in the day time from the heat, and for a place of refuge, and for a covert from storm and from rain," there is no reason for supposing that the description of the tabernacle by the Elohist and Jehovist in Num. ix. 15–23, Exodus xxxiii. 7–11, xl. 34 was before the prophet; because the traditional account of the tabernacle was well-known. Nor in Isaiah iv. 1, "And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, "We will eat our own bread and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by thy name to take away our reproach," do we discern a reference to the legal requirements in Exodus xxi. 10, relative to the taking of a concubine in addition to a purchased female Hebrew, and the non-abridgment of duties owing to the latter; because Isaiah speaks of the duties involved in the *marriage* state. In Isaiah v. 14—"therefore hell hath enlarged herself and opened her mouth without measure"—there is a personification of Sheol, representing the depopulation of the country by the enemy's sword, without allusion to the fate of Korah in Num. xvi. Again, Isaiah x. 26, xi. 11, xv. 16 shew no more than that the tradition embodied in Exodus xiv. was well-known to the writer. But

[1] See Kommentar ueber die Genesis, pp. lxxxix., xc.

Isaiah xxx. 27–33, is a manifest imitation of the song in Exodus xv., which latter is older than the Jehovist himself. Isaiah xii. 2 is imitated from Exodus xv. 2; but the prophecy is confessedly later than Isaiah. Thus the allusions of Isaiah to the Elohist and Jehovist are very few; and though they were more, nothing in the date of the latter prevents the prophet's use of his document.

In Micah vi. 5, we read, "O my people, remember now what Balak, King of Moab, consulted, and what Balaam, the son of Beor, answered him," etc, which implies an acquaintance with the narrative in Num. xxii. But this is consistent with our position respecting the Jehovist. It cannot be shewn that the elder Zechariah alluded to the Jehovist in ix. 1, 11, xiii. 7, 8. In that case our date of the Jehovist could not stand; for the Zechariah in question was rather prior to Isaiah.

These prophetic references need not be followed farther. There is nothing against the use of the Jehovist by Nahum and succeeding prophets, who would probably base their exhortations on the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. Hengstenberg and Von Bohlen seem to have fallen into two extremes respecting the comparison of prophetic passages with the Pentateuch; the former concluding at once that the prophets borrowed from the Elohist and Jehovist;[1] the latter, that the Pentateuch contains distinct allusions to the older prophets.[2] We have endeavoured to follow the true medium between these views.

Let us now glance at the supposed references of the Elohim document to the Jehovist, collected by Keil on the foundation of Kurtz.[3]

Gen. v. 3 to iv. 25. Here there is none, because the Elohist (v. 3) merely states a fact repeated by the Jehovist.

Gen. v. 29 to iii. 17. Part of the twenty-ninth verse is from the redactor. The rest has no reference to iii. 17.

Gen. xix. 29 to xiii. 10–13. This verse naturally follows the seventeenth chapter. Connected with it, it occupies its proper place.

Gen. xxi. 9 to xvi. 15. The former of these is the redactor's; the latter the junior Elohist's (in part).

Gen. xxii. 19 to xxi. 33. The former is the younger Elohist's; so is the latter.

Gen. xxiii. 4, 6, presuppose a longer abode in the neighbourhood of Hebron, of which the Elohist knows nothing. This is nothing; but the Jehovist's accounts of Abraham's

[1] Die Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. i., p. 48, et seqq.

[2] See Introduction to the Book of Genesis by Von Bohlen, edited by James Heywood, vol. i., p. 244.

[3] See Keil's Lehrbuch, second edition, p. 66.

former dwelling there, have supplanted the Elohist's briefer notices.

Gen. xxviii. 20, 21, to xxviii. 15. The former verses proceed from the younger Elohist; the latter is the redactor's.

Gen. xxxii. 10*b*, 13, to xxxi. 3. The former belongs to the junior Elohist; the latter to the Jehovist.

Gen. xxxii. 13 to xxxviii. 14. Both are the redactor's.

Gen. xxxv. 1–3, 7, to xxviii. 13–16. Both are the redactor's.

Gen. xl. 4 to xxxix. 21–23. The former belongs to the junior Elohist; the latter partly to the redactor and partly to the Jehovist.

Gen. xlvi. 12 to xxxviii. 7–10. There is no necessary connection between these. The latter is not required by the former. Besides, the former belongs to the junior Elohist.

Gen. xlix. 8 to xxvii. 29, 40. The former is Jehovistic; so is the latter too.

In this manner we might go over all the alleged references in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, of the Elohist to the Jehovist, and shew their fallacy or incorrectness. Keil takes Stähelin's division as his basis—a division which has various inaccuracies. This circumstance facilitates his argument without exhibiting his honesty.

In relation to this topic—the allusions to the Pentateuch discoverable in subsequent books—nothing can be more fallacious or inconsequential than the statements of Hengstenberg and his followers. In the historical books, from Joshua to Chronicles inclusive, passages are collected referring to places in the Pentateuch. All the prophetic literature is treated in the same manner. Obadiah, Joel, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, Hosea, are made to yield abundant testimony. The poetical literature, such as the books of psalms and proverbs, is adduced for the same purpose. By such a process an imposing array of passages is made out. Its very length and largeness are deceptive. It serves to fill up pages in English books, into which it is transferred in the lump. But when sifted, its importance vanishes. All that is *really relevant* amounts to little. Indeed nothing in it militates against the proper use of the documents we have described, or the dates belonging to them. It is convenient for Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, Caspari, etc., to overlook the late dates of almost all the historical books in which they find quotations from, or allusions to, the Pentateuch. It is also convenient to ignore the fact that unwritten historical tradition may have supplied authors with many things which are also recorded in the books of Moses. It is highly conducive to their cause to ignore the separate existence of the Elohim and Jehovah documents before they were incorporated in the present Pentateuch. It suits their purpose to amass everything in the other books that has a sem-

blance to the Pentateuch, and say, "Here are plain allusions to the written Pentateuch we now have." But such criticism is perfunctory and deceptive. It saves trouble certainly. It is also well adapted to English theological conservatism. But the honest lover of truth cannot be satisfied with it. Unappalled by the calumnies of Pharisaical evangelicalism, he must open his eyes, use his judgment, and look *round about* the theme.

The entire subject of documents incorporated into the Pentateuch might be made apparent even to an ordinary reader, by calling his attention to a few plain facts, such as: "Abraham said (וַיֹּאמֶר), Lord God, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and the steward of my house," etc. (Genesis xv. 2). In the very next verse, the same in substance is uttered by Abraham. "And Abraham said (וַיֹּאמֶר), Behold to me thou hast given no seed: and lo, one born in my house is mine heir." It is easy to see that different authors appear here; *one* would not so write.

Again we read: "And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, *and he said, Surely the Lord* (יְהוָה) *is in this place;* and I knew it not" (Gen. xxviii. 16). The very next verse is: "And *he was afraid, and said,* How dreadful is this place! *this is none other but the house of God* (אֱלֹהִים), and this is the gate of heaven." The patriarch speaks twice in immediate succession; using however two different appellations of Deity. The former verse belongs to the redactor; the latter to the junior Elohist.

The question is firmly established on critical grounds, that two documents at least are incorporated into the present Pentateuch-documents in many respects different, and sometimes contradictory. It may suit an atmosphere of ignorance to reproduce the uncritical, far-fetched apologies of Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, and Kurtz, in opposition to settled results; but as soon as a little light shines, their emptiness appears. Kurtz himself has given up the arguments of his work "on the unity of Genesis"—a fact commonly concealed, or not known, by the small retailers of its contents in England. And every scholar can easily estimate the worth of Keil's opinions on nice and delicate points of criticism. It may harmonise with the temper of religious sectaries in England to denounce men like Bleek, Tuch, De Wette, Ewald, Hupfeld, and Knobel as irreligious or sceptical, because they have carefully investigated the subject and honestly expressed their views upon it; but who are their judges? Are smatterers in Hebrew the persons to lament over *such* men's treatment of questions that have nothing to do with religion, as though it were irreligious? Is it a heinous heresy to be out of the pale of what is called evangelicalism? Fortunate indeed it is, that they *are* out of the pale of that

intolerable evangelicalism which thanks God, in the spirit of the Pharisee who went up to the temple to pray. As long as the stale attempts of Hengstenberg and his school to uphold the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch are dealt out in small doses in Great Britain, the criticism of the Old Testament is retarded, and a barrier set up against the tide of enlightened opinion, which must soon be swept away. The scholars of Germany may well wonder at the traditional *inertia* of English theologians who sleep over the Bible, and cry neology when new information is brought to their ears; but the latter must shortly awake out of their lethargy, and open their minds to the light of truth. Their old dogma of inspirational infallibility must be discarded: then will *the results* of scientific criticism have a chance of penetrating their understandings. We say *the results*, because it is evident that they are unable to estimate aright certain *processes* in the department of Hebrew criticism; or to separate *masters* from *apprentices* in Biblical learning. It is compassionately thought, that Germans are incapable of appreciating evidence; but the questions we speak of are those in which the evidence largely involves an intimate knowledge and acute perception of *Hebrew* writing. Of course it is necessary to assume that the poor Germans, whose acquaintance with the Bible records is immeasurably beyond that of this nation, are grossly deficient in reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and incapable of sympathising in the pious feelings of the sacred writers; as if *ignorance* and *superstition* were the constituents of reverence. A man may believe *too much*, as well as *too little*. He may believe till he has carnal and unworthy notions of the Almighty, thinking Him to have so interfered in the petty affairs of His creatures as to speak audibly to them in the air, and even to appear in human form: he may make the Deity in his own image and think *that* religion; but these anthropomorphic conceptions are infinitely more dishonoring to Jehovah, than any rational treatment of records which unfold the spiritual development of the Jewish race at an early period of their history. Declamation, invective, pietistic horror, orthodox pity for the infidel Germans, answer no purpose but to impose on the vulgar: and as insertions in religious works, are utterly out of place. "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth. Yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand." Censorious judging, cowardly insinuation, uncharitable suspicion, stealing others' good name and character, constitute the religion of many. Happy will it be for them, if it takes them to heaven sooner than the sceptics they hate.

IX. The following tables of Elohist and Jehovistic sections may be useful:

TABLE OF THE ELOHISTIC AND JEHOVISTIC

GENESIS.

Elohist.

I, 1—II, 3.
V, 1—28. to ויולד incl. 29 נח. 30—32.
VI, 9—22.
VII, 6. 7. 8 to מן הבהמה. Then from ומן העוף 9. 11. 13—16 as far as אלהים. 21. 24.
VIII, 1. 2. to השמים. 3 from ויחסרו. 4 from בחדש to לחדש. 5. 13—19.
IX, 1—17. 28.
XI, 10—32.
XII, 4 from ואברם. 5.
XIII, 6. 11 from ויפרדו. 12 to הככר incl.
XV, 1.
XVI, 3. 15 from ויקרא. 16.
XVII.
XIX, 29.
XXI, 2 to שרה incl. Then from למועד to end of 2. 4. 5.
XXIII.
XXV, 7—11 to בנו incl. 17. 20. 26 from ויצחק.
XXVI, 26—33 to שבעה. 34. 35.
XXVIII, 1—9.
XXXI, 18.
XXXV, 9 (except עוד)—15. 27 ויבא יעקב אל יצחק אביו קרית הארבע הוא חברון. 28. 29.
XXXVI, 6 (except אל ארץ). 7. 8.
XXXVII, 1.
XLVI, 6. 7.
XLVII, 11. ויתן להם אחזה בארץ מצרים. 27 from ויאחזו. 28.
XLVIII, 3—7.
XLIX, 29—33 to בניו. Then from ויגוע.
L, 12. 13.

Younger Elohist.

XVI, 2. 15 to בן.
XX, 1—17.
XXI, 1. ותלד לאברהם בן לזקניו in 2. 3. 6. 7. 10—17 to קול הנער. Then from ויאמר to end of 17. 18—20 to ויגדל. 21—34.
XXII, 1—13. 19.
XXV, 11 from וישב to end of verse.
XXVI, 6. 13. 14 to רבה incl. 16. 17. 19—22. 25 to אהלו.
XXVIII, 10—12. 17—22.
XXXI, 2. 4—9. 11 to בחלום incl. 13—17 to יעקב incl. 19 to צאנו. 20. 23 from וידבק. 24. 26. 28. 29. 31 partly. 38—41 to עברתיך. Then from ותחלף to 42 incl. 46. 47. 51. 52 except additions. 53 from וישבע. 54 to לחם incl.
XXXII, 1 from וינשק to וילך. 2. 3. 23 from ויעבר. 25 from ויאבק. 27—32 to פנואל.
XXXV, 6. 7 to האלהים. 22—26.
XXXVI, 2—5. 11—14. 19 הוא אדום. 20—28.
XXXVII, 3 to הוא לו. 4—10. 11 from ואביו. 12—14 to דבר. Then from ויבא. 15—18 to מרחק. 19—22 to בו. 23 to אחיו. 24. 28 to הבור. 29—31. 32 ויביאו אל אביהם. 33 from אכלתהו to כתנתם. 35 from ויבך. 36 (except פוטופר).
XL (except what is in redactor).
XLI, 1 to והנה. 5 from שבע to 14 יוסף. 15. 16. 17 to יוסף. 22—24 הטבות. 25 to אל פרעה. Then from את. 26 from ושבע to הנה. 27 from שבע השבלים to השבלים. 34 to על הארץ. 35 to האלה. Then אכל בערים. 39 to יוסף. 40 to ביתי. 42 from וילבש. 43. 45. 48. 50—52. 54 from ויהי.
XLII, 6 from ויבאו. 7 from וידבר. 8. 9 (except מרגלים אתם). 10. 12. 21—23.
XLV, 2, 3.
XLVI, 8—12 to וזרח. 13—27.
XLVIII, 3 from ויאמר. 2. 10 to לראות. 13. 14. 20.
XLIX, 33 ויאסף—המטה.
L, 22 to אביו.

Note.—See Boehmer, Liber Genesis Pentateuchichus, 1860.

SECTIONS IN THE FIRST FOUR BOOKS.

GENESIS.

Jehovist.

II, 4–9. ובתוך הגן עץ הדעת טוב ורע 10–25. למאכל.
III, 1–21. IV, 1–26.
VI, 4 to ההם. 5–8.
VII, 1–5. 10. 12. 16 from ויסגר. 17. 22. 23.
VIII, 2 from ויכלא. 3 to וישוב. 4 the words ותנח התבה על הרי אררט. 6–12. 20–22.
IX, 18 as far as ויפת. 19.
X, 1–4. 5 to בארצתם. Then from למשפחתם till 8 נמרך. 9–20 to למשפחתם. Then from בארצתם. 21. 22–25 to פלג. Then from ושם till 31 למשפחתם. 31 from בארצתם. 32.
XII, 1–4 as far as לוט. 6–20.
XIII, 1–5. 7–11 to מקדם. 12 from ויאהל. 13–18.
XIV. XV, 2, etc. XVI, 1. 4–14.
XVIII. XIX. 1–28.
XX, 18. XXI, 20 from וישב.
XXII, 14–18. 20–24.
XXIV, 1–67 to ויאהבה incl.
XXV, 1–6. 12–16. 18. 19. 21–26 to יעקב. 27. 28.
XXVII, 1–45. XXIX.
XXX, 1–13. 17–40 to יעקב. Then from ויושת to end.
XXXI, 1. 3. 17 from וישא. 19 from ותגנב. 21–23 to ימים incl. 25. 26 to יעקב. 27. 30. 31 to ללבן. 50 from אין. 53 to אביהם. 54 last two words.
XXXII, 1 to ויושב למקמן. בבקר. 4–22. 23 from ויקח to וילדיו. 24 from ויעבירם.
XXXIII, 1–16. 18 to שכם from ויחן. 20.
XXXIV, 1 to ליעקב. 2 to הארץ. 3. 4. 6. 8–13 to וידברו. 14–18. 20–26 to חמר. 28–30.
XXXV, 5. 16 from ויהי–20 קברתה. 21. 27. Then ויבא יעקב ממרא אשר גר.
XXXVI, 9. 10. 15–18 to יעלם. Then אלה, etc. 19 to אלוהפים. 31–43.
XXXVII, 2. 3 from ועשה. 11 to אחיו. 18 from ויתנכלו. 23 from ויפשיטו. 25. 27. 28 from וימכרו to כסף. 32 (except ויביאו אל אביהם). 33 to ויאמר. Then from טרף to the end. 34. 35 to שאלה.
XXXVIII.
XXXIX (except what is in the redactor).
XLI, 14 ויריצהו ויבא אל פרעה. 15 to חלמתי. 17 from בחלמי to 21. 25 to פרעה. 29. 31. 33. 34 from וחמש. 35 from ויצברו to פרעה. 36–39. 40 from ועל. 41. 42 to יוסף. 44. 46. 47. 49. 53. 54 to יוסף. 55–57.
XLII, 1–5. 7 to מרגלים. 9 וידבר אתם אתם. 11. 13–20. 24, etc.
XLIII. XLIV, 3–34. XLV, 1. 4–28.
XLVI, 5 from וישאו. 28, etc.
XLVII, 1–10. 11 into בארץ–הארץ. אחיו. Then from כאשר. 12–27 into גשן.
XLVIII, 8. 9. 10 from וינש. 11. 12 from וישתחו. 15–19. 21. 22.
XLIX, 1–28.
L, 15–21. 22 from ויהי. 23.

Redactor.

II, 9 ועץ החיים.
III, 22–24.
V, 28 בן. 29 except נח.
VI, 1–3. 4 from ונם.
VII, 8 from הטהורה to טהורה.
IX, 18 from וחם. 20–27.
X, 5 איש ללשנו. 8 from הוא. 20 ללשנתם. 21. 25 from כי to הארץ. 31 ללשנתם.
XI, 1–9.
XIX, 30, etc.
XXI, 8. 9. 17 from ויקרא to השמים.
XXIV, 67 וינחם יצחק אחרי אמו.
XXV, 26, the names in the Elohist left out. 29–34.
XXVI, 1–5. 7–12. 14 from ויקנאו. 15. 18. 23. 24. 25 from ויברו.
XXVII, 46.
XXVIII, 13–16.
XXX, 14–16. 40 from ויתן to לבן.
XXXI, 10. 11 from יעקב. 12. 18. 23 בהר הגלעד. 41 from ארבע to בצאנן. 48 from והנה המצבה. 51 על בנתי to הגל. 52 ואת המצבה and ועדה המצבה. The redactor has also made several minor omissions.
XXXII, 23 from ויקם–הוא. 24 ויקחם. 25 לבדו. 26. 32 from והוא. 33.
XXXIII, 17. 18 from אשר to ארם. 19.
XXXIV, 1 from לראות. 2 from ויקח. 5. 7. 13 from אשר. 19. 26 from ויקחו. 27. 31.
XXXV, 1–4. 7 from ובברחו. 8. עוד 9. 16 to אל. 20 from הוא. 27 ויבא יעקב omitted.
XXXVI, 1. 2 בת צבעון. 6 אל ארץ. 9. 18 אלוף קרח. 29. 30.
XXXVII, 14 from הברון to וישלחהו. 18 ובטרם יקרב אליהם. 22 from למען. 36 פוטיפר.
XXXIX, 1 frpm סרים to הטבחים. 20 from המלך to מקום.
XL, 3 from אל. 5 from בבית. 7 אתו. 15 from גם.
XLI, 1 from עמד to והנה. 14 from מן to שמלתיו. 15a something omitted. 22 ו at the beginning. 24 from ואמר. 25a something left out. חלום פרעה אחד הוא. 26 what is not in the younger Elohist. 27a. 32. 39 something omitted.
XLII, 6 to עם הארץ. 7 וידבר once omitted.
XLIV, 1, 2.
XLVI, 1–5 to שבע. 12 from ויומת.
XLVII, 29, etc.
XLVIII, 1 to האלה. 5 כראובן ושמעון. 12 to ברכיו.
XLIX, 28 from ויברן. 29 אותם instead of את בניו.
L, 1–11. 14. 24–26.

EXODUS.

Elohist.	Younger Elohist.
I, 1—7. 13. 14.	I, 8—12. 15—22.
II, 23 partly. 24. 25.	II, 1—10.
VI, 2—7. 9—30.	III.
VII, 8—13. 19—22.	IV. 18. 27. 28*a*. 20. 30*a*. 31.
VIII, 1—3. 14 partly. 12—15.	XII, 24—27. 35. 36.
IX, 8—12. 35.	XIII, 3—19. 21. 22.
XI, 9. 10.	XV, 1—18. 20. 21. 24—26.
XII, 1—23. 28. 37*a*. 40—51.	XVII, 2—16.
XIII, 1. 2. 20.	XVIII (except 25).
XIV, 1—4. 8. 9. 17. 18. 21—23. 26. 27 partly. 28. 29.	
XV, 19. 22. 23. 27.	
XVI, 1. 2. 9—26. 31—36.	
XVII, 1.	
XIX, 2*a*.	
XXV, 1.—XXXI, 11.	
XXXV—XL.	

LEVITICUS.

Elohist.	Younger Elohist.
I—VII.	XVII—XX.
VIII—X.	XXVI.
XI—XVI.	XXIV, 10—23.
XXI. XXII.	XXV, 18—22.
XXIII.	XXVI.
XXIV, 1—9.	
XXV, 1—17. 23—25.	
XXVII.	

NUMBERS.

Elohist.	Younger Elohist.
I—III.	IV, 17—20.
IV, 1—16. 21—49.	VIII, 23—26.
V.	XIII, 22—24. 27—31.
VI, 1—21.	XV, 22—30.
VII.	
VIII, 1—22.	
IX.	
X, 1—28.	
XIII, 1—17*a*. 21. 25. 26. 32. 33.	
XIV, 2*a*. 5—7. 10*b*. 34. 36—38.	
XV, 1—16.	
XVI, 1—11. 16—24. 35.	
XVII, 1—5. 6—26.	
XVIII. XIX.	
XX, 1 partly. 2. 6. 22—29.	
XXI, 10. 11.	
XXII, 1.	
XXV, 6—18.	
XXVI—XXXI.	
XXXII, 1. 2. 16—19. 24. 28—30. 33—38.	
XXXIII—XXXVI.	

JEHOVISTIC SECTIONS (*continued*).

EXODUS.

Jehovist.	Redactor.
II, 11—22.	II, 23 partly.
IV, 1—17. 19—26.	IV, 28*b*. 30*b*.
V.	VI, 1.
VI, 8.	VII, 1—6.
VII, 14—18. 23—29.	X, 12 partly. 15 partly.
VIII, 4—10. 11 partly. 16—28.	XIV, 15. 16. 27 partly.
IX, 1—7. 13—34.	XVIII, 2*b*.
X, 1—29.	
XI, 1—8.	
XII, 29—34. 37*b*—39.	
XIV, 5—7. 10—14. 19. 20. 24. 25. 30. 31.	
XVI, 3—8. 27—30.	
XVII, 2—16.	
XIX, 1. 2*b*—25.	
XX—XXIII.	
XXIV.	
XXXII, 12—18.	
XXXIII—XXXIV, with materials from the junior Elohist incorporated.	

LEVITICUS.

Jehovist.	Redactor.
X, 16—20.	

NUMBERS.

Jehovist.	Redactor.
VI, 22—27.	XII, 16.
X, 29—36.	XIII, 17*b*—20.
XI, 1—35.	XIV, 1 partly.
XII, 1—15.	XVI, 27*b*.
XIII, 16.	XVII, 27. 28.
XIV, 1. 2*b*. 3. 4. 8—10*a*. 11—33. 35. 39—45.	XXI, 4 partly. 14*a*. 17*a*. 27*b*.
XV, 17—21.	XXXII, 1 partly. 29 partly.
XVI, 12—15. 25—34.	
XX, 1 partly. 3—5. 7—21.	
XXI, 1—3. 4 partly. 9. 12. 13. 14*b*. 15. 16. 17*b*. 18*b*—35.	
XXII, 2.—XXIV, 25.	
XXV, 1—5.	
XXXII, 8—15. 20—23. 25—27. 31. 32. 39—42.	

NOTE.—See Knobel, Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua erklärt, p. 600 et s

X. Unity of authorship is also discountenanced by *duplicates*, which appear not unfrequently in Pentateuch-duplicate *etymologies*, and *traditional* duplicates of *the same transaction*.

Thus there are double etymologies of the names Issachar and Zebulon (See Gen. xxx. 14–16 compared with verse 18; and Gen. xxx. 19, 20). In xxx. 16, the name Issachar is explained by the circumstance that Leah had *hired* (שָׂכַר *hire*) Jacob from Rachael for a night, with her son's mandrakes; while in the eighteenth verse she calls the child Issachar, because *God had given her a hire or reward* for lending her maid to her husband. In like manner, Leah called her sixth son Zebulon *i.e. dweller*, because, as she said, "Now will my husband dwell with me;" but her words, "God hath endued me with a good dowry," intimate *dowry* as the meaning of the name Zebulon, from the Hebrew זָבַד, זְבָדַנִי *has given me a gift*, i.e. זבודון=זְבוּלוּן; *daleth* and *lamed* being interchangeable letters.

The majority of proper names belonging to the earliest period of Hebraism constitute the subject of fictitious etymologies; as is well known to scholars. The Hebrew writers, having no perception of scientific etymology and looking out for alliterations, undertook to explain old names by the language as it was spoken in their day. Each would naturally give his own derivation of the same word.

Different etymologies of the name *Joseph* are given in Gen. xxx. 23, 24. "And she (Rachael) conceived and bare a son and said, God hath *taken away* my reproach. And she called his name Joseph, and said, The Lord shall *add* to me another son." In the former case יוֹסֵף is equivalent to יֹאסֵף from אָסַף; in the latter, the Jehovist deduces it from יָסַף *to add*. To this Keil replies, that the former gives no etymology but only makes a slight allusion—a most incorrect statement.[1]

Sarah is taken by Abimelech at Gerar (Gen. xx. 1–18) as she had been taken in Egypt by the king of the country (xii. 10–19), with the intention of making her a wife. The same thing also happens to Rebecca at Gerar (Gen. xxvi. 1–11). It is true that in those rude times the same event may have happened in different places, at considerable intervals of time; and that dissimilar as well as *like* circumstances are connected with each narrative. It is remarkable, however, that two events so strikingly alike should have occurred in Abraham's life. And when Sarah's beauty is the thing from which danger is apprehended in both cases, there is an apparent difficulty in the contents of xvii. 17, xviii. 11, 12. She must have preserved her

[1] Lehrbuch der Einleitung, p. 72.

charms to a late period of life. It is also remarkable that Gerar, the theatre of action, and Abimelech the party concerned, are the same in both cases. It is mere assumption to say that Abimelech was the common name of Gerar's kings, like Pharaoh in Egypt. Still there is some room for doubting the original identity of the facts on which these portions of the history are founded, in consequence of the dissimilarities. But we are more inclined to give them a common historical basis, than to maintain their original independence.

Again, the narratives in Gen. xvi and xxi. 9–21 relative to the flight of Hagar, appear varieties of one and the same event, because the principal circumstances are identical. Thus both have the same result, which is obviously the aim intended, viz., the separation of the Arab descendants of Abraham from his theocratic posterity; which is accounted for by the expulsion of Ishmael from his father's house. The motive leading to that extrusion is the same, viz., Sarah's jealousy and envy. As an alleviation of the condition to which the youth is doomed, the greatness and power of the people are noticed in both. "I will make him a great nation" (xxi. 18). "I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude" (xvi. 10). In both cases, an angel makes this announcement, with the same etymology of the name *Ishmael.* The manifestation of the angel is at a fountain of water in the wilderness. Thus the essentials of both narratives are the same. The remaining circumstances are of secondary moment, and do not hang well together. The chief point of discrepancy is, that in one, the expulsion takes place *before* the birth of Isaac; in the other, *after* that event. The view of the narrative, which refers them to the same transaction taking different forms in the progress of transmission though two independent channels, is confirmed by the fact, that the one is for the most part junior Elohistic; the other, Jehovistic.

Another duplicate account is in Exodus xvii. and Num. xx. 1–13 of the water brought out of the rock, and the origin of the name *Meribah.* As the same name could not be given twice, both must have grown out of one. It has been ascertained that Exodus xvii. 2–7 is Jehovistic; while Num. xx. 1–13 contains portions of different documents. There is also a double description of the manna in Exodus xvi. 11, etc., and Num. xi. 7–9. In the former it is said that it fell from the air, was white like coriander seed, and melted if the sun shone upon it; in the latter, that it could be pound in mills or beaten in mortars, or baked in pans, and prepared for cakes. Thus two writers appear. Had one and the same author described this extraordinary food of the Israelites, he would not have presented such varying

accounts. Kalisch[1] can only explain the fact by assuming that two sorts of manna are meant; what he calls *air-manna* and *tree-manna*. He omits to notice the true cause of diversity in the description—difference of authorship. The *tamarix manifera* or *tarafa shrub* yields the substance in question by the puncture of an insect, the *coccus maniparus*. Exodus xvi. 9–26 is Elohistic; Num. xi. is Jehovistic.

There is also a double account of the miracle of the quails in Ex. xvi. and Num. xi. The former represents them as a boon given by God to satisfy the people's hunger, and convince them of their dependence on the covenant God (verses 4, 12). The gift of manna to the people is also connected with that of the quails. Both were granted together in the second month of the first year after the exodus. The latter account is very different. The quails are brought by a wind from the sea; and the eating of them produces a plague among the people. Because the people lusted, this food was sent in anger to destroy them. The book of Numbers does not contain the least hint that quails had been previously sent to the people; but the narrative leaves the impression that this was their first and only bestowal, a year after the time specified in Ex. xvi., at Kibroth-hattaavah, after the people had become tired of the manna. Is it not probable then, that the writer in Exodus puts two different facts together which were separate in time, viz., the sending of quails and manna? It is no explanation to assert that there is nothing improbable in supposing that the Israelites twice murmured for flesh, and that God twice sent them quails. *The manner* of Num. xi. renders this supposition extremely improbable. Part of Ex. xvi. is Elohistic; Num. xi. is Jehovistic.

The entire number of duplicates is considerable. Thus the birth of Seth and Enos; the corruption of man before the flood, and the divine determination to destroy him; the merciful resolve on the part of God after the flood; Hagar's sitting opposite Ishmael, the ratification of the covenant between Abraham and Abimelech; the introduction of the name Jehovah; Jehovah's descending on Mount Sinai; the arrival of Israel at Kadesh; the disposition of Korah's faction before the sanctuary; the conduct of the king of Arad; the giving of the law book to the Levites; the explanation of the names Isaac and Bethel, the appointment of Joshua, are related twice; some three times. We do not say that the same writer may not occasionally repeat a thing; or that each of these examples evinces two or more writers. But the great number of duplicates, and even triplicates, is hardly consistent with single authorship; especially as most are introduced the second time

[1] Commentary on Exodus, p. 213, et seqq.

as if they had not been referred to before; and also show distinctive peculiarities of language.[1]

XI. Diversities, confusedness, and contradictions also discountenance unity of authorship.

According to Exodus xii. 15, etc., the feast of unleavened bread was introduced before the exodus; but from xiii. 3, etc., we learn that it was instituted after that event, at Succoth.

From Deut. x. 8, it is plain that the Levites were not appointed at Sinai, but later; whereas we learn from Num. viii. that their institution took place at Sinai.

The Israelites did not listen to Moses at first for anguish of spirit and cruel bondage (Ex. vi. 9, 12). But in iv. 31, they believed and rejoiced when he announced deliverance to them. It may be said that *the elders* were the persons spoken to in the latter case, not the people; and that they were induced to believe in him by the signs he wrought. But if the heads of the people were convinced of his divine mission, the people groaning under their burdens would be ready to follow them.

According to Ex. vi. 2, etc., Moses received his divine commission to deliver the people out of bondage *in Egypt*. But in iii. 1, etc., he received it in Midian. It was not first received in Midian and afterwards repeated in Egypt, because the former call is followed by Moses and Aaron going in to Pharaoh and asking him to let the Israelites go for the purpose of holding a feast in the wilderness. Had Moses not visited the king to ask for the thing he was called by God to effect, we might reasonably suppose that the call was repeated; but since he did so, a second call was unnecessary. The two calls are in reality the narrations of different writers, giving a somewhat different version of the same thing. The one represents Moses as asking for a temporary release of the people (Ex. v. 3, etc.); the other for their entire deliverance (vi. 11; vii. 2; ix. 35; xi. 10).

In Gen. xxxvii., we read that, according to Judah's proposition, Joseph was sold to the Ishmaelites (25–28). But it is also stated that a company of Midianites passing by took him out of the pit (verse 28), and sold him into Egypt to Potiphar (verse 36). The Jehovist insertion in the twenty-eighth verse, "and sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver," confuses both accounts. That two traditions are given appears from the fact that the selling of Joseph into Egypt is related twice, and assigned once to the Midianites and once to the Ishmaelites.

Beersheba was so called because both Abimelech and Abraham sware there, according to Gen. xxi. 31; whereas it was so named at a subsequent time, when Isaac and Abimelech

[1] See Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. pp. 497, 498.

sware to one another (Gen. xxvi. 33). The former is junior Elohistic, the latter Elohistic.

In like manner Jacob's name was changed to *Israel*, when he wrestled with a supernatural being in human form all night, before he met his brother Esau, on his return from Mesopotamia (Gen. xxxii. 28); whereas according to Gen. xxxv. 10, he received the name on another occasion, at Bethel not Penuel; as the first passage states. It is a mere subterfuge to assert that, because no reason is assigned for the change of name in xxxv. 10, it relates no more than a solemn confirmation of what had been done already. A *reason* for the change does not necessarily accompany its *record*. The words are explicit: "And God said unto him Thy name is Jacob; thy name shall not be called any more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name." If his name were Israel before, the words plainly assert the contrary. The passages are junior Elohistic, and Elohistic respectively.

An analogous example is *Bethel*, formerly Luz, which was so named by Jacob on his journey to Mesopotamia (xxviii. 19, xxxi. 13), but according to xxxv. 15, on his return. Identical names of places are not imposed twice.

According to Gen. xxvi. 34, Esau took two wives, Judith, daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Bashemath, the daughter of Elon the Hittite; and according to xxviii. 9, he added Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and sister of Nebajoth. But we learn from xxxvi. 2, etc., that his three wives were Adah, daughter of Elon the Hittite, Aholibamah, a granddaughter of Zibeon the Hivite, and Bashemath, Ishmael's daughter. Here the accounts disagree in that Elon's daughter is sometimes called Bashemath, sometimes Adah; in Ishmael's daughter being variously styled Mahalath and Bashemath; in Judith being also Aholibamah; the father of the latter being sometimes Beeri the Hittite, sometimes Anah the Hivite.

To remove the opposition various hypotheses have been framed. Thus some suppose that the names designate different persons; and that Esau had six wives, Judith, Bashemath (daughter of Elon), Adah, Aholibamah, Mahalath, Bashemath (daughter of Ishmael). This solution labours under the very great improbability that four out of the six were composed of two sisters. Others think he had but five. Hengstenberg imagines that each had two names, and so reduces the number to three. He thinks that all the wives received new names at their marriage. Violence is done to the record by this solution; for it identifies Anah with Beeri, and *conjectures* that he was called *Beeri*, from his finding warm springs in the wilderness (xxxvi. 24). We do not object that Anah is called a Hivite (xxxvi.

2), and also a Horite (xxxvi. 20), because it is generally admitted that *Horite* should be read for *Hivite*; but Beeri is called a *Hittite* in xxvi. 34. It is a groundless conjecture on the part of Hengstenberg that the term *Hittite*, though originally designating a single Canaanitish tribe, was employed in a broader sense to denote the whole race.[1] No satisfactory solution of the contradictions has been yet offered. How the difficulty can be cleared up on the principle that one independent writer, whether using documents or not, left the passage in xxxvi. 2, etc., in such inconsistency with the other two preceding, we are unable to see. But it is easy to account for the discrepancy on the hypothesis of a redactor having two or more documents independently composed, and exercising on the whole a moderate degree of control over their contents. Both xxvi. 34 and xxviii. 9, which harmonise, are Elohistic; but xxxvi. 2, etc., belongs to the younger Elohist.[2]

In Exodus iii. 1 and xviii. 1, *Jethro* is termed Moses's father-in-law; but in ii. 18, 21, *Reuel* is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Moses. In Num. x. 29, Moses's father-in-law is called *Hobab*, son of Raguel the Midianite. A comparison of Exodus xviii. and Num. x. 29, shews *Jethro* and *Hobab* to be identical; and therefore Ranke's solution that Hobab as well as Jethro became brother-in-law of Moses, Raguel being the father-in-law, is untenable.[3] It is possible, as Keil after Ewald supposes, that Hobab, *as priest*, bore the name *Jethro* from יִתְר *excellence;* but that in Exodus ii. 18, אָב means *grandfather*, and in ii. 21, בִּתּוֹ denotes *his granddaughter*, is arbitrary assumption.[4] The diversity still remains in the records, that *Reuel*, or *Raguel*, was Moses's father-in-law; and that *Hobab, son of Raguel*, was his father-in-law.

Let us examine another example where inextricable diversity prevails, viz., Gen. xxxvii. 36–xxxix. 1–23, for the thirty-eighth chapter interrupts a continuous narrative. Here it will be observed, that after Joseph had been accused by the wife of his master who is called Potiphar, captain of the guard of Pharaoh, of an attempt upon her chastity, and had been cast into the state prison, he found the same favour in *his* sight as he had done before in the eyes of Pharaoh; the keeper of the prison committing to his care all the prisoners. But in xl. 3, the prison appears the same as *the house* of the captain of the guard; whence, the inference follows, that the two captains of the guard and masters of Joseph were *identical*. The keeper of

[1] Authentic des Pentateuches, vol. ii., p. 275, et seqq.
[2] See Bleek's Einleit., p. 238.
[3] Untersuchungen ueber des Pentateuches, vol. ii., p. 6, et seqq.
[4] Lehrbuch der Einleitung, p. 73.

the prison and captain of the guard were thus one and the same; which the history, as it lies before us, does not sanction. If they were identical, it has been assumed, for the purpose of removing the contradiction, that Joseph's first master merely sent him out of his house into the prison of which he was master, the favour shewn him again being interpreted of a *reconciliation;* but the records say nothing of reconciliation; and the favour Joseph obtained is described, the second time, in nearly the same unlimited terms as the first. Others suppose, that the keeper of the prison or gaoler, was a subordinate of the captain of the guard. The words of xl. 3, 4, are against that conjecture. We believe that they are two different independent persons. Two sources may be traced here. One writer appears to have known of only one master, viz., the captain of the guard, who was also over the state-prison. The other writer (the Jehovist) represents Joseph as coming into the possession of *an Egyptian* master (xxxix. 2), and being punished by consignment to the state-prison. By following the Jehovist, we infer that Joseph had two masters; by following the junior Elohist that he had but one. It is difficult to bring unity into the composition otherwise than by assuming different sources, and regarding the words in xxxix. 1—"an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the guard"—as the redactor's, who mistook the real state of the case. Nothing can prove the whole history natural and consistent.[1] The observations of Kurtz[2] for this purpose are so far-fetched, that nobody but one determined to shut his eyes, would transcribe them. They serve, however, to fill up English books.

The history of Jacob presents discrepancies, especially in its chronology. Thus Esau married a Hittite when he was forty years old—a proceeding which displeased his parents, and led to Jacob's mission into Mesopotamia to find a wife among his relatives there (Gen., xxvi. 34, etc., xxvii. 46, xxviii. 2). Hence his departure must have taken place soon after Esau's marriage, that is, when Jacob, who was of the same age with Esau, was about forty years old. In Mesopotamia, Jacob begat six sons by Leah, two by Bilhah, two by Zilpah, and Joseph by Rachel (xxxv. 23, etc.), as also a daughter called Dinah, by Leah (xlvi. 15). The last of his children there was Joseph, whom Rachel, after long barrenness, bore (xxx. 22). He must have come into the world much later than the sons of Leah and the daughter; for he is called *the son of Jacob's old age* (xxxvii. 3); and was a *lad* among his brethren (xxxvii. 2). He was therefore much younger than they, who are styled *men* long

[1] See Hupfeld, Die Quellen, u. s. w., p. 65, et seqq.
[2] Einheit der Genesis, p. 192.

before (xxxiv. 7). It agrees with this that when Jacob went down into Egypt, Judah and Asher were grandfathers (xlvi. 12, 17); while Joseph was only a father (xli. 50, xlviii. 1.) Hence the narrator puts a long interval between Joseph and the other children born in Mesopotamia. He also states that Joseph was thirty years old when he interpreted the king's dreams, and was married (xli. 46); and that Jacob was one hundred and thirty years old when he was taken to Egypt and stood before Pharaoh (xlvii. 9). By calling to our aid the years of blessing and famine in Egypt, and Jacob's removal to it (xli. 47, etc., 53, etc., xlv. 6), it may be inferred that the fortieth year of Joseph coincided with the hundreth and thirtieth of Jacob, so that Jacob became the father of Joseph in his ninetieth year. Accordingly, Jacob is represented as having been fifty years in Mesopotamia. When he returned to Canaan, his sons were grown up to be men (xxxiv. 7, 25, etc.); and his daughter Dinah, born after the other children of Leah, was marriageable (xxxiv. 2). The only way of setting aside this last proof is to assume a long abode of Jacob in Sichem, during which his children had grown up. But that is untenable; for Benjamin had ten sons (xlvi. 21) when Jacob on his way to Egypt was one hundred and thirty years old; and we know that Benjamin was born after Jacob's departure from Sichem (xxxv. 16, etc.) Jacob also left Mesopotamia to come to his father Isaac (xxxi. 18), who dwelt at Hebron (xxxv. 27). Hence Jacob did not remain long at Sichem. Such is one narrative. But in another history of Jacob, the patriarch served Laban seven years, and then received Leah and Rachael as wives, having been obliged to serve seven years additional for the latter (xxix. 20, etc.) During the second seven years he begat the children already mentioned, with the exception of Benjamin (xxix. 32, etc., xxx. 5, etc.) After Joseph's birth, he requested to be released (xxx. 25), but was induced to remain and serve six years longer, so that his whole time with Laban was twenty years (xxxi. 38, 41). Hence all his sons on the journey from Mesopotamia were from six to thirteen years of age, and are therefore designated *tender* children (xxxiii. 13). Thus a much shorter stay with Laban is assumed by the Jehovist.

Again, Abraham is somewhat incredulous about the fact of having a son, at the age of an hundred years, when it was announced to him (Gen. xvii. 17). Yet after Sarah's death, and about forty years later, he took Keturah to wife and had six sons by her (Gen. xxv. 1, 2). The former is Elohistic; the latter Jehovistic. One author could hardly have written both.

In like manner Sarah can scarcely believe that she, a woman

of ninety years, should bear a son (Gen. xvii., xviii). Yet we afterwards find, that her beauty was so attractive as to induce Abraham sojourning at Gerar to represent her as his sister (Gen. xx). The last narrative could hardly have proceeded from the writer or writers of the preceding chapters. It belongs to the younger Elohist; while chapters xvii. and xviii. proceed from the Elohist and Jehovist.

In Deut. ii. 29, it is stated, that the Edomites allowed the Israelites to pass through their territory on the way to the promised land; whereas, it is distinctly affirmed in the book of Numbers (xx. 14–21), that they did not permit the passage. Interpreters have tried in vain to reconcile this discrepancy. The most plausible resort is that of Rosenmüller,[1] viz., that Seir is Dschebāl, a district east of Idumea, which the people may have been allowed to traverse. But this is inadmissible; for we know that they did *not* go through Dschebāl. Hengstenberg, after citing Leake in his preface to Burckhardt's travels, who writes, "the aforesaid people, who opposed with success the advance of the Israelites through their strongly fortified western boundary, were now alarmed when they saw they took a circuit, and had reached the unprotected boundary of the land," adds, "they now, therefore, made a virtue of necessity and tried to turn it to their advantage by the sale of the necessaries of life."[2] This solution is untenable because, while it is said in Numbers that "Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border," it is added, "wherefore *Israel turned away from him*" (xx. 21). Similar language occurs in Deut. ii. 8, "and when *we passed by from* our brethren, the children of Esau," etc. If the former words be incompatible with a passage through the Edomite land, the latter is the same. The Edomites' plan of making a virtue of necessity is a pure fiction. The Deuteronomist speaks much more mildly of them than the writer of Numbers.

Ex. xxiv. 9, states that Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy of the elders of Israel, saw the God of Israel. Mention is even made of His feet and His hands (10, 11). But in Deut. iv. 5, we read, "they saw no manner of similitude in the day the Lord spake to them in Horeb" out of the fire. This latter agrees with Ex. xxiv. 16, where the sight of the glory of the Lord is granted to Moses, as a special favour. Compare, however, John i. 18, "No man hath seen God at any time."

In Num. xiii. 16, Oshea first receives the name of Joshua; whereas the name already occurs in Ex. xvii. 9, xxiv. 13, xxxii. 17, and xxxiii. 11. Various methods have been adopted for the

[1] Scholia on Deut. ii. 29.
[2] Authentie des Pentat., vol. ii., pp. 285, 286.

purpose of removing this discrepancy, such as *prolepsis;* or that Moses merely *renewed* the name Joshua; or that in Num. xiii. 16, a statement is given of what had taken place a considerable time before. Hengstenberg, justly objecting to the first and second modes of solution, adopts the third, viz., "these are the names of the men whom Moses sent out to spy the land, and then (after he had at a former period borne the name Oshea) he called him Joshua." The artificiality of this explanation is sufficient to ensure its rejection.[1]

Again: It is impossible that Moses himself could have written Num. xvi., because two narratives of different occurrences are put together. Thus verses 1–11, 16–24, and 35, contain the earlier account written by the Elohist, detailing the rebellion of Korah, and a party of Levites, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, arising from the elevation of Aaron and his family to the dignity of priesthood. Moses commanded the company to assemble at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and by divine injunction separated himself from them; when a fire kindled by the Lord consumed Korah and his adherents. But his sons did not perish in the catastrophe. The other account, written by the Jehovist, relates to a different transaction, viz., the insurrection of the Reubenites, Dathan, Abiram, and On, against Moses. This is contained in xvi. 12–15 and 25–34. They rebelled against Moses' leadership. In company with the elders, Moses went to the tent of Dathan and Abiram, where the earth swallowed up the rebels with their tents. The redactor seems to have put these separate transactions together, as though they were identical. Hence in the first verse he puts Korah along with Abiram, Dathan, and On. The same is done in the twenty-fourth verse. No intelligible account of the events related can be made out without separating the two rebellions; neither could Moses have written them in their *present* state of confusion. They betray a much later date. A very cursory inspection shews this. In the nineteenth verse, Korah is represented as gathering all the congregation to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; while in the twenty-seventh, Korah appears at his own tent. Again, in the thirty-second verse, where it is intimated that Korah was devoured like Dathan and Abiram, there is opposition to xvii. 5 (Hebrew). Rosenmüller and others put the matter in such a light as that Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were swallowed up alive; while the two hundred and fifty men, belonging to Korah's faction, were consumed by fire. But this disagrees with the narrative before us; for we read in the thirty-second verse, "and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and *all the men that ap.*

[1] Authentie des Pent., vol. ii., p. 395.

pertained unto Korah, and all their goods," etc., *i.e.*, the two hundred and fifty men who bore censers and formed Korah's faction, were swallowed up alive. Yet it is said afterwards (35), "there came out a fire from the Lord, and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered incense." In whatever way the description be received, either by itself or along with the words of Ps. cvi. 16–18, there is confusion in it, which Keil's laboured attempt utterly fails to remove.[1] The minute coincidences of Blunt are far from shewing a good connection in the parts of the narrative. They do no more than illustrate a few points; and contribute nothing to the elucidation of the whole as a connected narrative.[2]

In Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 35, 47, the age of the Levites at their entrance on service, is fixed at thirty years of age; but in viii. 24 it is written, "this it is that belongeth unto the Levites; from twenty and five years old and upward, they shall go in to wait upon the service of the tabernacle of the congregation." Here is a contradiction which Hengstenberg does not remove. According to him, the fourth chapter relates solely to the service of the Levites *at* the tabernacle of the congregation—to their carrying it till the time when a fixed place should be chosen for Jehovah's habitation. The subject of the eighth chapter, again, is the service of the Levites *in* the tabernacle of the congregation; and as the greatest bodily strength was required for the first service, the greater age was enjoined. Other modes of harmonizing them, less probable in themselves, have been proposed by Kanne and Ranke. The record itself is adverse to them all. In the twenty-second verse of the eighth chapter, which immediately precedes the specification of the time of entrance on service, we read, "after that went the Levites in to do their service *in* the tabernacle of the congregation," etc. In iv. 3 also we read, "all that enter into the host, to do the work *in* the tabernacle of the congregation." Both phrases are exactly the same בְּאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד; and therefore it is perfectly gratuitous to translate the one *at* the tabernacle of the congregation, and not the other. Equally gratuitous is it to assume that the first five years were spent in learning before fully entering on the duties of office.

We will not say that these discrepancies, especially such of them as are reconcilable, *always* prove diversity of authorship. It would be unsafe to rely upon them as an indubitable mark of two or more writers. Other phenomena should accompany and corroborate them. *A piece proceeding from one and the same person* may exhibit discrepancy on account of the nature of its

[1] Einleitung, pp. 78, 79.

[2] Undesigned Coincidences, part i. 20.

sources and elements. But *the united* evidence of these contradictory passages goes far to discountenance unity of authorship.

XII. Another argument against Mosaic authorship is derived from the numerous repetitions observable in the legislative parts of the Pentateuch.

The same legal prescriptions are repeated in the section Ex. xxxiv. 17–26, compared with chapters xxi., xxiii., where the agreement is exact, often verbal, and the very connexion similar. "Thrice in the year shall all your men-children appear before the Lord God, the God of Israel. For I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning. The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk" (Ex. xxxiv. 23–26). "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leavened bread; neither shall the fat of my sacrifice remain until the morning. The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk" (Ex. xxiii. 17–19). It is unlikely that the same regulations should have been divinely commanded so soon after one another; and that Moses should have written them down in almost immediate succession.

In like manner, the contents of Lev. xx. are found in the eighteenth chapter very nearly in the same form. Surely Moses would not have repeated them so soon; especially as their order is not so good the second time. So also with respect to Ex. xxiii. 9: "Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." This is a repetition of xxii. 21: Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him: for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." The same thing appears in Ex. vi. 10–12, and 28–30. "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Go in, speak unto Pharaoh king of Egypt, that he let the children of Israel go out of his land. And Moses spake before the Lord, saying, Behold, the children of Israel have not hearkened unto me; how then shall Pharaoh hear me, who am of uncircumcised lips?" "And it came to pass on the day when the Lord spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt, that the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, I am the Lord: speak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I say unto thee. And Moses said before the

Lord, Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips, and how shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?" Ex. vi. 28, 29, and vii. 7.—"And it came to pass on the day when the Lord spake unto Moses in the land of Egypt, that the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, I am the Lord: speak thou unto Pharaoh king of Egypt all that I say unto thee." "And Moses was fourscore years old, and Aaron fourscore and three years old, when they spake unto Pharaoh." Here is a revelation of God to Moses commanding him to speak to Pharaoh. But the great lawgiver excuses himself on the plea that he is a man of uncircumcised lips, and is reluctant to execute his commission; whereupon his brother Aaron is constituted spokesman. The fourth chapter of Exodus contains the same thing. Yet the second narrative has not the slightest allusion to the first. It reads as if the revelation to Moses, his excuse, and the assurance given him relative to Aaron, were narrated for the first time. How could Moses have written thus?

In like manner, the putting to death of the wilful murderer is prescribed in Ex. xxi. 12, 14, Lev. xxiv. 17, 21, Num. xxxv. 30, 31; the stoning of wizards, Lev. xx. 27, Ex. xxii. 18; the redemption of the firstling of an ass, with a lamb, or the breaking of its neck, Ex. xiii. 11, xxxiv. 20; the keeping of the feasts three times a year, Ex. xxiii. 14, xxxiv. 23; making fringes in the borders of garments for a sign of remembrance, Deut. xxii. 12, Num. xv. 37; the killing of the sodomite, Ex. xxii. 19, Lev. xx. 15; of the adulterer, Lev. xx. 10, Deut. xxii. 22; of the curser of his parents, Lev. xx. 9, Ex. xxi. 17; the compensation for killing a beast, Lev. xxiv. 18, 21; the *jus talionis*, Ex. xxi. 23, Lev. xxiv. 20; religious prostitution is forbidden, Lev. xix. 29, Deut. xxiii. 17; so also the mixing of heterogeneous things, Lev. xix. 19, Deut. xxii. 5, 9, 10; the seething of a kid in its mother's milk, Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; committing adultery with a father's wife, Lev. xviii. 8, Deut. xxii. 30; wresting the judgment of the poor, Ex. xxiii. 6, Lev. xix. 15; circulating false reports to the injury of a neighbour, Ex. xxiii. 1, Lev. xix. 16; vexing a stranger, Ex. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9, Lev. xix. 33. The law against usury appears in Ex. xxii. 25, Lev. xxv. 35–37; that against eating blood, Lev. vii. 26, xvii. 10, etc.; that respecting slavery, Ex. xxi. 2–6, Lev. xxv. 39–41; the sabbatical year, Ex. xxiii. 10, etc., Lev. xxv. 3, 4. Of course the regulations respecting the principal feasts, Ex. xxiii. 14, etc., xxxiv. 23, Lev. xxiii.; *the passover*, Ex. xii 1–14 and xxiv. 27; *the unleavened bread*, Ex. xii. 15–20, xiii. 3–10; and *the firstborn*, Ex. xiii. 1–2, 11–16, xxii. 29, 30, xxxiv 19, are repeated.[1]

It is possible to explain such repetitions consistently with single authorship; but it is not probable. They are often unex-

[1] See Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii., p. 498, et seqq.

pected, generally giving no hint of the law having been previously mentioned, but standing independently.

XIII. Another argument militating against Mosaic authorship, is *the peculiar nature* of the legislations observable in the different books. A *primary* and *secondary* legislation may be distinguished; or in other words an original and later one. The former, in substance, proceeded from Moses; the latter was the development of a subsequent time. When we see the same laws appearing in the Pentateuch, more than once under different forms, the explanation of an earlier and later legislation immediately occurs to the mind. Accordingly, the original regulations are sometimes defined, or carried out into minute details; sometimes they are entirely remodelled. It is possible, indeed, that *successive laws* may have been given by Moses, from the first code at Sinai, till the time of his death in Moab; the legislation being supplemented, enlarged, modified, altered, as circumstances arose: and this is the view of those who ascribe the whole Pentateuch to him. But *the nature* of the repetitions must be taken into account. The forms in which prescriptions subsequently appear presuppose a later time and different circumstances in the national history. They are characterised by another development of the popular mind. Besides, it is derogatory to the divine perfections to suppose, as the advocates of the Mosaic authorship do, that Jehovah *spoke* to Moses, enacting such and such rules, and *some time after spoke* to him again, changing or rescinding what He had expressly appointed. In making enactments for His people, the Almighty Legislator could not have proceeded in this way, because He foresees the end as well as the beginning—even the most minute circumstances. He could not have legislated imperfectly, *in the direct way* He is represented by the literalists as pursuing. They understand the record, *he spake unto Moses*, in its baldest, strictest sense: in that case, He spake one thing *directly*, and afterwards spake the same thing *differently*—so differently *as sometimes to produce contradiction.*

"Thou mayest not eat within thy gates the tithe of thy corn, or of thy wine, or of thy oil, or of the firstlings of thy herd or of thy flock, etc., etc., but thou must eat them before the Lord thy God, in the place where the Lord thy God shall choose." (Deut. xii. 17, 18.)

"All the firstling males that come of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify unto the Lord thy God; thou shalt do no work with the firstling of thy bullock, nor shear the firstling of thy sheep. Thou shalt eat it before the Lord thy God, year by year, in the place which the Lord shall choose, thou and thy household." (xv. 19, 20).

But in Num. xviii. 18, the flesh of the first-born animals is assigned to the priests: "And the flesh of them shall be thine, as the wave-breast and as the right shoulder are thine."

Here is a contradiction which has been often noticed. According to Deuteronomy, the firstlings of beasts were to be appropriated to sacrifices and sacred feasts; but according to Numbers, they were allotted to the priests. Hengstenberg has attempted to reconcile it by means of the clause in Num. xviii. 18, "*as the wave-breast and as the right shoulder are thine.*" The blood and fat belonged to God (verse 17); and if we compare Lev. vii. 28, etc., we find that *the breast and right shoulder* were the priest's portion; but *all the other parts were retained and consumed by the Israelite.* Here the clause, "as the wave-breast and as the right shoulder are thine," is supposed to contain a limitation to this effect: *their flesh shall be thine as the parts of flesh that belong to the Lord in all remaining sacrifices of peace offering; it shall be thine only as far as the wave-breast and the right shoulder.*[1] We object to this, because the clause is made to bear an unnatural sense. The particle *as* is misinterpreted. Had the words been, "the flesh of them shall be thine *as far as* the wave-breast and the right shoulder," all would have been clear; but as they stand, the plain meaning is, "the whole flesh shall be thine *in the same manner as* the wave-breast and the right shoulder are thine." Those latter were confessedly the priest's, as was before explained in Leviticus; and it is now stated, that *the flesh* should be the priest's portion likewise. Surely *the whole flesh* is meant. The discrepancy is not solved by Hengstenberg; and when we affirm that none other has solved it, we state in effect that it is unmanageable.

"And six years thou shalt sow thy land and shalt gather in the fruits thereof. But the seventh year, thou shalt let it rest and lie still, that the poor of thy people may eat: and what they leave, the beasts of the field shall eat" (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11).

Here the two verbs שָׁמַט and נָטַשׁ mean, *to give up* and *leave.* The feminine suffix added to both refers to the nearest antecedent, תְּבוּאָתָהּ *i.e., the crop* or *produce* of the land, not to אַרְצֵךְ, *the land itself.* The crop of the seventh year was to be *given up* to the poor for their use. Thus it became *consecrated* as it were. The context shews that this is the true meaning. If on the seventh year *the land* was to rest untilled, how could that be "in order that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave, the beasts of the field shall eat"? Does this language suit the notion that *the spontaneous growth* of the

[1] Authentie des Pent. vol. ii. p. 406.

seventh year was its entire crop? Certainly not. The law simply enacts, that the whole crop should be given up to the poor, in the seventh year.[1]

"When ye come into the land which I give you, then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord. Six years thou shalt sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and gather in the fruit thereof. But in the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land; a sabbath for the Lord: thou shalt neither sow thy field nor prune thy vineyard. That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed; for it is a year of rest unto the land. And the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee. And for thy cattle, and for the beast that are in thy land, shall all the increase thereof be meat." (Lev. xxv. 2–7.)

According to this language, the *mere spontaneous growth* of the land in the seventh year was to be meat for all the inhabitants *as well as* for the cattle and the beasts. Nothing was to be sown in that year; nor was ought to be reaped. Not a word is said about the poor partaking of the crop; though in Exodus, the precept appears intended for their advantage. The institution was meant solely or chiefly for them. Here also the fact of *not sowing* on the seventh year is introduced; whereas, there is no hint of it in Exodus. If the land were not sown in the seventh year, there would be no crop in the eighth. That is a serious difficulty. The people would have to live three years on the produce of *one*. From the sixth year till the harvest of the ninth, they must subsist on the crops which had grown by cultivation on the sixth. How then does the writer meet such difficulties as this implied idleness of the people for so long a time, and the amazing fertility of the sixth year? It is evident that they did not wholly escape his attention; though it is likely they did so at first. His explanation is introduced, not at the very place where the sabbatical year is minutely described, but afterwards, shewing that he did not think of it at first; when he meets it by the provision, "And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? Behold we shall not sow nor gather in our increase; then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years. And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat yet of the old fruit until the ninth year; until her fruits come in ye shall eat of the old store" (Lev. xxv. 20–22). Here is the extempore provision

[1] See Hupfeld, De primitiva et vera temporum festorum et feriatorum apud Hebraeos ratione, etc. partic. iii., p. 9 et seqq.

occurring to the mind of the writer as an explanation of the difficulty.

Every reader is struck with the simplicity and naturalness of the old law in Ex. xxiii., which is evidently the original one; and with its alteration in Lev. xxv. Indeed the latter cannot be well harmonised with the former. It neither accords with reason nor with itself. What is meant by the statement in Lev. xxv. 6, "*the sabbath of the land shall be meat for you*, for thee and for thy servant," etc. etc.? How could the spontaneous growth of the seventh year serve for all the inhabitants, besides the cattle and the beasts? And how does this agree with the proposed solution of the difficulty, that the land should yield a threefold crop on the *sixth* year, by which the want of tillage on the seventh should be fully compensated?

The old law is essentially changed in Lev. xxv. It is distorted, chiefly from misunderstanding the suffix ה־, appended to the two verbs in Ex. xxiii. 11. If it be referred to the noun אַרְצְךָ, then the verbs themselves must have the meaning assigned to them in the English version. That incorrect sense of the eleventh verse arose in process of time; and therefore the verb שָׁבַת, is introduced into Lev. xxv. implying a *rest* of the land; a word unknown to the original law, and transferred from Ex. xxiii. 12, where *the rest of the seventh day* is spoken of.[1]

In Ex. xxxiv. 18–26, we find a repetition of the law contained in Ex. xxiii. 14–17. The latter runs thus: "Three times thou shalt keep a feast unto me in the year. Thou shalt keep the feast of unleavened bread: thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee, in the time appointed of the month Abib; for in it thou camest out from Egypt: and none shall appear before me empty. And the feast of harvest, the firstfruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in the field: and the feast of ingathering, which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field. Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God." The former runs thus: "The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, as I commanded thee in the time of the month Abib: for in the month Abib thou camest out from Egypt. All that openeth the matrix is mine; and every firstling among thy cattle, whether ox or sheep, that is male. But the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a lamb: and if thou redeem him not, then shalt thou break his neck. All the first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem. And none shall appear before me empty. Six days thou shalt work, but on the seventh day thou shalt

[1] See Hupfeld, De primitiva et vera, etc., p. 12, et seqq.

rest: in earing time and in harvest thou shalt rest. And thou shalt observe the feast of weeks, of the firstfruits of wheat harvest, and the feast of ingathering at the year's end. Thrice in the year shall all your men children appear before the Lord God, the God of Israel. For I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven; neither shall the sacrifice of the feast of the passover be left unto the morning. The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God."

The latter is not a mere repetition of the former, but the text is changed, interpolated, contracted, shewing a later *interpreter* rather than a *legislator*. This is particularly observable in xxxiv. 23, 24, compared with xxiii. 17. The latter, viz., "Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord God," exhibits the plain simplicity of the original law. But in Ex. xxxiv. 23, 24, besides the gloss of "the God of Israel," it is also subjoined, "For I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders: neither shall any man desire thy land, *when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year.*" This appendix sufficiently indicates that it did not belong to the author of the original law, but suggested itself to the mind of another, as obviating an inconvenience likely to occur.[1]

Here the reader should guard against the error of supposing, that the oldest laws and regulations are *necessarily* in the Elohist. They may be in the Jehovist; if we discover that the latter has embodied original prescriptions of Moses, or of some of his contemporaries *the scribes* (שֹׁטְרִים, Num. xi. 16) who were with him in the wilderness. The Elohist has *commonly* the older forms of the laws; not *invariably*. This can be proved from Ex. xxi. 1–xxiii. 19, which proceeded at first from the pen of Moses, as well as the ten commandments in Ex. xx.; though the hand of the Palestinian Jehovist is visible both in the style and occasional expressions, *ex. gr.* xx. 10. Thus the first-born sons were to be dedicated to the Lord (Ex. xxii. 28, Mosaic and Jehovistic); whereas in the Elohist they are to be redeemed (a later thing, Ex. xiii. 13; xxxiv. 20; Num. xviii. 15). In Ex. xxiii. 14–16, as well as xxxiv. 22, the beginning of the year is put in harvest; whereas the Elohist assigns it to spring (Ex. xii. 2), which is a more recent arrangement. In

[1] See Hupfeld Commentatio de primitiva et vera festorum apud Hebraeos ratione, Partic. i., 3 et seqq.

Ex. xx. 24, which is Jehovistic but older, it is enjoined that an altar should be built *of earth*, or if *of stones* that it should have no steps, lest the priests' nakedness might be seen. This implies that he wore no drawers. But in Ex. xxvii. 1, 2 (Elohistic), an altar is ordered to be made three cubits high, in ascending which the priests must have had steps and drawers (xxviii. 42).

"And Moses said unto the people, Remember this day in which ye came out from Egypt, out of the house of bondage; for by strength of hand the Lord brought you out from this place: there shall no leavened bread be eaten. This day came ye out in the month Abib. And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, which he sware unto thy fathers to give thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, that thou shalt keep this service in this month. Seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord. Unleavened bread shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy quarters. And thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt. And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth: for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt. Thou shalt therefore keep this ordinance in his season from year to year" (Ex. xiii. 3–10).

This passage contains the precepts relating to the feast of unleavened bread—a feast connected with the passover and instituted in memory of the deliverance from Egypt. Compare it with the following:

"Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread; even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses: for whosoever eateth leavened bread from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel. And in the first day there shall be an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall be an holy convocation to you; no manner of work shall be done in them, save that which every man must eat, that only may be done of you. And ye shall observe the feast of unleavened bread; for in this self-same day have I brought your armies out of the land of Egypt: therefore shall ye observe this day in your generations by an ordinance for ever. In the first month, in the fourteenth day of the month, at even, ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one-and-twentieth day of the month at even. Seven days shall there be no leaven found in

your houses: for whosoever eateth that which is leavened, even that soul shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether he be a stranger or born in the land. Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread" (xii. 15–20).

The advocates of the Mosaic authorship usually hold, that the last passage contains the primary law; and that the first is a repetition of it, with additions and variations. They believe, at least, that the original precepts are in xii. 15–20; the other being supplementary. But whoever examines them closely will see, that neither presents the primary and authentic form of the law.

It will be observed with regard to xii. 15–20, that the ceremony of unleavened bread is not called *a feast*, as in Ex. xiii., and elsewhere; it is only said that on the first day shall be *an holy convocation*, and on the seventh day *an holy convocation* also. But on the first day thus distinguished by a sabbatical rest, certain things quite alien from such rest are to be done, viz., leaven is to be put away out of the houses; unleavened bread is to be baked, after leaven is put away from the houses, whereas that bread must have been ready at the beginning of the day, on the evening of the fourteenth; since it was to be eaten at the even of the same day. Besides, we learn from the succeeding part of the chapter, that the paschal lamb was to be slain and eaten at the commencement of the same day; while the first-born of the Egyptians were being slain; and at day-break in the morning, the departure from Egypt took place (verse 17). It is not easy to see how all these things could happen on the sabbath; much less that so many of them should be crowded into the same hour—the commencement of the day. It is especially remarkable that the people are enjoined *to eat unleavened bread at even*. How could this be done unless it had been previously prepared; and unless leaven had been first removed from the houses, which was not removed till the first day? It is obvious that the precept relating to the time, in the fifteenth verse, is improperly inserted. All reads rightly if the words enclosed in brackets be omitted: "Seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread [even the first day ye shall put away leaven out of your houses; for whosoever eateth leavened bread, that soul shall be cut off from Israel] from the first day until the seventh day." Besides, the formula by which the whole law is enjoined to be perpetually observed, is improperly inserted in the middle of the eighteenth verse, so that the sixteenth and eighteenth are separated by it, viz., "for in this self-same day have I brought your armies out of the land of Egypt, therefore shall ye observe this day in your generations

by an ordinance for ever." It has been said, however, that this regulation was *prospectively* given respecting the commemoration of an event that had not yet happened. The people were not in a condition to do what was required, and therefore the precepts were not at present to be given to the people. The context says nothing of such *prospectiveness*. Not a hint on the point is given. On the contrary, all is related as if the seven days of unleavened bread commenced on the fourteenth day of the month; the precepts having been given *at the commencement* of the month. Kalisch however thinks, that the precept, though inserted here, had its origin in, and was given after, a later event. This is consistent with the verb in the seventeenth verse, "I have brought," etc., implying that the exodus was past; which verb is improperly rendered in the future by the LXX., Vulgate, and some modern critics. How Kalisch can say consistently, "that the precepts concerning the unleavened bread are systematically and logically connected with the other regulations and observances concerning passover," we are at a loss to perceive; because they are obviously out of place. The festival of unleavened bread has no natural connection with the passover. It is an independent rite; and is introduced into the thirteenth and twenty-third chapters, without any mention of the passover. Here the precept stands without its natural commencement, "And the Lord spake," etc. The verses that follow, viz., 21–28, relate solely to the passover, as if they immediately succeeded 1–14. Hence the passage we have been considering belongs to the end of the twelfth chapter; and the succeeding verse, xiii. 1, "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying," should be taken as its heading. We see that the description of the feast agrees well neither with itself, nor with the time and place assigned in the twelfth chapter. It cannot therefore be the primitive or authentic form of the law.[1]

With regard to the passage in xiii. 3–10, the feast of unleavened bread to which it refers occupies an improper place. It is inserted in the middle of a regulation respecting the consecration of the first-born, which it interrupts; the eleventh verse resuming the subject of xiii. 1, 2. The parts of the law itself do not cohere well. Thus in the end of the third verse, the clause, "there shall no leavened bread be eaten," is inserted in a specification relating to the day. There is also a sudden change of number at the fifth verse, where the singular is introduced; the plural appearing in the third and fourth verses. And Moses, not God, speaks at the commencement.

Common to both are the regulation respecting seven days:

[1] See Hupfeld's Commentatio de primitiva et vera festorum, etc. Partic. i., p. 11 et seqq.

the prohibition that leaven should not be eaten nor found in the houses; the cause of the feast—Jehovah's bringing them out of Egypt on that day, and therefore it should be perpetually observed; and that the seventh day should be a feast unto the Lord. Other points are more accurately determined and specified in the twelfth chapter; yet that fact does not make the passage in the twelfth briefer or less diffuse than the other. It even employs more words than its parallel.[1]

From these remarks it will appear, that xiii. 3–10, does not contain the primitive form of the law, any more than xii. 15–20. The latter is more like a supplementary repetition than the former; contrary to the order in which they occur. But let us take the two chapters as they now stand, and suppose that in the former (Ex. xii. 1–20) are given the fundamental laws which God communicated to Moses respecting the paschal lamb, its preparation, the manner of eating it, and the use of unleavened bread. The remainder of the chapter contains particular precepts connected with the same solemnities. In xiii. 3–10, the precepts respecting the unleavened bread are repeated. Why is this repetition, immediately after a full explanation of the institution? "The legislator," says Kalisch, "in order to impress the significance of the festival still more energetically, returns to it on different occasions anew, in order to give such additional prescriptions, as might be required for its most appropriate and acceptable celebration. However, none of these supplementary laws are superfluous additions, but essential injunctions, in perfect harmony with the primary law on passover."[2] This explanation is inapplicable to xiii. 3–10, which exhibits no additional prescriptions to that in the preceding chapter. On the contrary, the first passage contains, in one instance at least, more than the second, causing a discrepancy; for, whereas, it is stated in xii. 16, "in the first day there shall be an holy convocation, and in the seventh day there shall be an holy convocation to you"; all that is said in xiii. 6, is, "seven days thou shalt eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day shall be a feast to the Lord." The repetition before us—unaccountable on the hypothesis of one writer, especially if he were Moses—occurs in immediate connection with another, the law respecting the sanctification of the first-born. Compare xiii. 1, 2, with xiii. 11–16. But this latter may be explained on the assumption of the same writer.

Two other accounts of the feast of unleavened bread are in Ex. xxxiv. 18, and xxiii. 14, 15. The former is undoubtedly not the original rule. Compared with the latter, it appears a

[1] Hupfeld, ibid., p. 12 et seqq. [2] Commentary on Exodus, p. 135.

later type. The simplest and most ancient account of the law is that in Ex. xxiii. 14–15.

The variation of the account of the passover in Deut. xvi. 1–17, from the oldest plan of it in the twelfth chapter of Exodus, proves that both narratives could not have proceeded from the same writer. In "sacrificing the passover," the writer mentions both צֹאן and בָּקָר; though the latter is unsuited to the domestic character of the sacrifice as described in Ex. xii. According to the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh verses, the passover was to be killed in the place which the Lord should choose, to put his name there, *i.e.*, at the tabernacle, or the holy place in Jerusalem, the common sanctuary of the whole land. This is adverse to the original spirit of the solemnity, which was undoubtedly for domestic observance; and therefore every house was to be sprinkled with the blood of the victim—a thing to be done at home (Ex. xii. 7). The Deuteronomist has followed Lev. xvii., where it is prescribed that *all sacrifices* should be presented at the tabernacle; and after his own manner, follows out a prevailing idea of his time, or perhaps his own predilections, that all sacred rites belong to the public sanctuary and the ministry of the Levites—the private and domestic ones being extinguished in that character. But when the house was not first consecrated by the sprinkled blood of the victim, how could the paschal feast, eaten in the holy place, have its significant import to shew the sacred communion of the persons that partook of it? As a family institution, it would lose its original and proper force. The idea of such departure from the primitive plan, especially when we consider what numbers must have been prevented by various causes from repairing to the tabernacle, could not be sanctioned by one and the same writer. Besides, when the people returned to their homes in the morning (verse 7), how could the feast of unleavened bread be kept as a continuation of the paschal communion? In the third verse, it is enjoined that the people should eat unleavened bread *herewith*, *i.e.*, with the paschal sacrifices for seven days in succession; shewing that the victims slaughtered each day were not only devoted to sacrifice but consumed in social meals. In the first verse, the exodus is said to have been *at night;* by which means the passover appears to be confounded with the time of departure from Egypt, which was the next day. But perhaps the term *passover* there, may include both the paschal supper and the feast of unleavened bread. In the sixth verse, the writer must be interpreted as limiting the phrase "sacrificing the passover," to the lamb itself, which is consistent with the meaning of the seventh verse. According then to the express statement of verse 6, the victim was to be

slain at even, *at the going down of the sun;* which is identified with *the time of coming forth from Egypt.* The boiling of the paschal lamb is in the seventh verse; for בָּשַׁל means only to *boil*, never to *roast;* though Fürst (Lexicon, s. v.), following, as it would seem, the Lexicons of Parchon and Ben Saruk, gives it also the meaning of *roast* in pihel, quoting 2 Samuel xiii. 8, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13. This fact, expressly forbidden in Ex. xii. 9, shews how entirely the character of the institution is changed. The writer has made it a very different thing by transposing, altering, abridging, interpolating, confounding. Ex. xxxiv. 18, etc., seems to have been his chief guide. He has also used Ex. xii. and Lev. xxiii.[1]

We see from Lev. xxiii. 8, and Num. xxviii. 16–25, that sacrifices were offered every day of the feast of unleavened bread, in the name of the whole people. So far there is a departure from the primitive plan, in which the paschal supper and the feast of unleavened bread were distinct; nothing being mentioned of sacrifices during the seven days (Ex. xii.). We learn from 2 Chron. xxx. 24, xxxv. 7, etc., that great numbers of *oxen* were offered, when the passover was kept by Hezekiah and Josiah. Hence the Deuteronomist, living near those times, was led to use בָּקָר as well as צֹאן. But his way of writing is vague; for in one part of the description he appears to use *passover* in its restricted sense; in another, to extend it to the days of unleavened bread also.[2]

"Also in the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast unto the Lord seven days; on the first day shall be a sabbath, and on the eighth day shall be a sabbath. And ye shall take you on the first day the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook; and ye shall rejoice before the Lord your God seven days. And ye shall keep it a feast unto the Lord seven days in the year. It shall be a statute for ever in your generations: ye shall celebrate it in the seventh month. Ye shall dwell in booths seven days: all that are Israelites shall dwell in booths: that your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God" (Lev. xxiii. 39–44).

The introduction of this law at the present place is strange and unexpected. It begins as if nothing had been previously enacted on the same subject; whereas the 34–36 verses immediately preceding relate to it. The thirty-seventh and

[1] See Hupfeld, de primitiva et vera festorum apud Hebraeos ratione. Partic. ii. p. 20 et. seqq.

[2] Ibid. pp. 22, 23.

thirty-eighth verses appear as a natural conclusion to what goes before, after which no reader would expect a repetition of any of the regulations in the same chapter. Besides, the passage wants the usual commencement, "And the Lord spake." It begins with a particle אַךְ, which either corrects or defines. From all these particulars it is evident that the paragraph is foreign to the place it now occupies.[1]

The original of the feast of tabernacles appears in Ex. xxiii. 16, where we read: "The feast of ingathering which is in the end of the year, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field." This will be obvious to him who compares the original terms בְּאָסְפְּךָ אֶת מַעֲשֶׂיךָ מִן הַשָּׂדֶה. The cause of the feast lies in the most ancient name, *feast of ingathering* (חַג הָאָסִיף הַקָּצִיר); and may be detected in the word באספכם, in Lev. xxiii. 39. It was a joyous celebration of the ingathering of the fruits of the field, when the whole nation gave thanks for the completed process, and so consecrated the crops. The cause assigned in Lev. xxiii. 43, viz., as a commemoration of the journey through the Arabian wilderness, when the Israelites dwelt in booths, is unknown to Ex. xxiii. 16; as also the rites described in Lev. xxiii. 40–42. Thus the feast was turned aside from its original purpose. That the true or principal reason is not given in Lev. xxiii. 43, appears from the fact, that the Israelites did not dwell in booths in the desert, but in tents. How could booths keep alive the memory of this event? And especially, how could the carrying about of fruits and leaves, taken from a certain large tree, celebrate joyously the memory of a life full of hardship and misery—one inflicted on the people as a punishment for sin? In the Arabian desert, neither trees nor shrubs were abundant enough to furnish materials to so vast a multitude for the erection of booths; nor are booths ever mentioned in the course of the long journey through the wilderness, but always *tents*. The dwelling in booths as a part of the feast of tabernacles originated independently of the wilderness sojourning; and the idea of connecting it with that time and mode of life was a subsequent one. The custom was later and gradual—a Palestinian one—which came to be connected with the Arabian desert *commemoratively*. The original words of Lev. xxiii. 43, do not sanction Stanley's hypothesis that the feast commemorated *the booths of the first start*, not the tents of the wilderness;[2] on the contrary, their plain import is, that the habitation in booths was to commemorate the manner of life followed in the desert. When Knobel says that the sojourning of Israel in the wilderness in booths or

[1] Hupfeld, De primitiva et vera, etc., p. 6.

[2] Palestine, p. 529.

huts is to be *assumed*, though not elsewhere mentioned, and refers to Burckhardt for proof that they are used in the Sinai peninsula at the present day, he neglects the main point, viz., booths for so vast a number of people.[1] Though the feast of ingathering is placed in the "end of the year" (Ex. xxiii. 16), whereas in Lev. xxiii. it is put from the fifteenth to the twenty-first day of the seventh month, there is no real difficulty in harmonising both, if, "in the end of the year," be understood as simply meaning "after the end of the year."

These observations may suffice to shew, that Ex. xxiii. and Lev. xxiii. cannot have come from one writer. The latter contains a different account of the institution of the feast, in which the original purpose is scarcely seen.

It is not necessary to allude to the way in which the feast of tabernacles is usually treated. Two objects are assigned to it, viz., to perpetuate the memory of dwelling in booths in the wilderness; and also as *a feast of ingathering*, to rejoice and give thanks for the completed vintage and safely-stored fruits. Two heterogeneous things are blended in a very strange manner. Nor is another explanation much better, viz., that the two festivals, originally distinct, got to be regarded as one; the proper feast of ingathering being the *eighth* day, and the feast of tabernacles the *preceding seven*.

The Elohist mentions five festivals, at each of which there was a holy convocation, viz., the feast of unleavened bread, pentecost, tabernacles, seventh new moon, equivalent to the feast of trumpets, and the day of atonement, viz., the tenth of the seventh month (Lev. xxiii.). But this legislation was not or could not be carried out; and, therefore, the Jehovist, returning to an earlier legislation, speaks of no more than three yearly festivals, at which *all the males* were to appear before the Lord (Ex. xxiii., xxxiv.). The first and last days of the passover feast, according to the Elohist, were to be kept as a *sabbath* or *rest* (Lev. xxiii., Ex. xii. 1–28); according to the junior Elohist, only the seventh or last day (Ex. xiii. 3–10). In like manner it is arranged in the Elohist legislation that the first-born of unclean animals might be redeemed with money (Lev. xxvii. 27, Numb. xviii. 16); while in the junior Elohist and Jehovist they might be redeemed with a lamb, and killed, if not redeemed (Ex. xiii. 13, xxxiv. 20). As three festivals only are spoken of in Ex. xxiii., they were evidently the original and natural number, commemorative of spring, summer, and harvest; but the Elohist increasing them to five, gives them all a religious significance.

We dissent from Knobel, who thinks the Elohist left it

[1] See Exeget. Handbuch on Lev. xxiii. 43.

optional for persons to appear at these religious feasts, without requiring the assembling of the whole people.[1] It is true that the passover was to be kept by families in their houses, according to the Elohist (Ex. xii. 46); but it should be remembered that the paschal supper and the feast of unleavened bread were originally distinct institutions. What applies to the one should not be at once referred to the other; for the Elohist at least does not expressly unite them into one institution. Ex. xii. 16, shows that meeting together at the feast of unleavened bread was enjoined by law. We are aware that the Elohist's account of the festivals should not *at once* be considered the original one. Even in him they have been altered. But he has sometimes retained more of their original form than the Jehovist.

Again, in Ex. xxxiv. 11–27, the writer represents the basis of the covenant to be the religious laws revealed to him on the mountain, in addition to the decalogue. The rest, *i.e. the civil laws*, were revealed to Moses subsequently in the tabernacle. The legislator is also described as writing them down after the transaction relating to the golden calf. But in Ex. xxiv. 3–8, not merely *the religious* but *the civil* laws are laid at the basis of the covenant. And it is also said that Moses put them in writing before the golden calf was made. The times when Moses wrote the laws cannot be harmonised in both. The author followed different traditions or written sources.

XIV. Another argument against the Mosaic authorship is the unsuitableness of sections and paragraphs often observable in the Pentateuch. The defenders of the authenticity must range themselves into two classes: those who maintain the *successive* composition of the books in their present form, without final revision or arrangement in the latter days of Moses; and, such as assume a final revision towards the close of his life. Probably most belong to the former class; because they are better able to meet the arguments of those who maintain different compilers on the ground of repetitions, different accounts, scattered notices respecting the same things, and want of due arragement in the materials. These phenomena, say they, serve to show that the Pentateuch was written at first, as it purports to be, at different times, *pro re nata*, and in many different parcels which were afterwards united by the great legislator himself, their author. But the successive composition of the Pentateuch by Moses *in its present form* cannot be defended. Thus we read in Ex. xvi. 34, "As the Lord commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it (the pot of manna) before the Testi-

[1] Exodus und Leviticus erklärt, in the Exeget. Handbuch, p. 540.

mony, to be kept." The Testimony, *i.e. the tables of the law*, was not made till afterwards; and the account of these tables being laid in the ark of the covenant is in xl. 20. This notice, therefore, cannot have been recorded at the place and time spoken of. In consequence of such passages, and particularly the artistic composition, other critics refer the final revising of the Pentateuch to the last days of Moses. In doing so, they take the only tenable position as defenders of the Mosaic authorship. Let us therefore look at the state of the case. When we observe that the Pentateuch has occasionally the appearance and character of being fragmentary—that it exhibits various repetitions of laws and facts, and a considerable number of discrepancies—we are told by Palfrey that it was composed piece by piece, very much like a journal. Things were noted down as they occurred. But Hengstenberg, rejecting this hypothesis as inconsistent with the phenomena themselves, maintains that Moses was the final arranger and reviser in his latter days.[1] And is it conceivable, we ask, that he would have left the whole in its present form, had he made a final revision? Would he not have brought together *some* notices at least, relating to the same thing; as those in Ex. xvi. 33–35, and Numb. xi. 7, both describing the manna? Why was the former passage, which belongs to a later time, not introduced at the right place by Moses, when he finally digested the work? It is derogatory to the great lawgiver to suppose that he left the Pentateuch in its present form. If a late editor or redactor put various documents together, we can imagine the probability of his following them without seriously disturbing their order. He could not *extensively* disarrange the written materials before him. But surely Moses would never have allowed so great discrepancies, and even contradictions, to have remained. This reasoning is strengthened by an actual comparison of the repetitions, additions, modifications, and changes in institutions and facts. Indeed its force can be perceived only by bringing up in array a list of the phenomena themselves. Sometimes one part is badly connected with what precedes, and is no proper continuation of it, as Ex. iv. 19, "And the Lord said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt: for all the men are dead which sought thy life." The preceding context states that Moses had been already commanded by God to return, that he had already got Jethro's consent, and was therefore resolved to undertake the deliverance of his countrymen. Hence the nineteenth verse occupies an unsuitable place. In Numb. xvi. 3, we read, "And they gathered themselves together against Moses and against

[1] Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. p. 209.

Aaron, and said unto them," etc. This is spoken of Korah and his company. But in the preceding verse it is said, "They rose up before Moses, with certain of the children of Israel," etc. The third verse is no proper continuation of the second but betrays another writer.

Again, sections and passages appear foreign to the places they occupy, and might be taken away without the reader feeling the want of them. This is exemplified in Numb. xv. 17–21. The twenty-second verse follows the sixteenth more appropriately than the twenty-first. The last two verses of Numb. xvii. are also an appendix foreign to their context.

Other chapters disturb and do violence to the context because they break the thread of the narrative. An example occurs in Gen. xxxviii. In Lev. xxv. 18–22, there is a piece respecting the sabbatical year, which separates the twenty-third verse from the sixteenth and seventeenth verses to which it belongs, and mars the sequence.

Sometimes portions are not in their right place, being either too late or too early. In Gen. l. 12, 13, we read that Jacob's sons carried him into the land of Canaan, and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah; but this succeeds a narrative saying that his body had been already taken to Canaan (verses 10, 11). Gen. l. 12, 13, should follow xlix. 29–33. The passage is not put early enough. In Ex. xxxiii. 7–11, a piece stands too early. In Deut. iv. 45, there is a superfluous statement coming after the forty-fourth verse; and the forty-sixth connects with the forty-fourth. Occasionally concluding formulas are retained which should have been struck out when the pieces were put together, as in Lev. xxvi. 46, "These are the statutes and judgments and laws, which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses." Here the writer finished his account of the laws and statutes given at mount Sinai. But the next chapter proceeds to enumerate important statutes also made at Sinai. Hence the verse before us should have been expunged when the two chapters were put together. A similar example occurs in Numb. xxxvi. 13, "These are the commandments and the judgments, which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho." The passage implies that the last laws of Moses in the plains of Moab had been given. Yet in Deut. iv. 44, another law enacted at the same station is given. Hence this verse should have been expunged.[1]

But it is necessary to give other passages of the same ten-

[1] See Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 502.

dency as those now adduced, all showing that Moses himself did not arrange and revise the Pentateuch before his death. The narrative in the eighteenth chapter of Exodus is not in its proper place. It is too early for the arrival of Jethro here mentioned, which did not happen till the second year after the legislation, or after the erection of the tabernacle. The words of the twentieth verse point to the time *after* the Sinaitic legislation. ("And thou shalt teach them ordinances and laws, and shalt shew them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do.") In the fifth verse it is stated that Moses was encamped "by the mountain of God" or Horeb, not Rephidim. Besides, according to Num. x. 30, Jethro returned to his home only when the Israelites departed from Horeb; and the new arrangement he recommended did not take effect earlier than that departure. The reasons adduced by Kalisch for supposing that Jethro arrived even during the second month after the Exodus, are of no weight.[1] According to Abenesra, Rashbam, and Ranke, the eighteenth chapter of Exodus is out of chronological order, and contains an anticipation. But why this chronological anticipation, adapted as it is, to lead the reader astray? Nothing prevented the sacred writer from mentioning Jethro's arrival after Numb. x., since he did not come till after the legislation. It is idle to allege, with Rashbam and Ranke, that Moses did not wish to interrupt his account of the divine laws at Sinai by a human institution of Jethro's suggestion; since the narrative would have been exactly in place after the tenth chapter of Numbers, causing no interruption there. It is very improbable that Moses would have inserted it at Ex. xviii., or have left it there when he revised the Pentateuch. It was not unnatural for a later writer to have so put it.

Ex. vi. 14–27: "These be the heads of their fathers' houses: The sons of Reuben the firstborn of Israel; Hanoch, and Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi: these be the families of Reuben. And the sons of Simeon; Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul the son of a Canaanitish woman: these are the families of Simeon. And these are the names of the sons of Levi according to their generations; Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari: and the years of the life of Levi were an hundred thirty and seven years. The sons of Gershon; Libni, and Shimi, according to their families. And the sons of Kohath; Amram, and Izhar, and Hebron, and Uzziel: and the years of the life of Kohath were an hundred thirty and three years. And the sons of Merari; Mahali and Mushi: these are the families of Levi

[1] Commentary on Exodus, p. 235.

according to their generations. And Amram took him Jochebed his father's sister to wife; and she bare him Aaron and Moses: and the years of the life of Amram were an hundred and thirty and seven years. And the sons of Izhar; Korah, and Nepheg, and Zithri. And the sons of Uzziel; Mishael, and Elzaphan, and Zithri. And Aaron took him Elisheba, daughter of Amminadab, sister of Naashon, to wife; and she bare him Nadab, and Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. And the sons of Korah; Assir, and Elkanah, and Abiasaph: these are the families of the Korhites. And Eleazar Aaron's son took him one of the daughters of Putiel to wife; and she bare him Phinehas: these are the heads of the fathers of the Levites according to their families. These are that Aaron and Moses to whom the Lord said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt according to their armies. These are they which spake to Pharaoh king of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt: these are that Moses and Aaron."

This genealogy of Moses and Aaron occupies an improper and unnatural place. It had been already related how God revealed himself to Moses, and commissioned the two brothers to go to Pharaoh. Immediately after this genealogical section, the Lord again commanded Moses to speak to the king of Egypt. The two personages were not unknown to the reader. They had been already prominent in the history. Why then give their genealogy just at this place? One can only explain the fact by supposing that different documents were used; from one of which the genealogy was taken and inserted in its present place without much regard to naturalness of position. The list seems to have been a longer one which the writer abridged. The sons of Reuben and Simeon are given. Had it been intended merely to trace Moses' and Aaron's descent from Levi, several particulars were unnecessary. But it is evidently part of an older and longer genealogy relating to the posterity of Jacob's sons. It was not composed on this occasion for its present position; nor could Moses have written it here, because after it concludes with, "these are the heads of the fathers of the Levites according to their families" (verse 25), it is added by way of introduction to the history of Moses and Aaron which it interrupts, "these are that Aaron and Moses to whom the Lord said," etc. (verse 26); words shewing the hand of a later author.

In Gen. vii. 1–5, the connection is interrupted by the piece; for vii. 6 is connected with vi. 22. "Noah did according to all that God commanded him;" so says vi. 22. "And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the face of the earth" (vii. 6). Thus vii. 1–5 is inserted in the

parts of a connected narrative. Would Moses have done this? The insertion is a Jehovistic one.

The same remark applies to the old fragment in Ex. iv. 24–26, which could not have come from Moses, and disturbs the connection.

In Ex. xii. 43–49, we read, "And the Lord said unto Moses and Aaron, This is the ordinance of the passover: there shall no stranger eat thereof. But every man's servant that is bought for money, when thou hast circumcised him, then shall he eat thereof. In one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth aught of the flesh abroad out of the house; neither shall ye break a bone thereof. All the congregation of Israel shall keep it. And when a stranger shall sojourn with thee, and will keep the passover to the Lord, let all his males be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it; and he shall be as one that is born in the land: for no uncircumcised person shall eat thereof. One law shall be to him that is homeborn, and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you."

This supplement to the law of the passover occupies a place foreign to it. It is inserted after the Israelites are said to have come to their first station; and refers to the *Canaanite* condition of the people, not the *Egyptian*, as appears from mention of the stranger sojourning in the land and the hired servant. Our explanation is favoured by the introduction: "This is the ordinance of the passover;" which has no connection with the preceding, and no reference to a particular time. The stand-point is evidently taken from Canaan; and therefore the law in question was not promulgated previously to the exodus. Again, in Ex. xxi. 15, 16, 17, the fifteenth and seventeenth verses necessarily belong together; for both treat of injuries done to *parents*. They are separated by the sixteenth, which refers to *man-stealing*. Right arrangement, though easy, was not observed.

In Num. ix. 15–23, a statement is made respecting the cloudy pillar guiding the removings and encampings of the Israelites. But as the first removal of the tabernacle had not yet taken place, the passage must have been composed after the operations described in it had occurred. The language of it certainly suggests the idea that it was written by one *after the first removal* of the tabernacle. Some have thought it the interpolation of a later hand. If not, it is regarded as a natural preface to the author's record of the first movement which follows. We do not look upon it as a "natural preface" to what follows, nor agree with Knobel[1] that it stands in a suitable

[1] Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 39.

place here. On the contrary, the language is such as refers to *past* removals of the tabernacle; in which case it looks like an appendix to the succeeding narrative, and properly claiming a place after it. In consequence of the position it occupies, not less than the tenor of its statements, it seems to have been written after Moses; especially if Moses be the author of Ex. xl. 36–38. It is not probable that Moses would repeat *here* what is given *there;* particularly as it bears the character of an imitation and enlargement of what is briefly stated in Ex. xl. 36–38. This is confirmed by an expression in the twenty-third verse, from which it appears that the command to rest or journey was given *through Moses's instrumentality;* or, in other words, that it was he who regulated the appointed signal; "they kept the charge of the Lord at the commandment of the Lord *by the hand of Moses.*" In the corresponding passage of Exodus there is no hint of Moses's instrumentality; but the language seems rather to exclude it; "for the cloud of the Lord was upon the tabernacle by day, and fire was on it by night, *in the sight of all the house of Israel, throughout all their journeys*" (Ex. xii. 38). The conclusion we draw is, that Num. ix. 15–23, was not written by the author of Ex. xii. 34–38; and that it was of later origin than Moses himself. The position of it is certainly not so suitable or natural as that of the same statement in Exodus.

At the commencement of Num. ix., the first passover after the exodus is commanded to be kept. But the history had already advanced as far as the second month of the second year subsequently to the exodus. Hence it is usually supposed, that the writer now *reverts* to the first month of the second year. Accordingly ix. 1–14, must be prior to the census in Num. i. 2, etc. The reason why the author is thought to go back and describe the first passover is, that he intends the description to serve as an introduction to the record of the rule prescribed for such as were prevented from keeping the passover at the proper time. We do not perceive the appropriateness of this reason, because Num. ix. 6–14 might as suitably have belonged to ix. 1–5, in the latter's true chronological place as at the present one. There is not the least necessity for deferring ix. 1–5 because of ix. 6–14. Thus no perceptible *adequate* reason exists for inserting ix. 1–5, at the present part of the history, rather than in its own chronological situation, *i.e.*, before chapters i.–iv. It might be conceded perhaps, that this unchronological arrangement is not inconsistent with Mosaic authorship, did not serious difficulties interpose. The small number of available priests presents a formidable feature in the passover's celebration just at that time. There were but three priests, Aaron,

Eleazar, and Ithamar. Now according to Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6, all the passover lambs were to be slaughtered *at the tabernacle;* while the time allowed for sacrificing them was very short. The sprinkling of their blood too, judging from the analogy of other sacrifices, was to be performed by the priests. Reckoning the whole people at about two millions, and one lamb to every fifteen or twenty, we shall have the killing of one hundred thousand or one hundred and forty thousand lambs and the sprinkling of their blood upon the altar; for which neither the number of the priests, nor the time, could have sufficed.

To remove such difficulties it has been said, that Ex. xxiii. 17, where all males are commanded to appear before the Lord, and Deut. xvi. 2, 5, 6, expressly refer to the time when the Israelites should dwell in the cities of the promised land, scattered and remote from the sanctuary; and that 2 Chron. xxx. 16, xxxv. 11, where the blood of all the passover lambs is said to have been sprinkled by the priests on the altar, refer to the times of the last kings, before Judah's destruction. According to this, the practice of slaying the lambs at the sanctuary did not take place till after the occupation of Canaan; and the sprinkling of the blood by the priests later still.[1] Kurtz tries to show that Deut. xvi. does not contain any direction requiring the slaying of the lambs in the forecourt of the tabercacle; contending that *the city* or *the camp* is the place referred to, not the forecourt of the tabernacle, in which there was not sufficient space. In this he is correct. As to the sprinkling of the blood, which is said in Chronicles to have been done by the priest, he supposes it to be a later usage; and that at first every family had to attend to the matter. As all Israel was originally a nation of priests, till persons were selected and set apart to the office on behalf of the others, this function of sprinkling, which was properly a priestly one, was left at first to each household. We are not satisfied with this solution of the difficulty.[2]

"And *while the children of Israel were in the wilderness* they found a man that gathered sticks upon the sabbath day," etc. (Numbers xv. 32–36.)

Here there is a historical fragment interpolated in a context to which it bears no proper relation. It seems to have belonged to another connexion, whence it was transferred unaltered to its present place. *The manner in which it is introduced* shews that it was not written in Moses's time; for it presupposes that the Israelites were no longer in the wilderness. Neither Moses nor any of his contemporaries could have written it.

[1] See Kurtz's Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 342.
[2] Ibid. pp. 342, 343.

In Exodus xi. 1–3, there is an unsuitable fragment which interrupts the connexion. The command about the vessels of gold and silver has no immediate bearing on the succeeding verses; and the words of the third verse, "moreover the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in the sight of the people," could hardly have been written by Moses himself. The piece refers back to iii. 21, 22, and altogether disturbs the context. The advocates of Mosaic authorship call it a parenthetic insertion. Those who desire to see the arbitrary method by which it is forced to suit the context, may read Kalisch's note,[1] where he is obliged to translate the imperfect as a pluperfect, *and God had said to Moses* (וַיֹּאמֶר). The piece is Jehovistic, or rather, it has been taken by the Jehovist from some other narrative, and inserted in the present place.

In Deuteronomy xix. 1–13, mention is made by Moses of three cities of refuge to be separated by the Israelites in the territory east of Jordan, when they should obtain possession of it. It is added, that should Jehovah enlarge their coast, *three should be added*, i.e. three on the west of Jordan, making six in all. Let it be observed that this promise or command is said to have been given by Moses in the land of Moab, immediately before his death. But in Num. xxxv. 14, three cities of refuge on either side Jordan are mentioned at the same time,—six in all. Now the book of Numbers was prior to Deuteronomy. How then does it speak of six at once, without separating three from three by an interval of time; while Deuteronomy speaks only of three at first, to which three were to be added after Moses's death? The argument is plain that the same writer did not compose both books; or at least the passages respecting these cities.

Hengstenberg understands Deut. xix. 9, "then shalt thou add three cities more for thee, beside these three," as not meaning three in addition to the three mentioned in the preceding verses.[2] He thinks that the eighth and ninth verses contain no addition to the seventh, but only *an amplification of its contents*. An arbitrary assumption this. The beginning of the eighth verse is adverse to it. An unbiassed reader perceives that the Deuteronomist speaks only of three cities together; while the writer of Numbers speaks of six. Thus in Deut. iv. 41–44, it is said that Moses set apart on the east side of Jordan *three* cities of refuge. When the subject is resumed in Deut. xix., three are first spoken of to be selected on the east side of Jordan; and then, should the territory be enlarged, three

[1] Commentary on Exodus, pp. 130, 131.
[2] Authentie des Pentat., vol. ii. p. 441 et seqq.

additional ones are to be selected on the west side. The seventh verse is a repetition of the second, and cannot refer to the same three cities as those in the eighth and ninth; for the seventh (as explained by the second) relates to the east side of Jordan, but the eighth and ninth to the west side. The historical notice in iv. 41–44, can hardly be viewed in connection with chapter xix; it is apparently out of place, and was not written by the Deuteronomist.

Again, in Ex. xxxiii. 7 we read that Moses took the tent and pitched it outside the camp, at a distance, calling it the *tabernacle of the congregation.* But the tabernacle was not yet constructed; its erection not being described till the last chapter of the book. Here again the natural order is disturbed. A thing is supposed to be made and used whose minute construction is not detailed till a later part of the narrative. The Elohist's account of it was omitted because of the Jehovist's copious description. We know how endeavours have been made to explain this otherwise; some supposing that a certain *portable* sacred tent, which the Israelites possessed as an inheritance from the age of the patriarchs, is meant; others, that *Moses's own tent,* which he now placed without the camp, is intended; others still, that a tent set up for the first time where God's faithful people should assemble, or one which had been already in use as a place for meetings without the camp, is what the writer had in his mind. A comparison of xxxiii. 7 with xxix. 42–44, shews that *the tabernacle only* is intended.[1] The phrase applied to this tent and to that usually designated *the tabernacle* is exactly the same, i.e., *the tent of meeting.* And besides, the article is prefixed in xxxiii. 7, *the tent* or tabernacle, equivalent to *the well-known tent.* At this first mention of the tent, supposing it not to have been *the tabernacle* properly so called, the article would scarcely have been used; and had it been his *own* tent, surely a pronoun would have marked the fact, *his* tent. Here therefore is another example of irregular order, showing that Moses himself did not compose all this portion of Exodus as it is; because Ex. xxxiii. 7 does not agree well with xl. 17, etc. The former is Jehovistic, the latter Elohistic. We have reasoned on the supposition that *the tent of meeting* in xxxiii. 7–11, means *the tabernacle,* not a tent *provisional* or *preparatory* to the tabernacle proper. If the latter interpretation were correct, it would not remove the difficulty or weaken our argument; for in that case, between the copious regulations given for the erection of the tabernacle (Ex. xxv.-xxxi.), and the account of their being carried into effect in its erection (xxxvi, etc.),

[1] See Bunsen's Bibelwerk, note on Exodus xxxiii. 7.

would be introduced the account of a *temporary* tent, without the reference it bore to the future *sanctuary;* or without a hint of it in the divine command to erect *such* a *sanctuary.* In that case the section xxxiii. 7–11, stands solitary and disconnected. It is placed too late, and should precede the twenty-fifth chapter. By its unchronological position great obscurity is introduced, and the meaning of what is called *the tent of meeting* is rendered difficult. There is no proper analogy between the circumstances in which the erection of Solomon's temple is recorded, and those of the tabernacle's construction. Palfrey's reasoning therefore from the one to the other is out of place.[1] The first localisation of Jehovah's worship, and the mere transition from the outward and familiar symbol of that localisation, are different things. The erection of an abode for the Almighty, implying that He had promised to dwell henceforward among His people was *a new thing,* as recorded in Exodus. It was also of great importance; as the elaborate detail with which it is described may convince us. God had not communed with His servants before, as He was about to do *now.* It was necessary now *for the first time* to have a fixed and visible centre of monotheism to keep the idea of one God alive in the minds of the people. But when the tabernacle was exchanged for the temple—the portable for the settled—no peculiar importance could attach to the mere difference of building. Hence the description would naturally be different. Minute repetition was then unnecessary. Besides, it is not denied that the Jehovist and Elohist used written documents occasionally, some of which may have been either contemporaneous with the events recorded, or immediately after them.

In opposition to the reasoning founded on *all the passages* now referred to, Palfrey adduces the manner in which the tabernacle and its erection are described in Exodus: "I have before proposed the question," says he, "how, if the author of the book of Exodus had written while the tabernacle stood in its completeness, or at a time when memory, or tradition, or history, retained the record of its appearance, it is natural to suppose, that he would have described that structure. I will not venture to reply that he would certainly have contented himself with merely delineating the proportions, and descanting on the effect of the one finished whole; that he would have stopped short in a picturesque description. What he might have done, and the very extent, I think, of what is supposable he would have done, is indicated to us in the account usually given by a writer so circumstanced, of Solomon's temple. That operation too, is

[1] Academical Lectures, etc., vol. i. p. 230, *et seq.*

regarded by its narrator with the utmost interest, and accordingly, he records every step and method of it with great particularity. But he records them only once. How different the account in Exodus; and how difficult to conceive that it should have proceeded from any writer except one circumstanced as Moses is described to have been. Before any thing had been done towards the building of the tabernacle—while all in relation to it was future—minute directions respecting that edifice are conveyed to him. All of them were important; and that no one might be lost from his memory, or misunderstood, he records them successively as they are given. The record is at length completed, and is preserved in its finished state in what are now, according to our division, the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh chapters of Exodus. Next, its contents are communicated to the artisans, and the work is begun. Another subject of interest now occurs. It is the correspondence of the work as it proceeds, with the directions which have been given relating to its several parts. These parts are successively brought to Moses, as they are finished; and as they are brought, they are, for greater exactness and security, compared with the directions for them, and a note of their correspondence, in all particulars, with those directions, is made. Thus grows up an inventory of the tabernacle and its furniture, which, in its terms, is little more than a repetition of the original orders, and which we have in its complete state, in the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh chapters. Under the circumstances in which Moses is represented to have been, it was the most natural thing possible that he should thus record his directions, and then record, severally, successively and circumstantially, the manner of their execution. But who can conceive of the state of a mind which, in a later age, would produce a composition in such a form?"[1]

This reasoning is plausible and apparently conclusive. Stated generally, it seems unexceptionable. But when narrowly inspected, it is by no means invulnerable. Is it true, that the order is so natural as the writer represents? Look at the description of the tabernacle and its furniture as contained in the directions received by Moses. Why are the altar of incense and brazen laver not described in the twenty-sixth chapter? Would not that arrangement be more regular? Kalisch himself admits that the account of the former at least would be in a better place at the thirty-fifth verse of that chapter;[2] while Palfrey says, that they belong to the class of improvements on the original plan, and were the subject of subsequent directions

[1] Academical Lectures, etc. vol. i. pp. 230, 231.
[2] Commentary on Exodus, p. 393.

on that account.[1] But this is quite inadmissible, because Moses was still in the mount, receiving instructions from God respecting the tabernacle. The time when all the directions were given was the same—the forty days' and nights' stay of Moses on the mount. And is it conceivable, that the Almighty would have improved on his original plan within that time? Certainly not. We infer therefore that the writer or writers have put the directions regarding these two parts of the tabernacle differently from their original position. The regulation respecting the preparation and arrangement of the shew-bread in Lev. xxiv. 5–9, is out of place. It properly belongs to the copious directions relating to the erection of the tabernacle (Ex. xxv.–xxxi.). The brief manner in which it is there alluded to ("and thou shalt set upon the table shewbread before me alway," Ex. xxv. 30), implies that it was a thing well known. Here it is described too late.

XV. The authorship of Moses implies the literal truth of the history, especially the portion that narrates events with which he was personally concerned. Hence all who suppose him to be the writer maintain the *historical accuracy* of every narrative. But we shall see that legendary and traditional elements belong to them. This conclusion arises from the insuperable difficulties and inconsistencies of the history; and shews that Moses could not have been the author.

"When the two or three millions of Israelites left Egypt they were accompanied by 'a mixed multitude who went along with them, and flocks and herds, even an abundance of cattle.' Yet this immense body is represented as having been collected, arrayed, and put in motion in a single day, in consequence of a hasty command of Pharaoh given in the preceding night. In what time could this nation of men, women, and children, with all their sick and aged, with their domestic animals, and necessary baggage, have defiled in the face of an enemy through the Red Sea? According to the history it was done in a single night."[2] Again, "We find the Israelites represented as leaving the country in such haste, 'that they took their unleavened dough in their kneading-vessels, wrapped up in their garments, upon their shoulders;' and during their first day's journey 'baked unleavened cakes of dough,' for they were thrust out of Egypt, and could not tarry; nor had they prepared for themselves any provisions. As we have before remarked, however, they carried with them 'flocks and herds, even an abundance of cattle;' and they carried them into the desert which borders the

[1] Academical Lectures, etc., p. 209, note †

[2] See Norton on the Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. ii. pp. cxiii. cxiv., additional notes.

Red Sea, to the west, where no supply of herbage was to be found for their subsistence. Crossing the Red Sea, they commenced their march toward mount Sinai, through a region of frightful sterility. In this desert they journeyed for three days without water, and, as would appear from the preceding account, without food. At the end of the third day they were furnished with sweet water by a miracle. What number had perished in the mean time is not told. During their whole journeying and residence along the coast of the Red Sea and in the desert of Sinai, where water for a few travellers is often difficult to be procured, we read of their having a miraculous supply only in one other instance. Their sufferings from hunger, we are told, were great before their arrival at Sinai, and quails and manna were miraculously provided for their support. Their cattle of course had perished, or had been killed. The manna was continued for the whole forty years of their journeyings till they came 'to an inhabited land.' Yet before quitting their encampment around Sinai, they are again described as having an abundance of cattle for sacrifices, and of lambs for the passover, flour, oil, and wine, and a profusion of spices. Departing from mount Sinai to march 'through a great and terrible wilderness,' the people complained and wept, saying, 'Who will give us flesh to eat,' and were again miraculously supplied with quails. After this their sufferings from want of water return; but their cattle are still alive, for they thus expostulate with Moses and Aaron: 'Why have ye brought the people of God into this wilderness, where both ourselves and our cattle must die?' Thus the whole nation of the Israelites, and not these only, but 'a mixed multitude who went with them,' are represented as remaining forty years in deserts, where they must have perished but for a constant miraculous supply of food; and as having at the same time herds of cattle, which, in their longings after flesh, they refrained from eating. The food of their cattle must also have been furnished by some astonishing miracle, of which the historian has supplied no account. Equally for men and beasts an uninterrupted miraculous supply of water was necessary; but the supposition that such an uninterrupted miraculous supply was afforded is precluded by the circumstance that four particular cases are specified in which it was given."[1]

The immense wealth possessed by the people while they encamped at Sinai, in gold, silver, brass, precious stones, fine linen, aromatic spices, and other articles of luxury is incredible. "Nor is any explanation to be given why the Israelites who

[1] Norton on the Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. ii. p. cxvi., et seqq.

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were removing such a profusion of articles of luxury into the desert, and who consequently had provided means for the conveyance of them, should have borne away, in the hurry of their departure, their yet unleavened dough in the kneading vessels upon their shoulders, and should have had no opportunity to provide any store of provision for their own sustenance. If the Israelites possessed all those articles in the desert, they had, as I have said, means of transporting them. But such does not appear to have been the case. The camel is the only beast of burden which could have been used, and there is no mention of their possessing camels."[1]

Again, at the census taken when the Israelites were about to leave the region of mount Sinai, the number of fighting men was 603,550 (Num. ii.). But in Deut. vii., the Israelite nation is described "as the fewest of all the people;" and the seven nations then inhabiting Canaan are to be put out "by little and little," not at once, "lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee." Surely an army of six hundred thousand fighting men could not have been afraid of the wild beasts of Canaan, or of the seven nations which then occupied it. And how could such a host have defiled seven times in one day, round the walls of Jericho; or been stricken with fear at the repulse of three thousand men before Ai? The book of Joshua leads us to infer that the nations of Canaan were more warlike and numerous than the force invading them. If it be said, that the Israelites had been thinned in the wilderness by various causes—that the new race which had sprung up there instead of the old, were inferior in numbers—this is refuted by the census taken towards the end of the forty years (Num. xxvi.), shewing a decrease of no more than 1820 persons; and by the fact, that the frames of the new race had been invigorated both by the free air of the desert and the hardy habits of the wandering Arab.

In Ex. i. 15, we read, that the Egyptian king spoke to the Hebrew midwives to kill the Hebrew male children as soon as born, but to spare the females. This statement could not have proceeded from Moses himself, because it is all but certain that the midwives were *Egyptians* not Hebrews. Pharaoh would scarcely have entrusted the execution of a command on which he thought the safety of the kingdom depended, to such hands. The names *Shiphrah* and *Puah* are Egyptian, not Hebrew;[2] and Josephus affirms[3] that the midwives were women of Egypt. It has been said, indeed, that the construction makes it doubtful whether Egyptian or Israelitish women are meant, a just translation being, "spake to those who made or aided the Hebrew

[1] Norton on the Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, vol. ii. p. cxx.
[2] See Bunsen's Bibelwerk on Exodus, i. 15. [3] Antiqq. Book II. chap. ix. 2.

women to bring forth;" but this rendering is contrary to the Hebrew.

In like manner the wrong etymology of the name Moses points to another writer than Moses himself (Ex. ii. 10). It is here derived from מָשָׁה, *to draw out.* If the signification be passive we should expect נִמְשֶׁה, unless it be taken as the *poal* participle and differently pointed. In any case the daughter of Pharaoh would have given the child an Egyptian name. מֹשֶׁה is unquestionably Egyptian,[1] and is so explained by Josephus, but incorrectly as consisting of two words.

These arguments might be multiplied. Indeed it is only necessary to examine the history as it lies before us, to find in it a mythological, traditional, and exaggerated element, forbidding the literal acceptation of the whole. The character of Pharaoh under the circumstances detailed; the ten miraculous plagues which spared the Israelites while they fell upon the Egyptians; the dramatic mode in which it is narrated how Moses and Aaron presented themselves before Pharaoh; and the crowd of extraordinary interpositions of Jehovah on behalf of the people as they journeyed through the wilderness, shew the influence of later traditions on the narrative, in dressing it out with fabulous traits. The laws of nature are unchangeable. God does not *directly* and *suddenly* interfere with them on behalf of his creatures; neither does he *so palpably* or *constantly* intermeddle with men's little concerns. The entire history is cast in the mould of a post-Mosaic age unconscious of critical consistency and investing ancestral times with undue importance. The data furnished by the books themselves are sufficient for a satisfactory solution of the problem respecting Mosaic authorship.

XVI. There is no important difference between the language of the Pentateuch and that of the other books written shortly before the return of the Israelites from captivity in Babylon. But if, as Gesenius remarks, "there was an interval of nearly a thousand years between these writings, as there must have been on the supposition that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, a phenomenon would be presented to which nothing in the whole history of language is parallel, namely, that the living language of a people and the circle of their ideas should remain unaltered for so long a time."[2] Nay more, if Moses wrote the whole Pentateuch, he must have created the *historical-epic*, the *prophetic*, and the *rhetorical* styles, which are all perceptible.

In answer to this, we are referred to a parallel in the old Syriac version or Peshito of the second century, A.D., which is

[1] See Bunsen in Bibelwerk on Exodus ii. 10.
[2] Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift. § 8.

essentially the same in diction as the Syriac Chronicon of Abulfaragius of the thirteenth century.[1] But the analogy is vitiated by the fact that the Syriac was gradually dying away after the Arabian conquest; and was therefore incapable of receiving new forms and flexions. The stock of words in both is palpably different.[2] It is also affirmed that the Arabic of the Koran differs but slightly from that of the Arabian writers from the tenth down to the eighteenth century.[3] Those acquainted with Arabic literature know that the reverse is the fact. The written Arabic of nine or ten hundred years after is very different from that of the Koran. It has also been alleged that the late Dr. Marshman translated into English the great work of Confucius the celebrated Chinese philosopher who lived more than five centuries before the Christian era; and after diligently consulting the principal commentaries on the work of Confucius, he assures us that the latter, written fifteen hundred and more years after the time of Confucius, are altogether of the same type of language which the work of that philosopher exhibits.[4] Here all depends on what is understood by the *same type* of language. If Marshman meant that the Chinese language fifteen hundred years later than Confucius did not differ considerably from his, he must have been mistaken. The very fact of commentators explaining Confucius's works shews that the Chinese presented a development similar to that of other tongues. Many terms used by the great philosopher became unintelligible or obscure in the progress of time. Hence commentators undertook to explain them to their contemporaries. We believe, however, that Marshman did not intend this. His meaning has been probably misapprehended. We have sought in vain for the statement referred to; which Stuart ought to have given in the missionary's own words.

We do not say that there are no diversities of language between the Pentateuch and later books; but that the differences are such as disagree with the fact of a thousand or nine hundred years' interval. When archaisms are adduced by Jahn[5] and Keil,[6] along with a great number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα and rare words, for the purpose of shewing diversity, nothing is gained. We say so in the face of Stuart's language: "Enough is already done (by Jahn) to put the question for ever at rest, about the uniformity of the language of the Pentateuch, and that of later

[1] Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon (ed. Davidson) p. 13. Jahn, Einleit. i. p. 266.
[2] Gesenius's Geschichte der Heb. Sprache und Schrift, p. 20.
[3] Stuart, Critical History and Defence, etc.
[4] Ibid.
[5] In Bengel's Archiv. für die Theologie, vol. ii. and iii.
[6] Lehrbuch, p. 33, et seqq.

books. The labour of Jahn is one of those triumphant efforts which patient and long continued investigation sometimes makes, to overthrow theories which the love of novelty, reasoning *à priori*, or superficial investigation, ventures upon."[1] Such language is extravagant and absurd. Besides, why should הוּא, feminine in the Pentateuch, or נַעַר for נַעֲרָה, or הָאֵל for הָאֱלֹהָה be pronounced archaisms? Are they not rather *idioms*, or isolated peculiarities of *style?* How do *they* affect the *grammatical* identity of the language in the Pentateuch with that of Hebrew works belonging to the classical epoch? Does not the feminine form הִיא, occur eleven times in the Pentateuch; while נַעֲרָה occurs seven times? If the הוּא and נַעַר feminine be really antique, none denies that old materials and expressions were employed by the writers. It is illogical, however, to found upon them an argument in favour of Mosaic authorship. It is too late as well as absurd for Stuart to say of Jahn's Essays in Bengel's Archiv. (II. and III.) that they "demonstrate the point in question [the archaic and very different language of the Pentateuch, compared with that in later books in the Hebrew] beyond appeal;" because Hävernick himself had previously pronounced them *very uncritical.* Nor is it of any avail in Hävernick,[2] who in this respect and others has been followed by Keil, to collect a number of peculiar words phrases and forms which seldom or never occur elsewhere, in order to separate the Mosaic from the post-Mosaic age. It should be recollected, that the Pentateuch contains about a fourth part of the Bible; and that we might gather out of *any other part of equal extent* as many ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, singular forms, or peculiar terms—as many word-forms equally entitled to the name of archaisms. It should also be remembered, that the Pentateuch speaks of many things and relations unnoticed in the other books. Nothing is proved by the list of forms peculiar to the Pentateuch, except that Moses wrote portions; and that these obtained a sort of sanctity which gave their diction some permanence. Later writers may have proceeded in part on the model of his *usus loquendi.* The whole argument as conducted by Keil is fallacious; for there are as many peculiar grammatical forms in the same compass elsewhere, as in the Pentateuch. The Mosaic books are not *distinguished* by their archaic forms or by their singular and rare words. All the difference observable lies in a more poetical mode of narration. The prose approaches the temperament of poetry.

[1] American Biblical Repository, 1832, p. 699.
[2] Einleitung I. 1. p. 182 et seqq.

It has a rythm and force which shew greater power of imagination. This trait however belongs only to certain sections, which acquire from it a peculiar stamp and are as different from others in the Pentateuch itself as they are from later books. A purely linguistic development, grammatical or lexical, does not make them what they are. As belonging to the older period of literary activity when writers impregnated their style with greater individuality, bodying forth traditional ideas with the force which an age more habituated to composition frequently fails to present, they acquire a poetical complexion. If there are varieties in the departments of literary activity, the phenomena in question arose out of them. The verdict of every competent critic unquestionably is, that the Hebrew language appears substantially in the same state of cultivation in the Mosaic books as it afterwards attained in the times of David and Isaiah; though it be allowed that a few older words and forms have been retained out of the fragments of antiquity which the writers had before them; especially as fragments themselves may be detected scattered throughout. With this deduction, which is all that any scholar can legitimately claim, the general proposition is impregnable. The attempt of Keil to neutralise the truth of it by collecting, after Hävernick, a number of words occurring in the Pentateuch which appear seldom or never in other books, is wholly ineffectual, evincing a singular want of perception as well as misapprehension of the genius of the language.[1] Thus such words as גָּחוֹן, *the belly* of reptiles (in Gen. iii. 14; Levit. xi. 42), are adduced to characterise the Pentateuchal diction as distinguished from that of the David-Solomonic period. The German critic however, is careful not to designate his list as made up of *archaisms*; unlike his follower Macdonald[2] who puts all the expressions and phrases under that head, with a reckless ignorance only paralleled by the epithets he applies to scholars of whom he should speak with modesty.

It has been asserted again and again, that the Israelites were precluded by their laws, religion, and customs, from intercourse with the surrounding nations. "They saw little of strangers abroad, and very few foreigners resided among them. They knew little of the arts and sciences, and certainly made no advances in them. What was there then to operate in the way of producing many and important changes in their language? There was nothing like to that which produces changes of this nature at the present day among the nations of the

[1] Einleitung, p. 32 et seqq.
[2] Introduction to the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 300 et seqq.

west."[1] All this is opposed to facts. The history of the Israelites shews plainly enough that various nations exercised considerable influence over them, such as the Phenicians, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Syrians and Assyrians, as well as the old inhabitants of the country. From the latter, who were in a more advanced state of civilization, they learned much of the arts and sciences. A living language cannot be a stationary thing, independent of all influence from without.

XVII. Having shewn that the present Pentateuch did not proceed from Moses, the question arises, did he compose any of it at first? Did he write none of the laws recorded or events described? If he did not, the case is simple. If he did, how can they be distinguished at this interval of time; especially as they have passed through other hands and may not retain their original form? Does the Pentateuch itself furnish any evidence of Mosaic authorship?

We shall first examine the places in which Moses is *expressly said* to have written something. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven" (Ex. xvii. 14). The Hebrew is בַּסֵּפֶר in *the* book, i e. a particular book; the whole Pentateuch, as Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, and Hävernick argue. It is unsafe to build such an argument on mere punctuation; for the word might as well be בְּסֵפֶר, *in a book*. This latter is favoured by the LXX. ἐν βιβλίῳ. Besidês, the expression כָּתַב בַּסֵּפֶר, is used elsewhere of writing *in a book* without implying that the writing became part of a larger work already existing (1 Sam. x. 25; Esther ix. 32; Jer. xxxii. 10). The very specification of Moses's writing the occurrences in question is hardly consistent with the fact of his composing the entire history of the Israelites' march through the wilderness, into which this particular portion was taken.[2] The passage states that Moses composed a monograph respecting the destruction of Amalek.

"And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord, and rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill," etc. (Ex. xxiv. 4.) "And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people" (verse 7). "And the Lord said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel. . . . . And he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments" (Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28). In this last

[1] Stuart, in Critical History and Defence of Old Testament Canon, p. 13 (ed. Davidson.)

[2] See Bleek's Einleiting in das alte Testament, pp. 278, 279.

passage it cannot be assumed that Moses wrote what the context seems to refer to, in a book—the book of the law. The thirty-fourth chapter is obscure and apparently confused. If Moses wrote the substance of chapters xxi–xxiii., he could not have been the author of the precepts in xxxiv., which are repetitions of the preceding. The peculiar nature of this thirty-fourth chapter, its internal improbabilities, and un-Mosaic character have been pointed out by Bleek.

"And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the Lord," etc. (Num. xxxiii. 2.) This passage states that Moses composed an itinerary of the Israelitish encampments in the desert (Num. xxxiii. 1–49) at first.

The art of writing was certainly known in the time of Moses, and therefore we may unhesitatingly assign any portion to him for which the evidence to that effect is sufficient. In Egypt the invention had long preceded him; in Canaan the ancient name of Debir, viz., Kirjath-sepher (book-town) proves its early existence. Now as some parts are expressly assigned to Mosaic authorship, we may either infer that all besides did not proceed from him; or, that as much more should be reckoned his, as internal evidence does not repudiate. Both canons have been promulgated and followed by different critics; and it is exceedingly difficult to decide between them. In favour of the former is the presumption, that the very fact of specifying some things as written by Moses, implies his non-authorship of all besides: for the latter, there is an amount of internal evidence which cannot be ignored. The true method appears to be to examine every section and paragraph independently of any canon; relying upon internal testimony rather than specification of authorship, or the contrary. Let us now try to find out the parts which probably proceeded from the lawgiver himself.

No part of the book of Genesis seems to belong to Moses. Nor is he cited in it as the writer of any portion. This is what we might naturally expect, since he was a *lawgiver* not a *historian*. The Jews always speak of him in the *former* capacity, not the latter. Accordingly we must look for evidence of his authorship among *the laws*, not in *the historical* sections. Here a variety of particulars demand attention. The manner in which ordinances are conceived, the form in which they are expressed, the existing relations to which the writer had respect consciously or unconsciously, their adaptation to the life of the Israelites in the desert where they lodged together in tents; these and the like will largely determine the age of laws; shewing that they were either written down by Moses himself

or some contemporary. But, if it be found that they are conceived and expressed in a form unsuited to the place and circumstances in which Moses was; that the condition of things they refer to and which determines their character did not then exist; that they could only be carried out by people dwelling in houses and cities, they must be referred to a period later than the Mosaic. Or again, laws may be of a mixed character as they stand at present in the Pentateuch. A genuine Mosaic nucleus may be detected, round which later additions have gathered, or into which modifications have been introduced, evincing the work of a later writer living amid circumstances to which the laws in their original state were inapplicable. Here we must not be tempted by some later peculiarities, to deny Mosaic authorship altogether. The whole process of sifting the legislation of the Pentateuch for the purpose of detecting the Mosaic and post-Mosaic elements, is one that requires care, caution, and sagacity. It is both difficult and delicate, demanding many qualities of mind and heart. Perhaps subjective views can hardly be excluded from it entirely.

From Ex. xxiv. 4, we see that *a book of the covenant* existed, in which Moses wrote the ten commandments. He took this book, and read in the audience of the people. That he read more than the ten commandments appears from the fact that Ex. xxi.–xxiii. 19, which immediately precedes this statement, is a connected summary in itself, having all appearance of Mosaic origin, though handed down in an altered and incomplete state. Moses was the author of xx. 2–14 and xxi.–xxiii. 19 in substance.

The next section in the book of Exodus which has any claim to be regarded as Mosaic, consists of chapters xxv.–xxxi. which form a consecutive series of regulations relative to the construction of the tabernacle. Here the connection is natural, the sequence proper and apparently original. Wherever priests are spoken of they are *Aaron and his sons*, who belonged only to the time of Moses. A high priest, in contradistinction to the ordinary priests, is never mentioned; nor are his functions defined. The ordinances are minute and faithful, graphically and distinctly described. Nothing savours of a time when the temple was built. No modification of regulations to adapt them to its arrangements is given. The tabernacle, not the temple, is in the writer's mind throughout, influencing all his statements. We therefore look upon the whole as originating with Moses, and as probably written down by him in its present state. Indeed the impress of the legislator's time is visibly stamped on it. As the section *now* stands, it forms a part of

the primitive document, into which it was taken by the Elohist.

Probably these are not the only legal prescriptions in Exodus which Moses wrote. Others proceeding from him might be found elsewhere. Bleek mentions the strict injunction relative to the Sabbath in xxxi. 12–17. But this appears to us improbable, because it is a repetition.

Another portion which seems to be Mosaic in its origin, and probably too in its composition, is Lev. i.–vii. That the collection is complete in itself is shewn by the conclusion: "This is the law of the burnt-offering, of the meat-offering, and of the sin-offering, and of the trespass-offering, and of the consecrations, and of the sacrifice of the peace-offerings, which the Lord commanded Moses in mount Sinai, in the day that he commanded the children of Israel to offer their oblations unto the Lord, in the wilderness of Sinai" (vii. 37, 38). Throughout the section thus terminating, *the camp* and *the desert* appear. *Aaron and his sons* are the priests. Everything is adapted to the wilderness and the circumstances of the people there. Later arrangements do not intrude; nor is the description influenced by a state of society and worship to which Aaron and his sons did not belong. We cannot, therefore, agree with Knobel in holding that the writer betrays his post-Mosaic time by the manner in which he introduces the various kinds of thank-offering (vii. 12–16), presupposes the existence of leavened bread with them (vii. 13), and mentions the place of the ashes (i. 16, iv. 12). Nothing here seems to point to things long known in Israel. The very fact of the writer's omitting to define more exactly the ideas, out of which the various sacrifices arose, with the occasions and objects, so far from militating against, *favours* Moses's authorship. It is only in a later and more reflecting age that such particulars would excite attention, or be considered matters requiring definition.

The sixteenth chapter of Leviticus must be also referred to Moses. It prescribes the manner in which Aaron, and whoever of his sons might be high priest, should enter into the most holy place. There must be a sin offering for himself, and another for the people. In describing the two goats and how they should be disposed of, *the wilderness* and *the camp* are always spoken of. And the law is addressed to Aaron *personally*, till at the close the high priest, anointed in "his father's stead," is enjoined to make the same atonement after Aaron's death. The entire arrangement is suited to the desert; not to a state of society when the people lived in towns and cities. For a Canaan-condition it must have been modified.

The seventeenth chapter of the same book, which enjoins that

all animals should be sacrificed before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation and there offered to the Lord, is also of Mosaic origin. It contains an allusion to the Israelites offering sacrifices to demons—deities supposed to dwell in wild and desolate places. It also prohibits the people from eating blood. The *camp* is spoken of (verse 3); but there is not the slightest allusion to *the temple*. The distinction made between killing an ox *in* the camp and *out of* the camp would hardly have appeared in the chapter, had the latter been of late origin. When the Israelites worshipped in the temple, the distinction would have been meaningless. We know too, that till the erection of the temple and long after, altars were built and sacrifices offered in different places; whereas the present regulations limit the offerings to the one place, *i.e.*, the tabernacle—an arrangement suited to the wilderness and camp, but unlikely to be of Palestinian origin. Knobel himself admits that the chapter may contain genuine Mosaic prescriptions, and that it was written prior to the Elohist. In the eighth and ninth verses some slight change seems to have been made by a later hand than Moses: with this single exception, the whole harmonises with his time and the circumstances in which he was placed.

The eleventh chapter of Leviticus, containing prescriptions respecting clean and unclean meats; the twelfth, relating to the purification of women after child-birth; the thirteenth and fourteenth, respecting leprosy and lepers; and the fifteenth, concerning the uncleannesses of men and women with their purification, are so appropriate to the time of Moses both in character and form, that their contents must also be assigned to him. Though they have no peculiar or palpable marks of Mosaic origin, they have no traces of a later period. On the contrary, they coincide in all respects with the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters in their immediate neighbourhood, which have the genuine Mosaic stamp more perceptibly than themselves. We are therefore warranted in putting them along with these chapters, and assigning them the same early origin. A few particulars corroborate this conclusion: as in the twelfth chapter, sixth verse, where it is enjoined that the firstling lamb and young pigeon or turtle-dove should be brought to *the door of the tabernacle of the congregation;* and verses 14–29 in the fifteenth chapter, where there is a like injunction, inapplicable to persons living at great distances from the tabernacle. It is probable also that xxiv. 1–9, relating to the lamps upon the pure candlestick and the shewbread, was written by Moses. We cannot with Bleek refer the twenty-fifth chapter to Moses himself.

The first chapter of the book of Numbers, where it is related

that Moses made a census of the people extending only to males above twenty years of age, and the succeeding chapter describing the order of the tribes in their tents, appear to be Mosaic. They exhibit a minuteness, circumstantiality, and historical verisimilitude, which scarcely allow of a different writer. They do not suit later relations; nor do they seem to have been modified for that purpose. All is natural on the supposition of their belonging to the time of Moses. The fourth chapter, defining the age and time of the Levites' service and the respective duties of the three Levitical families about the sanctuary, belongs to the same circumstances and times.

In Numbers x. 1–8, the ordinance respecting the use of the silver trumpets must also be regarded as Mosaic. It is suited to the arrangements of the camp and the life which the Israelites led in the wilderness. The nineteenth chapter, relating to the water of separation, and its use in purifying the unclean, is also a wilderness enactment. Eleazar the priest is spoken of; *the camp* and *the tent* are the people's dwellings. It is also probable that vi. 22–27, containing the high priest's form of blessing the people, is Mosaic.

In the twenty-first chapter of the same book of Numbers, three poems are referred to or given, which belong to the Mosaic age. The first is said to be in *the book of the wars of the Lord* (14, 15); the second is contained in the seventeenth and eighteenth verses; the third in verses 27–30. All refer to the history of the Israelites when they were in the wilderness, and are of a graphic nature. They arose out of the occurrences at the time, not later. It is impossible to tell whether they were handed down by *oral tradition*, or put into writing by Moses himself, or by one of his contemporaries. De Wette is of the former opinion; Bleek of the latter. That they belong to the age of Moses is unquestionable.

These are not the only parts of the three middle books of the Pentateuch, written by Moses; but they are the most probable and perceptible ones. Doubtless single prescriptions are scattered here and there throughout the present books, which also came from Moses's pen. As the tabernacle was made in the wilderness, the Levitical institution essentially connected with it must have originated there also. The Levitical legislation was *Mosaic* in origin and essence. But the laws respecting *judicial rights and privileges* were neither enacted nor written by Moses. They originated in the time of the Judges. The *germ* and *nucleus* of the entire legislation contained in these three books is Mosaic. Some parts he wrote himself; others were probably written by a contemporary, under his direction or with his sanction. The *present setting* of these laws belongs, of course,

to later writers or redactors, who either brought them together into small collections, or inserted them singly in such connexions as seemed best. In some the *forms* have been modified, enlarged or altered; the *essence* remaining the same. Others remain both in form and character the same as they came from Moses himself.

We have thus endeavoured to shew what Moses probably wrote. It is all *legal* not *historical*, except the account of Amalek's defeat, which was transferred to a book, perhaps *the book of the wars of the Lord*, mentioned in Num. xxi. 14; and an itinerary of the Israelites (Num. xxxiii. 2). Whether he described other historical events is uncertain; though we may safely affirm that the history of the first four books generally did not come from his pen. When we speak of *Mosaic authorship*, we do not mean that sections *as they now appear* in the Pentateuch proceeded from him; but that he was their *original* author. In passing through one or more hands their form underwent changes. They are not now as they were at first, except in substance.

The view which assigns the whole Pentateuch to Moses is comparatively modern. The old Jews never thought of regarding their legislator as a *historian*. Philo himself always terms him the *lawgiver*, never the *historian*. Many contend, however, that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, with the exception of the part describing his own death. Yet that section belongs to what precedes. Let any one compare Deut. xxxi. 24, etc., where Hengstenberg makes Moses cease to write, with the preceding verses, 14, etc., and say how they differ in style and diction.

XVIII. "The Pentateuch expressly claims to be the work of Moses," says a pretentious writer.[1] We ask, Where? Let the place be adduced, that it may be examined. The following passages in Deuteronomy have been quoted in favour of Mosaic authorship. We have already mentioned all in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

"And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them" (Deut. xvii. 18, 19).

It has been plausibly said that at the time when Moses enacted this law the whole Pentateuch did not exist; other precepts respecting the duties of a king having been added from

[1] Macdonald on the Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 348.

the eighteenth chapter to the end of Deuteronomy; and that the pronoun *this* joined to *law* shews the allusion to a certain regulation or precept contained in xvii. 14–20 respecting a king. It is thus equivalent to *the commandments* in the twentieth verse. The king is to keep all the words of *this* law; shewing it to be one relating to himself and having no connection with ritual or Levitical precepts. We do not approve of this specious reasoning, opposed as it is to the tenour of the entire book.

"If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, the LORD THY GOD . . . . . also every sickness and every plague, which is not written in the book of the law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed" (Deut. xxviii. 58–61).

"And it come to pass when he heareth the words of this curse that he bless himself in his heart, saying, I shall have peace, though I walk in the imagination of mine heart, to add drunkenness to thirst: The Lord will not spare him, but then the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him, and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven. . . . . The secret things belong unto the Lord our God: but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that one may do all the words of this law" (Deut. xxix. 19, 20, 29).

"If thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in this book of the law," etc. (Deut. xxx. 10).

These and other passages in Deuteronomy shew no more than that according to the writer, Moses wrote the second law, *i.e.*, Deut. iv. 44–xxvi. 19. If the great legislator be represented in any place as the author of the whole Pentateuch, the nature of the book of Deuteronomy itself shews the value attaching to such statement. The writer personates Moses, to whom he attributes many later enactments. He promulgates, in his name, an additional code of laws, the result of a later development; and assigns to him the entire legal part, iv.–xxvi. He himself, as we shall afterwards shew, completed the present Pentateuch, when the contents of it had grown through several centuries to the stature and form in which they appeared after the component documents had been combined. The assertions made in Deuteronomy respecting Moses's authorship must be judged by the genius of the book itself, and not taken as isolated or independent evidence.

XIX. Great stress is laid on the thirty-first chapter of

Deuteronomy, which is made in different ways to subserve either the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy alone, or that of the preceding books also. Let us therefore examine it minutely:

(*a*) "And Moses wrote *this law* and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and unto all the elders of Israel. And Moses commanded them, saying, at the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing." "And it came to pass when Moses had made an end of writing the words of *this law* in a book, until they were finished; that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, saying, Take this book of the law and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee" (Deut. xxxi. 9–11, 24–26).

Here Delitzsch argues, that the meaning of the phrase *this law*, in the ninth verse, which Moses is said to have written, is the book of Deuteronomy, not *the whole Pentateuch;* which he supposes to be confirmed by the eleventh verse, where it is enjoined that the same law should be read before all Israel, every seventh year, at the feast of tabernacles. As it is unlikely that the five books of Moses could have been read before the whole people in the space of seven days, less than the Pentateuch must be meant by *this law;* in other words, that part which is now Deuteronomy.[1] If such be the sense of the phrase *the book of the law*, in the ninth verse, it must be understood in the same way in the twenty-sixth, since it is arbitrary to understand the *book of the law* differently in the two passages.

The interpretation in question is thought to be confirmed—so the critic reasons—by the fact of its being an undoubted regulation at the time of the second temple, that at the beginning of the eighth year succeeding every seventh one closing the year of jubilee, the king was to read the law before the assembled people, beginning with Deuteronomy; as well as by the limited application of the same phrase in Deuteronomy xxvii. 8, where we read: "And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly," and in Josh. viii. 32, "And he wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel;" in which two places the legal part of Deuteronomy, or that

[1] See Commentar ueber die Genesis, p. 24, Einleit., third edition.

portion containing the essence of the laws is meant, viz., iv. 44–xxvi. 19.[1]

Against this ingenious view of the phrase *this law*, much is said by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Keil, who contend that the whole Pentateuch up to xxxi. 24 or to xxxiii. is meant, and allege,

First, in answer to the reasonable statement that the extent of the Pentateuch was too great to allow of its being read through during the feast of tabernacles, that while the whole is to be understood, it was left to the discretion of the people's spiritual overseers to fix on the sections which were proper to be read as the substance of the whole legislation—the book of the law in miniature.

Secondly, that the exegetical tradition of the synagogue is nullified by Ezra's proceeding in opposition to it. At the feast of tabernacles which was kept under Nehemiah, the only one the Old Testament gives an account of, not merely was Deuteronomy publicly read, but the whole law from Gen. i. to Deut. xxxiv.; or at least the greater part of it. From the fact that the heads of the people on the second day of the public reading, found it written in the law "that the children of Israel should dwell in booths in the feast of the seventh month," whence the people "made themselves booths every one upon the roof of his house, and in their courts," etc., "*as it is written*;"[2] it has been inferred that the reading on this day was out of Leviticus, because the injunction respecting the erecting of booths is contained in that book (Lev. xxiii. 34–43), not in Deuteronomy (Neh. viii.). Hence Keil reasons that the scribe Ezra knew nothing of the synagogue interpretation of Deut. xxxi. 10, etc., but understood the precept of the reading of the whole law, or the legal contents of the Mosaic books generally. It cannot be thought that Ezra, a zealous teacher of the law, should have gone beyond the law in this case; nor is there any hint given to that effect in the circumstantial account presented in the book of Nehemiah (chap. viii.)[2]

This reasoning is plausible and valid against Delitzsch's view. The answer of Hengstenberg to the improbability of the time being too short to allow of the whole Pentateuch being read through during the feast appears satisfactory. It would be enough to comply with *the spirit* of the command, which was satisfied by reading such portions as the scribe himself might select. To contend that the whole Pentateuch was *not* too long to be read at the feast is beyond all probability. Though the feast lasted seven days, and it is said that the

[1] See Delitzsch, Commentar, Einleit., pp. 24, 25, 63.
[2] See Hävernick's Einleitung, second edition by Keil, I. 2. p. 21 et seqq.

reading was, "day by day, from the first day unto the last day" (Neh. viii. 18); yet the circumstances of the case, the joyous nature of the festival, and the phraseology in viii. 3 (that Ezra read "from the morning until mid-day"), combine to shew that after mid-day the reading ceased. This does not allow for twenty-seven chapters each of the seven days, even if nothing were done except the bare reading. But exposition of the meaning was given; else the text would have been to a great degree unintelligible. A number of interpreters are named in viii. 7, who "gave the sense and caused them to understand the law." It is also stated that after Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Levites had told the people not to be sorry, the latter "went their way to eat, and to drink, and to send portions, and to make great mirth, because they had understood the words that were declared unto them" (viii. 12). The last six days of the feast were doubtless largely spent in rejoicing, as well as the first day.

The remarks already made on the value of the Deuteronomist's testimony shew how little importance can be attached to it respecting the real composition of Moses. The place in Deuteronomy seems to represent the whole Pentateuch as written by the ancient legislator—a statement which does not assure the fact. The appeal of Delitzsch to Jewish tradition is not worth much; as Delitzsch himself partly admits, after the examination of his arguments by Keil; though the latter has not succeeded in proving Jewish tradition to be against the restricted sense of the phrase.

(*b*) Again, it has been alleged by Keil that Deut. xxxi. 9–11, 24, contains a testimony on behalf of the Mosaic composition of the entire Pentateuch, because Deuteronomy could not have been written before the preceding four books, nor could it ever have existed independently of and separated from them. The internal unity of the whole work forbids either supposition. Part of this argument only is correct. The book presupposes the existence of the preceding four, without which it is difficult to see how or why it could have been written. But there is no such union between Deuteronomy and the four prior books as that the latter could not have existed separately from the former. The Elohim and Jehovah documents had been previously united.

(*c*) The same critic affirms that when Moses addressed the people of Israel, as is recorded in Deuteronomy, a written law already existed to which he repeatedly refers in those addresses. In proof of this a passage is adduced from Deuteronomy, viz., xxviii. 58, "If thou wilt not observe to do *all the words of this law that are written in this book;*" and verse 61, "every plague

which is not *written in the book of this law;*" in addition to xxix 21, 22, 27, "all the curses that are written in *this book,*" taker in connection with xxx. 10, "to keep his commandments and his statutes which are written in *this book of the law.* From these words it is argued, that the law-book, as far as Deuteronomy, existed when they were spoken. How could Moses, it is contended, speak thus of plagues, curses, commandments, and statutes, *written in this book of the law,* had no written documents been given to the people except the book of the covenant (Ex. xxiv.), and the record of the new Sinaitic covenant (Ex. xxxiv. 27); both which contain not a word of plagues and curses? Or is it credible, that Moses, at the oral delivery of the discourses in Deut. xxviii.–xxx. said, "all the words of the law which I command you this day," "all the curses which I make known to you this day;" and did not give the words their present form till he committed them to writing? If so, why did he not make the alteration in all places, instead of merely distinguishing in his discourses between "the commandments which I command thee *this day*" (xxviii. 1), "the blessing and the curse which I have set before thee" (xxx. 1); and between "the precepts of the law, the plagues and curses which are written in *this book of the law*?"[1]

The reasoning in question is only valid on the supposition that the internal evidence furnished by the entire structure and language of the books is nugatory. But that cannot be. The Deuteronomist, echoing a traditional sentiment and enlarging it by attributing to the legislator *the utterance* of the contents of Deuteronomy, as well as their committal to writing, represents Moses as the author of the first four books. He thus employs an innocent fiction, which an uncritical age rendered easy.

XX. It is asserted that the constant usage of the Old Testament generally is to give the phrase *book of the law* the meaning of *the whole Pentateuch.* For this purpose Keil refers to Joshua i. 8; viii. 31, 34; xxiii. 6; xxiv. 26; 2 Kings xiv. 6; xxii. 8, 11; 2 Chron. xvii. 9; xxxiv. 14, 15; Neh. viii. 1, 3, 18.

In all the places of Joshua where *the book of the law* is mentioned, some suppose that it consisted of a certain collection of Mosaic precepts. And if, as they contend, nothing more can be fairly deduced from the expression, it furnishes no argument for the existence of the whole Pentateuch. We confess, however, that it appears more natural to identify the book of the law in Joshua with the whole Pentateuch. Every thing which is said to have been written in *this book,* as quoted in Joshua, occurs in the Pentateuch almost in the same words. That is a

[1] Keil's Lehrbuch, u. s. w. pp. 111, 112.

presumption in favour of the latter view. Here the remarks already made respecting the Deuteronomist's testimony in favour of Mosaic authorship are again appropriate, since *he* put the book of Joshua into its present form, and assigned to Moses the growth of later centuries — all the laws and institutions which had arisen on the basis of the Mosaic legislation.

The book of the law of Moses, spoken of in 2 Kings xiv. 6, *may* or *may not* have been the whole Pentateuch. The notice in question proceeds from the compiler of the Kings, who wrote after the present Pentateuch was completed. The collection of Mosaic precepts was gradually enlarged till the five books were put together in their present form. In this passage we understand *the book of the law* as coëxtensive with the Pentateuch.

The same meaning may be assigned to *the same phrase* in 2 Kings xxii. 8, 11. In 2 Chron. xvii. 9; xxxiv. 14, 15, the phrase has the same sense. The last passage is parallel to 2 Kings xxii. 8, 11, and therefore the meaning must be identical. The compilers of Kings and Chronicles respectively use somewhat different expressions; the one writing that Shaphan *read it* before the king (2 Kings xxii. 10), the other that Shaphan read *in it* (2 Chron. xxxiv. 18).

In Nehemiah viii. 1, 3, 18, it may be freely conceded that the phrase *book of the law of Moses* means the Pentateuch in its present form. It was certainly in existence at that time.

In passing from this last argument of Keil's, it will be seen that it is incorrect to assert that the phrase under examination had always a uniform meaning. Even if it could be shewn that it continually denotes the whole Pentateuch, it would not prove that Moses wrote it all; because the expression *law of Moses* would be fully justified by Moses's *partial* authorship. Nothing is easier to be got than an imposing array of passages, chapter and verse, in favour of the early existence of the Pentateuch from all succeeding books of the Bible. One has only to take up Hengstenberg's two volumes on the Pentateuch, where no less than seventy-eight pages are filled with proofs of the traces of Moses's writings in Hosea and Amos, and fifty-five with the same in the books of Kings. His Christology will furnish more of the same sort. From Hengstenberg the collector may pass to Hävernick, where he will enlarge his stock. Testimonies for the early existence of the Pentateuch, beginning with Joshua and coming down through the historical, prophetic, and poetical books, fill about seventy pages of his Introduction. Keil may then be consulted. He is a faithful disciple of the critics just named; and has transferred the results of their researches into a few pages of his Introduction. Like them, he too marshals passages from all the historical books, beginning with Joshua; from the prophetic

literature commencing with Obadiah; and from the poetical books,—Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles (pp. 132–142). In this way many pages of an English book on the Pentateuch may be filled perfunctorily, with evidences of the latter's early composition. The list will be long enough to impose on the reader who does not care for *quality*, if he can have *quantity*. Nothing is welcomer in England to a very large class of theologians than such a *cumulative* argument; because it is ready for acceptance in the lump, and saves the trouble of sifting. The true critic can estimate it at the real worth, which is small. The stereotyped and timid divine is prepared to swallow the draught because it is *orthodox*, at least in the eye of his ignorance.

The majority of the resemblances between the passages in the Pentateuch and the prophetic writings, enumerated by Hengstenberg, are strained or trifling, with a very few exceptions. The prophets may have had written pieces now inserted in the Pentateuch. Perhaps they used some as texts or foundations for their discourses. Elohist and Jehovist incorporated fragments more or less extensive into their own documents; though tradition was the principal source of their materials. But there is little trace of Moses and his legislation from Joshua till Josiah, except in the arrangement of public worship. How few marks are there of the spiritual religion he established! Even when his law had been carried into effect with regard to one centre of worship by the erection of a temple five centuries after, the old sanctuaries were not abandoned, and sacrifices continued to be offered to God in high places. Thus the Mosaic prescriptions relating to worship itself were carried out only in part. The influence exercised by Mosaism on the mass of the people in all other respects, was exceedingly small. Things went on as if the great lawgiver had never lived. In the three or four psalms where his name occurs, he is not presented as a legislator: he is viewed as the leader of the chosen people out of Egypt. In the Proverbs his name does not occur. And in the times of David and Solomon the covenant referred to between God and his people is not Sinai's, but that made with the patriarchs. Nor are the legal practices enjoined in the Pentateuch held up as the means of pleasing God. The man whose hands are clean and heart is pure, who acts justly and walks uprightly, is acceptable to Heaven. The violator of the law of conscience is the wicked man who incurs the divine wrath, rather than the violator of the Mosaic enactments. In various psalms indeed, *the law* is spoken of, *the statutes, judgments, testimonies* of the Lord; but the language is general, referring not so much to the injunctions peculiar to the Mosaic religion as to the

moral requirements which conscience aided by the Spirit of God is able to apprehend—the spiritual demands upon humanity, which enlightened conscience approves and appropriates. The moral law in essence is meant—that which is declared *perfect* converting the soul. The religious conceptions of the people were not such as are contained in the Pentateuch, any more than their civil institutions and domestic manners were regulated by the same book. The very idea lying at the basis of the theocracy was contravened by the establishment of monarchy. In short, their religious conceptions resembled the old ante-Mosaic ones more than the Jehovism of Moses. In their civil life the law was either determined by custom or the kingly will. The existing remembrance of Moses and his law was thus vague and indistinct.

Different causes have been assigned for the fact stated.[1] It can only be found in this, that the Mosaic legislation was *unwritten* till a comparatively late date, even in its principal parts. All that proceeded from the legislator's own pen and was embodied in the Elohim documents was almost unknown; because they were private writings. The Jehovist wrote much later, the redactor coming after him; and the Deuteronomist later still. Thus the law *as a whole* was a nonentity to the nation, because it was not written. It grew up into its present form by parts and gradually, so as to make no general or public impression on the body of the people; who were in fact all but unacquainted with the pieces out of which it rose to its full dimensions. Even the prophets seem to have known of the task which Moses accomplished chiefly *by tradition*—the tradition too being vague and incomplete. They were not acquainted with the lawgiver's system because it was never before them in its proper authenticity, *in writing*. His principles were transmitted in another way, and became the imperishable inheritance of the nation. Hengstenberg is wrong in asserting that the whole ministry of the prophets in the kingdom of Israel is an inexplicable enigma unless on the assumption of the public introduction of the Pentateuch; he might have been right in saying that their ministry would have presented an insoluble riddle unless *the fundamental ideas of the Mosaic religion* had been previously revealed.

The fact which we have accounted for can hardly be attributed to the psalmists, prophets, and most pious of the Israelites having risen from the letter to the spirit of Mosaism. In the development of the national religion that result naturally took place. It was however a slow, gradual, imperfect process —one that fails to explain the almost total silence respecting

[1] Nicolas, Etudes critiques, p. 224, et seqq.

the Mosaic legislation, and the absence of its marked influence upon all civil and social life. It fails to explain the silence respecting it that prevails in the period of the Judges, when the legislation must have been comparatively fresh, and the time scarcely admitted of much spiritual development. It fails to explain the fact that the Judges themselves violated the Mosaic injunctions—as Gideon in making an ephod. And it fails to explain many parts of David's and Solomon's conduct in ecclesiastical matters. In short, the Mosaic laws were systematically violated in the conduct of the people and their rulers. The most pious themselves did not hesitate to act in opposition to them. Jewish hard-heartedness and indocility do not go the length of accounting for these phenomena. Nor can we suppose that the law in its fulness did not exist till the captivity. The present Pentateuch had appeared before; and important parts of the legislation had been reduced to writing prior to the existence of the whole work; but they were little read or known, vague tradition and dim remembrance supplying the place of a good acquaintance with Mosaic institutions. Yet the essential ideas of Jehovism gave a new and noble impulse to the nation's heart, stimulating the God-consciousness of the best souls, and furnishing a divine fulcrum by which alone the moral elevation of the nation could be effected. It was the incorruptible seed cast into an ungenial soil and germinating feebly, but still unchoked, bearing life and light to men.

The preceding discussions shew that we do not suppose the present Pentateuch to have received its form from Ezra, as Nicolas recently argues.[1] It is impossible to assign it so late a date. His peculiar view of Jehovism and Elohism brings him to the conclusion that an epoch in which the old opposition of Jehovism and Elohism had entirely disappeared—in which the two parallel currents had reunited, and the divisions which filled the whole history of Israel from Moses till the final period of monarchy were at length effaced and had even fallen into profound forgetfulness,—such an epoch is necessary to the very conception of reuniting in the same collection writings so diverse as the Elohistic and Jehovistic documents. That time did not arrive before the return from captivity.[2]

The method in which this critic puts Elohists and Jehovists in antagonism to one another during the history of the nation from Moses till the Babylonian captivity, appears to us totally incorrect. One would suppose from his view, that Elohism and Jehovism were *two religions* pervaded by different kinds of monotheism; and that the adherents of the two were

[1] Etudes critiques sur la Bible, ancien Testament, p. 84 et seqq.
[2] Ibid. p. 85.

animated all along by mutual hostility, so that each party persecuted the other when it got the superiority. But there was no such antagonism. The Mosaic worship and ritual were only *the development* of Elohism. The one merged into the other, for which it prepared the way. All the diversities and contradictions existing between the Elohist and Jehovist documents should not be viewed as involving the personal rivalries and disputes of religious parties in the nation. The Israelites were either addicted to the worship of one God, or inclined to idolatry. The former included both Elohists and Jehovists without any sharp distinction in their respective faiths. Indeed Elohism existed in the *nation's traditions* oral and written, rather than in living representatives at the time and after the Elohists wrote.

It is useless to appeal to the Jewish traditions respecting Ezra restoring the Pentateuch.[1] They are exaggerations of his laudable efforts in the department of ecclesiastical reform. That the sacred books of the nation formed an object of his care, that he made one or more collections and otherwise improved their condition may be properly allowed, without proceeding the length of holding that he put together the documents now composing the Pentateuch.

The difficulty which Nicolas finds in supposing that Deuteronomy could have been associated with books comparatively ancient, towards the last time of monarchy, or universally accepted as a sacred document of Mosaism, does not seem great. The Jehovist did not long precede the Deuteronomist. The narrative in 2 Kings xxii. 8, etc., clearly implies the existence of the book; and the reign of Manasseh when it was first written, with the succeeding one of Amon, agrees with the fact of its being almost unknown and unchallenged as an authentic Mosaic production. The discovery of the book of the law by Hilkiah in the temple, its public recognition by Josiah the king, and the respect paid to it as a guide in reforming the worship of God, agree with the fact of its recent origin, without the necessity of a long period *giving its sanction* so to speak to the book, before it could be judged worthy of a place beside the writings of Moses and the prophets. The arguments of Mons. Nicolas therefore, appear less weighty than he thinks. His opinion is certainly preferable to that of Simon; for it represents Ezra as only putting old documents in a new order, without introducing any modification into their contents. He was simply their *collector;* not their redactor or author in whole or in part, as Simon supposed.

[1] Etudes critiques sur la Bible, ancien Testament, p. 87.

Equally incorrect with Nicolas's estimate of the time when the present Pentateuch first appeared is his notion of the redactor, whom he reduces almost to a non-entity. It is not necessary to suppose that he should either have done a great deal when he united the leading documents, as Nicolas thinks he ought and would *as editor*; or that he should have merely put them side by side without addition, omission, or modification, because they had a sacred character in his eyes, as well as those of his contemporaries. The redactor was not so remote from the Jehovist as to be deterred by this character of sacredness. Nor could the feeling in question have hindered any pious Hebrew from modifying and otherwise freely handling the documents, till after the captivity. Mons. Nicolas, like some other critics, thinks unduly of numerous *documents* Elohistic and Jehovistic; without sufficiently considering or allowing for oral traditions and legends that formed their source, and which they scarcely exhausted.[1]

XXI. What testimony does the New Testament give regarding the Mosaic composition of the Pentateuch?

The words of the Pharisees are (Matt. xix. 7), "Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away?" referring to Deut. xxiv. 1. Mark xii. 19, is parallel.

"And he answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and to put her away. And Jesus answered and said unto them, For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept" (Mark x. 3–5).

"Have ye not read *in the book of Moses*, how in the bush God spake unto him, saying, I am the God of Abraham," etc., etc. (Mark xii. 26.) Here the allusion is to Exodus iii. 6, which was not written by Moses, as we suppose.

"Abraham saith unto him, They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them . . . . . And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead" (Luke xvi. 29–31).

"And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself. . . . . These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses," etc., etc. (Luke xxiv. 27–44). Nothing in these words necessitates the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.

"We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write" (John i. 45).

[1] Etudes critiques sur la Bible, p. 69 et seqq.

Christ affirms that *Moses wrote of him* (John v. 46, 47). Here the allusion is *mainly* to Deut. xviii. 15–18. But all the Messianic types and promises are included—the Messianic bearing of the whole Pentateuch. In the same place the Redeemer speaks of Moses's *writings*.

"Did not Moses give you the law," etc. (John vii. 19).

"Now Moses in the law commanded us that such should be stoned" (John viii. 5).

"For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me: him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you" (Acts iii. 22).

"For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath-day" (Acts xv. 21).

"Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come" (Acts xxvi. 22).

"He (Paul) expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law of Moses, and out of the prophets" (Acts xxviii. 23).

A more difficult passage is that in the Epistle to the Romans x. 5,—"For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, That the man which doeth those things shall live by them," where the original is in Lev. xviii. 5. Here it certainly seems to be stated that Moses wrote Leviticus, or at least the eighteenth chapter.

"But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart" (2 Cor. iii. 15).

"Of which tribe (Judah) Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood" (Heb. vii. 14).

The phrase *book of Moses* (Mark xii. 26) does not imply that he wrote all in the book so called; nor does it necessarily presuppose his writing any part of it. It may only mean *the book relating to him*. Yet it must be confessed that the natural explanation is, "the book *written by* Moses." In other places there is no peculiar difficulty, although quotations from all books of the Pentateuch occur in the New Testament. It is either said, *God says to Moses* (Rom. ix. 15), or, *Moses says* (Rom. x. 19), or, *Moses wrote to us*, the quotation being from Deuteronomy, as in Mark xii. 19; Luke xx. 28.

What then must be said of Rom. x. 5, where Leviticus is assigned to Mosaic authorship? What of Mark xii. 26, where Christ seems to identify Exodus with Moses's authorship? What of John v. 46, 47, and of Matt. xix. 7, where Christ also

refers to Deuteronomy as Moses's writing? The single passage quoted from Leviticus, not to speak of those in Exodus and Deuteronomy, is sufficient to shake the belief of a superficial reader in the post-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch. When however it is stated in the New Testament that *Moses wrote so and so*, it does not *necessarily* follow that he actually penned what is imputed to him, or the whole book from which a single passage is cited. To judge properly of the question, various considerations should be taken into account.

First. The true method of proceeding is to determine the authorship of the Old Testament books irrespectively of the New Testament, in the first instance. The higher criticism must decide the question *independently*. What evidence do the books themselves furnish of their age and authorship? Here the various internal phenomena of language, style, manner, structure, must be carefully weighed—every particular, in short, that contributes to the formation of a just conclusion. Judged in this way, solely by internal evidence, the Pentateuch was not written by Moses. No book of it came from his pen. Criticism arrives at that result before any other part of the Old Testament or the New is examined. What then are we to say of New Testament passages which speak of Moses writing the Pentateuch in whole or in part?

Secondly. Christ and his apostles did not come into the world to instruct the Jews in criticism. Faith in Christ does not limit critical investigation. The reply of Witsius to this statement, though sanctioned by Hävernick and Keil, is insufficient. That theologian, though allowing that they were not teachers of criticism, avers that they were *teachers of truth*, and did not suffer themselves to be imposed on by prevailing ignorance or the cunning of the rulers. They did not come into the world to foster vulgar errors, and support them by their authority.[1] Very true; but the point in debate is, was it a fostering of vulgar error, or supporting of it by their authority, to abstain from shewing the Jews that Moses did not write the whole Pentateuch? Did they allow themselves to be imposed on by prevailing ignorance because they were silent on the Mosaic authorship of the first five books of the Bible? Was it a part of their mission as *teachers of truth* to prove that the Pentateuch did not proceed from Moses? We deny that it was.

In discussing a delicate point like the present, we might

[1] Enimvero non fuere Christus et apostoli critices doctores, quales se haberi postulant, qui hodie sibi regnum litterarum in quavis vindicant scientia; fuerunt tamen doctores veritatis, neque passi sunt sibi per communem ignorantiam aut procerum astum imponi. Non certe in mundum venere, ut vulgares errores foverent, suaque auctoritate munirent, nec per Judaeos solum sed et populos unice a se pendentes longe lateque spargerent. Miscellan. Sacr. i. p. 117.

object to the union of Christ and the apostles, as though *they* occupied the same stand-point. Our Saviour had the Spirit *without measure*, and knew all things. He was properly and truly infallible, whereas the apostles had the Spirit *in measure*, and did not know many things. It is unnecessary, however, to urge this objection at the present time. In some things *both* adopted a wise accommodation to popular views. They did not in matters of moment; but with such unimportant points of criticism as the authorship of the Pentateuch they did not interfere. The fact that they were teachers of truth did not lead them to meddle with and correct *all* questions; but only those of *important doctrine*. *If they make declarations or statements irrespectively of the persons with whom they argued, and on their own proper authority*, they must be believed as asserting what is literally correct; but when confuting the Jews, they generally reasoned with them *on their own principles*. Employing the *argumentum ad hominem* they simply accepted the acknowledged sentiments of the people, without vouching for their truth. Let it be carefully observed that they did not urge that as *truth* which they thought to be *falsehood*. To impute such a thing to the Saviour is impious. It is scarcely less so to ascribe it to the apostles and evangelists. "Men are particularly attentive," says Dr. Hey, "to any reasoning upon their own principles; and when they are convinced of their own inconsistency (which they are by the *argumentum ad hominem*), they grow humble and reasonable, attentive to truth, and willing to admit it. The arguing of which we are speaking, in quotation from, or allusion to, the Old Testament, is generally of the nature of the *argumentum ad hominem*, if not always."[1] In another place the same writer says: "We have now reason to think that no text, or scarcely any, was ever either cited or alluded to by our Saviour, but according to the notions of the *Jews* then *present*. . . . . Now, if it is the duty of those who teach religion to become all things to all men, that they may by all means save some, how could any one better become *a Jew to the Jews* than by entering into their favourite mode of persuasion? It gave no *authority* to any sense of a passage of Scripture, because it was not understood to do so; it implied no error, no falsehood; and it made the affinities between the two dispensations, the harmony of the divine counsels, to be more strongly perceived."[2] Agreeing as we do with this theologian in the sentiment that our Saviour and his apostles accommodated their mode of reasoning to the habitual notions of the Jews, no authority can be attributed to that reasoning *except where it takes the form of an independent*

[1] Lectures on Divinity, vol. 1, p. 189, third edition, 1841.
[2] Ibid, vol. i., pp. 184, 185.

declaration or statement, and so rests on the speaker's credit. It should also be observed, that historical and critical questions could only belong to the sphere of his *human* culture—a culture stamped with the characteristics of his age and country. The development of Jesus is distinctly recognised in the New Testament, and is not incompatible with his Divine nature (Luke ii. 25). Considering therefore the human limitations to which the Son of God was subjected on earth, we are not irreverent in supposing that he shared the common views of the Jews in his day in regard to points ethically or doctrinally unimportant.

Objections to our conclusion respecting the authorship of the Pentateuch cannot be legitimately urged at the present day. It is too late, for example, to adduce that founded on the Samaritan Pentateuch being substantially the same as the Jewish copy. The argument used to be that the Samaritans got the book from the kingdom of the ten tribes, and the latter from Judah. Accordingly the work must have existed in its present form before the separation of the tribes under Rehoboam. Hengstenberg has copiously and ably refuted this position.[1] There is no good ground for saying that the Samaritans got their Pentateuch from Israel. It is more likely that they had it from Manasseh, the son of the high priest as Josephus calls him, who fled to the Samaritans and drew many Jews after him.

It is also too late to adduce the absence of any distinct announcement of the soul's immortality, as an argument against the late composition of the Pentateuch; because (as is alleged) so much light had shone forth upon the subject in the time of David, that he could anticipate the pleasures at God's right hand for evermore; while the prophets describe in glowing strains the everlasting glories of Messiah's salvation.

This argument, if such it can be called, rests on a false basis. The doctrine of immortality is not enunciated more clearly in the Psalms than it is in the Pentateuch. Indeed it is not *distinctly enunciated* in either. In a few passages in the Psalms the poets seem to have pierced for the moment beyond the visible world into a future, where they should continue to exist; but the *prevailing* tone never rises into *settled belief*. It is only a spiritual anticipation of the inner man—a dim foreshadowing of the soul's immortality, both in the Psalms and prophets. Any enunciation of the everlasting glories of Messiah's salvation in the prophets is merely spiritual prevision, vague and ideal, involving no *belief* in the doctrine of immortality. Whatever light was shining round the compiler of laws and documents—the light of inspired poets and prophets—he had little to do

[1] Authentie des Pentat. vol. i. p. 1 et seqq.

with it from the nature of his work. It was not in keeping with his task to write according to the development of his own age on all subjects. But we assert, from an extended examination of the later books, that the doctrine of immortality is as clearly found in the Pentateuch as in the writings of the time when the compilers lived.

In bringing our remarks on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch to a close, we cannot refrain from expressing the conviction that the case against the correctness of the tradition which has so long assigned the composition of this part of Scripture to the Hebrew legislator, is fully established. Internal evidence disagrees with tradition. If scientific theology detect the groundlessness of external evidence, the latter must give way. So in the present instance. It is now an acknowledged result of scientific criticism that Moses did not write the Pentateuch as it is. The authority of the work is not impaired on that account; though persons ignorant of the true bearing of critical theology may think so. Let none be deceived by the usual talk respecting the credit of the history being destroyed provided contradictions and discrepancies in it be established; its being untrustworthy; undeserving implicit confidence; ceasing to be an authoritative testimony, etc. Such idle and vague declamation can only impose on the ignorant. It suits the vulgar apprehension to preach about the sacred volume sinking to the level of other ancient histories and of being no more than an ordinary production, if the conclusions advocated by the most enlightened critics be adopted. To talk of the results we have arrived at as *deeply affecting the faith of the church* is the cant of uneducated minds. The authenticity of the Pentateuch is *not* a question of religion and rationalism, of faith and unbelief. Those who regard the record as the depository of the early religious traditions of the Hebrews and the revelations vouchsafed to their wisest men, who look upon it as embodying the divine truth possessed by that race and preparing the way for a higher and purer dispensation, do *not* destroy the authority of the Pentateuch. They do *not* undermine the pillars of Christianity. To affirm that they do, is mischievous absurdity. They *do* deny *the infallibility* of written books, as well as the infallibility of the persons who composed them. They *do* maintain that they are *human* books, having *such a divine* character and aspect as it befits the wisdom and perfections of the Deity for man to conceive of, and for his truest servants of old to be mirrored in. They *do* hold the Mosaic books to be *faithful* records of the ancient Jews, containing sublime views of the Almighty Creator and his works, showing a pure monotheism to have been the faith of the highest minds among the old

Hebrews, yet imperfect notions on their part of theology, science, art, civilization. Christianity stands on another and better basis than the Mosaic composition of the Pentateuch. It has nothing to do either with the question of its authorship or its documents. It is *not* injuriously affected by the discrepancies observable in the traditions it embodies. We hold by the truth; we contend for and value it as much as the noisy declaimers who ascribe infidelity to all who will not endorse their fancies. We appeal to the test of an enlightened criticism which understands the Hebrew language and does not deal in quibbles and apologies. We will not be scared by anathemas or dogmatism, prejudices or denunciations. The question is, what is the *true nature* of these Mosaic records? Who wrote them? Are they *infallibly* correct and consistent, *divine to the exclusion of every human element of imperfection?* Were they dictated from heaven to Moses; if not, did he alone write them under *such* superintendence as effectually secured *absolute correctness?* To talk about their *authority, credit,* and *sacredness* till their *real nature* has been settled, is nugatory. It is using words vaguely; or using them with a certain implied meaning amounting to a begging of the question. The subject has nothing to do with personal *religion.* It *has* to do with right views of *revelation,* and greatly conduces to their formation. There is an erroneous idea abroad, that persons who wrote books preserved in the canon were the only *inspired* individuals. *All* religious men were counted inspired, under the Old Testament dispensation; some possessing a larger measure of the Spirit than others. Moses was not the only inspired person of his time. He had successors who were inspired as well as he, though not to the same extent. But the authority of sacred writings has no connection with *names.* Unknown persons may have had the Spirit of God in a larger degree than those with whose names we are acquainted. If *the divinity* of a book depended on the name of a writer, the book would be nothing more than *human. The divine* would then be *personal* and *individual.* But truth is independent of *persons.* No historical loss affects it. Hence revelation can lose nothing by a critical rejection of the Mosaic authority of the Pentateuch. That work, containing a divine revelation, must have a value independent of authority derived from authorship. A *divine revelation* is not such because of the person who conveys it in writing, but because it contains divine truth. The process therefore of judging the credibility of a divine revelation is not a *historical,* but *religious,* thing. It is *subjective* and *ideal,* not *objective.* The opponents of criticism lament their historical loss in not possessing a narrative contemporaneous with the events, instead of later traditions. But the loss is a gain, if

criticism gives forth historical truth; and if it does not, let its baselessness be shown. To build the authority of revelation on *the untrue*, can answer no good purpose. It is therefore incumbent on the enemies of historical criticism who dislike its decision regarding the Pentateuch, to refute it *on historical grounds*. As long as they deal in nothing but *prejudices*, they cannot hope for a hearing from truth-loving theologians. Well did the immortal De Wette write, so long ago as the year 1805:— "Pentateuchum non esse a Moses conscriptum, sed seriori aetate ortum, nostris diebus, postquam tam multum tamque docte atque sagaciter hac de re disputatum est, neminem adhuc esse puto, qui neget, praeter eos qui auctoritatis suae magis tuendae causa, quam veritatis studio ducti, contrariam sententiam defendunt. Neque tamen satis est negare, Mosem Pentateuchi auctorem esse; res eo ducenda est, ut statuamus, diversorum auctorum scripta in eo volumine esse congesta et concinnata."[1]

We conclude by affirming that there is little external evidence for the Mosaic authorship. And what little there is, does not stand the test of criticism. The succeeding writers of the Old Testament do not confirm it. The venerable authority of Christ himself has no proper bearing on the question. The objections derived from internal structure are conclusive against the Mosaic authorship. Various contradictions are irreconcileable. The traces of a later date are convincing. The narratives of the Pentateuch are usually trustworthy, though partly mythical and legendary. The miracles recorded were the exaggerations of a later age. The voice of God cannot, without profanity, be said to have externally uttered all the precepts attributed to him. Moses' hand *laid the foundation* of the edifice of God's word, which has grown into the proportions in which we now possess it; but he was not the first writer who penned parts of the national legends and history. He was emphatically *a lawgiver*, not a historian —a grand spiritual *actor* in the life-drama of the Israelites, who founded their theocratic constitution under the direct guidance of the Supreme.

XXII. When was the present Pentateuch completed? The date of it coincides with that of Deuteronomy. Hence the reign of Manasseh was the period when the Pentateuch appeared. Is this supported by any evidence external to the work itself? In 2 Kings xxii. 8, etc., there is a narrative which seems to imply the existence of the Pentateuch in Josiah's reign. It is said that Hilkiah the priest *found the book of the law in the house of the Lord*. That this was the Pentateuch may be inferred from the following considerations:—

[1] Opuscula Theologica, p. 151.

(*a*) Josiah ordered the passover to be kept as written in the book. "And there was not holden such a passover from the days of the judges that judged Israel, nor in all the days of the kings of Israel, nor of the kings of Judah." In order to celebrate the passover with so much solemnity, the entire Pentateuch would be required; because the principal law respecting that feast is in Ex. xii. 1-20, and Num. xxviii. 16-25; whereas the particulars respecting it in Deuteronomy are fewer (xvi. 1-8).

(*b*) The curses in the newly-found book (2 Chron. xxxiv. 24) could not be exhausted by those in Deut. xxvii. 14-26, xxviii. 15-68. Josiah must also have read the shorter imprecations in Lev. xxvi. 14-45, because of the 30th verse of Lev. xxvi. compared with 2 Kings xxiii. 14-16. In the former we read, "And I will cast your carcases upon the carcases of your idols;" in the latter it is said that Josiah brake in pieces the images and cut down the groves, and *filled their places with the bones of men*, and also that he took the bones out of the sepulchres and burned them upon the altar and polluted it. This novel mode of pollution seems to have originated from reading the book, which must have been the Pentateuch.

The preceding considerations while tending to show that Deuteronomy alone does not satisfy the conditions of the case but that the preceding books are required, point to our present Pentateuch. It is possible indeed, as some critics have thought, that the book in question consisted of a collection of laws afterwards inserted in the Pentateuch; but this seems to be a gratuitous hypothesis. In its favour has been quoted the phrase, "all the words of the book" which were read to the assembled people (2 Kings xxiii. 2); but the term כֹּל *all* should not be urged here, for *the entire* was not read before the people, nor even all Deuteronomy. It is acknowledged that the word *all* is used indefinitely in some cases. Besides, the record in Kings does not necessarily imply only one reading. In like manner the reading of the book before the king by Shaphan did not extend to the whole Pentateuch, nor to Deuteronomy itself, but was limited perhaps to the 27th and 28th chapters, provided there was but a single reading.

Some have considered the fact of Josiah's total ignorance of the contents of the book as adverse to our view; for the production appears quite new, and till then unknown. But it should be considered, that part of the book at least, viz., Deuteronomy, was new. And this was the portion which excited the chief interest, as appears from the king's words, "because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book," which refer to the expressions in Deut. xxvii. 26. The reason why the book is described in language apparently applicable to a new work is,

because attention was chiefly directed to the part which made a strong impression on the king's mind, *i.e.* Deuteronomy. The very way in which this work is first spoken of, "*the* book of the law," shews that it was not *wholly* unknown. Some at least of the priests and prophets were aware of its existence. During the idolatrous reign of Manasseh and his successor, it may have been put aside, and the pious may have concealed copies of it, so that it was *found* again and emerged from its hiding-place. If the prophetess Huldah, to whom the king sent Hilkiah and Shaphan to ascertain the time when Jehovah was about to bring disaster on the kingdom, knew the threatenings contained in the book and could accurately discourse respecting them, she must have been previously acquainted with the scope of it. We may add, that the title, "the book of the covenant," in 2 Kings xxiii. 2, agrees best with the Pentateuch, which is accordingly termed *βίβλος* or *βιβλίον διαθήκης*, in 1 Maccab. i. 57; and Sirach xxiv. 23.[1]

It has been said, that 2 Chron. xvii. 9 shews the Pentateuch to have already existed in the days of Jehoshaphat, because we read there of the priests and Levites having *the book of the law of the Lord* with them, as they taught in the cities of Judah. But though the Chronicle-writer probably considered the book to be the Pentateuch, we are not bound to accept his statement; for it is well known that he has transferred later phenomena to earlier times. Hence his statement cannot shake what is otherwise well-founded. The phrase בְּיַד מֹשֶׁה added by the Chronist to תּוֹרַת יְהוָה in speaking of the book found by Hilkiah in the temple, proves nothing as to its being *Moses's autograph;* for בְּיַד need not be referred to סֵפֶר with כָּתוּב understood, as if the sense were, *the book written by the hand of Moses;* but בְּיַד belongs to תּוֹרַת, intimating that Moses was *the author of the law,* not of the book containing it.

Thus history makes no earlier mention of the present Pentateuch than the reign of Josiah. It had been completed shortly before; but was put aside and disregarded till the king set about a thorough reform of Judah, when it was brought forth into the light of day and exalted to its rightful place.

We cannot agree with such as think that Hilkiah practised a fraud on this occasion, by substituting a composition of his own, or one concocted by himself and a few others. Whatever may have been the circumstances of the times, it is inconceivable that a band of theocratic patriots should have recourse to such means to supply a firm foundation for the popular belief, and at

[1] See Grimm in the Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen, dritte Lieferung, p. 32.

the same time to increase the authority of the priesthood. Neither the whole work, nor the book of Deuteronomy, was brought forth from a place where it had been designedly put to be shewn to the king for the first time; for how could Hilkiah say to Shaphan, "I have found THE *book* of the law," if the whole book were really new?

THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

I. CONTENTS.—The book of Genesis may be divided into two leading parts, viz. chapters i.–xi., and xii.–l. The first contains the history of the world before Abraham; the latter, the history of three progenitors of the Jewish nation—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

These two great divisions contain eleven minor parts, viz., i.–ii. 4; ii. 4–iv. 26; v. 1–vi. 8; vi. 9–ix. 29; x. 1–xi. 9; xi. 10–26; xi. 27–xxv. 11; xxv. 12–18; xxv. 19–xxxv. 29; xxxvi.; xxxvii. 1–l. 26. Most of these have appropriate titles or inscriptions.

The first part contains an account of the creation of the earth. It is a mistake to suppose that the sacred writer had *the visible universe* in view. "The heavens and the earth" is a phrase equivalent to "the world," comprehending the two parts that present themselves to observation, and for which the Old Testament has no native expression. The author commences with a cosmogony. He confines himself to the globe we inhabit. The first verse states generally the same course of action which the subsequent verses specify. We disagree with Dr. P. Smith when he affirms that the sublime sentence in i. 1, "stands as an independent axiom at the head of the sacred volume, announcing that there was an epoch, a point in the flow of infinite duration, when the whole of the dependent world, or whatever portion of it first had existence was *brought* into being; and that this commencement of being was not from prëexistent materials nor by fortune, chance or accident, nor through the skill of any finite agent, but absolutely and solely by the will, wisdom, and power of the ONE and ONLY GOD. It was a *creation* in the proper sense, not a modelling or new-forming."[1] On the contrary, there is no break between the first and second verses, and should be none. In the general proposition at the commencement, the course of action which is detailed in the following

[1] On the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science, p. 270, third edition.

verses is summarily given. The condition of the earth before it was reduced to order is described as one of confusion. At the will of God however, light is produced, and the vicissitude of day and night arises. On the second day the firmament, an apparently solid substance, presented itself. On the third day the earth was separated from the waters, and so the dry ground and the seas were formed; after which vegetation of various sorts was made to spring forth. The heavenly luminaries, the sun, moon, and constellations were created for the benefit of the inhabitants of this globe on the fourth day. On the fifth were created fishes and birds of different kinds. The work of the sixth day consisted in forming from the earth, quadrupeds, reptiles, and man, male and female. The section concludes with God's sanctifying the seventh day in memory of the glorious completion of His work (i. 1–ii. 3).

At the fourth verse of the second chapter commences a new section headed by a title or inscription. Here we have another account of creation different in its course and circumstances from the first. It has no mention of successive days or stages of creation; but begins with the origin of plants as preparatory to the formation of the garden for man's abode. A river is said to have supplied the garden with water, and hence to have formed four principal streams. Animals were then made and presented before Adam that he might give them names; after which the Almighty presented the first man with a companion taken from the substance of the man himself. Subjoined is an intimation of the primeval purity of the first pair. The whole account of Eden, with its two wonderful trees and man's original nakedness, is preparatory to the following narrative where his early destiny is narrated (ii. 4-25).

In the third chapter we have an account of the fall of our first parents from the state in which they were created. The serpent tempts the woman to disregard the prohibition of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. She yields to the temptation; and at her offer the man also partakes of the fruit, and trangresses the divine law. This act is followed by a consciousness of the loss of purity. A sense of shame prompts them to hide themselves from the Almighty. But he examines and passes sentence on all,—the serpent, the woman, and the man. It is then stated that both are clothed with the skins of animals, and expelled from the garden of Eden (iii.).

The history of the fall is followed by a narrative which exhibits the deformity of sin. Cain and Abel, two of the children of Adam and Eve, are represented as bringing their respective offerings to God. Abel's is accepted, while Cain's is rejected. The latter murders his brother. He becomes a

vagabond on the earth, without a settled habitation. He afterwards takes up his abode in a country which appears to have derived its name from the fact of his banishment. There he becomes the father of Enoch, the ancestor of Lamech the first recorded polygamist; the descendants of whose two wives are particularly distinguished. After mentioning the birth of Seth, and also of a son to Seth, the section concludes with the statement that men then began to worship Jehovah (iv.).

The next chapter contains another genealogical list of Adam's descendants. Among the most remarkable of Adam's descendants, as given in the fifth chapter, is Enoch, distinguished for his exalted piety and its extraordinary reward. The degeneracy of mankind proceeded in proportion to their increase. The sons of God or *angels*, intermarried with the daughters of men, from which union races of giants sprung. But Jehovah was displeased with such intercourse; and punished it by abridging the duration of human life. On account of their very great wickedness God determined to destroy all the inhabitants of the earth, with the exception of righteous Noah (v.–vi. 8).

The next portion is introduced by an inscription stating it to be the history of Noah. The general wickedness of man requires that the punishment should extend to the whole human race; and therefore God purposes to destroy all mankind and to lay waste the earth. Noah is commanded to construct an ark, in which himself, his family, and the various classes of animals might be preserved. The beginning and cessation of the flood are described. A solemn act of devotion marks the patriarch's gratitude and is accepted. This is followed by the divine blessing on the family of Noah, with an extension of their dominion over the lower animals, the grant of animal food, and the prohibition of capital punishment. The Deity makes a covenant with all living beings that they should not be destroyed by another flood; and the rainbow is made the sign of its accomplishment. Noah then plants a vineyard, becomes intoxicated, and is indecently exposed. Predicting the future fates of his sons, he denounces the curse of degradation on Ham, through his son Canaan. The posterity of Shem and Japheth are blessed. In concluding this part of the book a brief notice of the age and death of Noah is given (vi. 9–ix.).

The tenth chapter contains a genealogical survey of the principal nations of Western Asia, North Africa, and Europe, at a very remote period. All are derived from Noah's sons. The historian begins with the posterity of Japheth, or the ancient peoples of Europe and North-Western Asia; which are followed by the Hamites, or the old nations of North Africa and in part Southern Asia. The Shemites are last noticed, viz., the ancient

peoples of Western Asia dwelling south of the Asiatic Japhethites (x.).

We have next an account of the one language which was employed by all the descendants of Noah being confounded. At the building of the tower of Babel human arrogance was frustrated by the divine interference, so that men were obliged to disperse into different lands (xi. 1–9).

This is followed by a list of Shem's descendants in the line whence Abraham sprang. Properly speaking, it is a continuation of the genealogical table of the Sethites, in the fifth chapter, where the descent of Noah from Adam is given in the line of the first-born; and is intended to shew how Abraham, the father of the covenant people, came from Noah in the line of the first-born. The table contains ten generations, like the Sethite one (xi. 10–26).

The sacred narrative now passes from the universal primitive history of humanity to the particular introductory history of the Israelites, commencing with Abraham the great ancestor of the nation.

Terah, father of Abraham, removes with his family from Ur of the Chaldees towards the land of Canaan. After reaching Haran in the north-western part of Mesopotamia, the emigrants continued there till the death of Terah; when Abraham was summoned to proceed to Canaan, assured that his posterity should become a great nation, and a blessing to all the earth. Accompanied by Lot he entered the land at the north, and gradually advanced towards the south, building altars at two different spots. In consequence of a famine he was obliged to journey into Egypt, where the monarch endeavoured to procure Sarah as a wife or concubine, but was prevented by some divine visitation (xi. 27–xii.).

On returning to Canaan, Abraham and his party separated into two divisions; Lot choosing the valley of the Jordan, while Abraham fixed his residence in Hebron, having retained for his possession the open country between the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean (xiii.).

The fourteenth chapter relates how certain Eastern kings undertook a warlike expedition against the old inhabitants of what was afterwards Bashan—Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, as well as against the Amalekites westward of Edom, and the Amorites. The inhabitants of the valley of Siddim did not escape; they were routed, and many prisoners carried off by the victors, Lot and his family among the number. But Abraham pursued and routed the retreating foe, recovering both the property and the persons that had been seized. On his return, he was met by the king of Salem, who brought refreshments for

himself and his army, and blessed him in the name of the Most High God. The patriarch gave him a tenth of the spoils (xiv.)

In the fifteenth chapter, the Almighty promises anew to Abraham a numerous posterity and possession of the land of Canaan; while at the same time he enters into a covenant with him, in a very solemn manner. The patriarch is also informed that it would only be after an interruption of four hundred years of servitude in a foreign land, that his posterity should be brought into permanent possession of the country (xv.).

In consequence of the barrenness of Sarah, Abraham is induced by her suggestion to have intercourse with her maid Hagar. Insolence on the part of the servant was the natural result; but Sarah's harsh treatment obliged her to leave, with the view of escaping to Egypt. A divine communication in the wilderness promising a numerous offspring directed her to return. Returning therefore to the patriarch's family, she gave birth to Ishmael (xvi.).

This is followed by another divine appearance to Abraham, in which the promise of a numerous posterity is renewed. In reference to it, his name is changed into *Abraham*. He is assured of Canaan as a possession; and a covenant is made with him for all time, according to which the Almighty was to be his God and the God of his descendants. As a sign of the covenant, circumcision is appointed; with the threat of excision against any who should refuse to obey. A slight change in the name of Abraham's wife precedes an emphatic benediction. The covenant, however, was not meant to embrace the collective posterity of Abraham; God would continue it only with Isaac, the son whom Sarah was to bear. Accordingly she becomes the mother of the covenant people; on which account her name is altered. Abraham and all the males of his family underwent the painful rite of circumcision, after this divine communication (xvii.).

Another divine communication is made to Abraham. About mid-day Jehovah accompanied by two angels appears to him, accepts of his friendly hospitality, and promises him a son by Sarah, who laughs at the promise. After this he goes towards Sodom, communicates to Abraham who accompanied him, his determination respecting the inhabitants of the plain; condescends to a request from the patriarch, who receives the promise that if ten righteous men were found in the guilty cities, the latter should be spared. After this, Abraham, and Jehovah separate. The two angels who had gone before Jehovah arrive in the evening at Sodom, where Lot dwelt; and are hospitably entertained; but threatened with a shameful treatment by the Sodomites. They then communicate to Lot the purpose of God to destroy the place, and direct him to remove his family

and relatives. With his wife and two daughters he hastens towards Zoar, which was saved at his request; but the cities of the plain were entirely destroyed by fire and brimstone. The patriarch's wife, curiously looking behind, was turned into a pillar of salt (xviii.-xix. 29).

After this, Lot retreats towards the mountains, and takes up his abode in a cave, accompanied by his two daughters. Their incestuous intercourse with him results in the birth of two sons, the heads of two races, the Ammonites and Moabites, who were exceedingly hated by the Hebrews, and with whom they were commanded to have no intercourse (xix. 30-38).

Abraham removes now from the district of Hebron, and settles between Kadesh and Shur in Gerar, where the same thing happens to him by means of Abimelech with Sarah, as had already taken place with Pharaoh in Egypt (xx.).

The twenty-first chapter, after briefly mentioning the birth of Isaac and his circumcision on the eighth day, proceeds to relate the expulsion of Hagar with her son Ishmael from Abraham's house. She and Ishmael take up their residence in Paran; and in due time she procures him a wife from her native land. The chapter concludes with relating a treaty of peace and friendship between Abraham and Abimelech the Philistine king (xxi.).

Some time after, Abraham is commanded to go to the mountainous district of Moriah and sacrifice there the son of his affection. Assisted by two of his servants, he prepares wood, and without delay sets out on his journey. When Isaac is just on the point of perishing by his father's hand, an angel interposes; and a ram presenting itself is offered instead. For his obedience the patriarch receives the promise of numerous descendants and great prosperity; after which he returns to Beersheba. The chapter concludes with an account of intelligence which had reached Abraham respecting the family of his brother Nahor; doubtless with a view to Rebecca, who is soon to appear as Abraham's daughter-in-law (xxii.).

In the twenty-third chapter we have an account of the death of Sarah, and the consequent purchase by Abraham of Machpelah and its precincts for a burying-place. This is followed by the successful negotiations for procuring a suitable wife for Isaac. Abraham's faithful steward Eliezer is sent away to Mesopotamia, where he obtains in Haran, for his master's son, Rebecca the daughter of Bethuel, Abraham's nephew. Her he brings with him to Canaan where she becomes Isaac's wife (xxiii. xxiv.).

The preceding circumstantial account is followed by Abraham's marriage with Keturah, by whom he had several children. But the patriarch did not allow any claims of these children to interfere with the title of Isaac and his line to the undivided

territory of Canaan. At the age of one hundred and seventy-five Abraham died, and was buried by his two eldest sons in the cave he had purchased from the Hittites (xxv. 1-10).

We have now two lists of Arabian tribes which descended partly from Abraham and Keturah; partly from Abraham and Hagar, consequently from Ishmael. These dwelt in Arabia Petrea and Deserta, as well as in the northern half of Arabia Felix (xxv. 11-18).

This part resumes the history of Isaac, which is continued till his death. Twenty years after his marriage, Rebecca became pregnant with twins, Esau and Jacob. The former as he grew up excelled in hunting and out-door exercises; while the latter was a shepherd and his mother's darling, as Esau was his father's favourite. Esau coming home from the field hungry and fatigued, relinquished the privileges of the first-born to Jacob for a mess of red pottage; so that the progenitor of the Israelites stepped into possession of the rights which belonged by birth to the progenitor of the Edomites (xxv. 19-34).

In consequence of a famine Isaac was compelled to repair to Gerar, where he represented Rebecca as his sister. His prosperity excited the envy of the Philistines, who meanly stopped the wells his father had opened. His increasing greatness was acknowledged by Abimelech, who requested him to depart. Hence he removed from the immediate vicinity. But on opening certain wells he had to contend with the herdsmen of Gerar. But he relinquished his rights and removed to Beersheba. Here he entered into a covenant with Abimelech. Hence the name of the place, *Beersheba*. A notice of Esau's marriage with two Hittite women, who made his parents very unhappy, closes the chapter (xxvi.).

The next chapter relates how Jacob, at the instigation of Rebecca his mother, deceived his father, and circumvented his brother Esau by cunningly depriving him of the paternal benediction due to the elder. The result of such treachery was, that by his mother's advice he left home to be beyond reach of his brother's fury, and repaired to Padan-aram, the seat of his mother's family. After Jacob's departure, his brother married into the family of Ishmael. As the traveller pursued his solitary journey he was favoured with a night-vision of the Almighty, who assured him that the country he was leaving should be the inheritance of his numerous posterity; and that he should be protected wherever he was, with safe return to the land of his birth and inheritance. On awakening he erected and anointed a rude monument in commemoration of the event, adding a vow that should the promises to him be kept, he would devote to the Lord a tenth part of his future property (xxvii. xxviii.).

On Jacob's arrival in Haran, he is well received by his uncle Laban, and devotes himself to pastoral work there. At the end of seven years' service he marries Leah and Rachel; but is obliged to perform another seven years' service. Leah becomes the mother of four sons, to whom she gives symbolical names. In the meantime, Rachel proposes to her husband to take her maid Bilhah, by whom he has two sons. Her example is imitated by Leah, whose maid Zilpah also presents Jacob with two sons in succession. Leah herself bears two more sons and one daughter. Afterwards Rachel becomes a mother, and calls her son *Joseph*. At this time Jacob communicates to Laban his desire to return to Canaan, but is persuaded to remain longer in his service for a certain share in Laban's flocks. By a stratagem he contrives to effect such births as would favour his own interest (xxix. xxx.).

The advancement of Jacob's property at the expense of his father-in-law naturally produced dissatisfaction in the latter. Accordingly the former resolved, under divine direction, to take his family and substance, and return to his native country without Laban's knowledge of the arrangement. But Laban pursued and overtook the fugitives at mount Gilead. After an angry parley, which terminated in a mutual covenant of peace with suitable ceremonies accompanying, they parted, each for his own home. Why Rachel had stolen her father's teraphim is not very clear. Probably she wished to flee under the protection of the paternal household gods, her motives being superstitious (xxxi.).

On his approach to the confines of Canaan, Jacob is met by angels at a place he calls *Mahanaim*. He then sends a respectful message to Esau. Having learned from a deputation that his brother advanced towards him with a numerous retinue, he was alarmed, and divided his caravan into two parts. On this occasion a most remarkable event occurred. A being, apparently human, wrestled with him till day-break. The patriarch's thigh was contracted by the superhuman power of his opponent. At last he recognized the divinity of the being; and implored his blessing, which he received. His name was also changed from Jacob to Israel, implying that he had prevailed over God. As a confirmation of this fact, it is stated that the Israelites still abstain from eating the flesh of the tendon connected with that part of the thigh (xxxii.).

The meeting of the brothers follows. Esau receives him most generously; and at first refuses the gifts which Jacob had prepared, but at last consents to receive them. After a fraternal offer of protection, which Jacob declines, Esau returns to mount Seir. Jacob travels to Succoth, crosses the Jordan, comes to

Shechem, and fixes his residence on a field he purchased (xxxiii.).

While Jacob was at Shechem, his only daughter Dinah was seduced by the son of the lord of that part of the country. Her brothers were indignant at the dishonour, and determined to avenge it; to which end the proposal of Hamor, the prince's father that she should be given in marriage to Shechem, afforded an opportunity. To this proposal the sons of Jacob shewed themselves inclined; only requiring that the Shechemites should be circumcised. The father and son agreed to the terms; and prevailed on their people also to submit to the condition. But on the third day, when the inconvenience resulting from the operation was most distressing, Simeon and Levi fell upon and slew the unsuspecting people. Upon this the other sons of Jacob spoiled the city of Shechem; carrying off the wives and children as captives. When the patriarch came to know it he severely remonstrated with them (xxxiv.).

God now commands Jacob to remove to Luz, which he does without being pursued by the Canaanites. On arriving at this place he erects an altar; when he had caused all his household to put away whatever instruments of idolatry remained with them. The death and burial of Rebecca's nurse are mentioned. Here too the promise of a numerous posterity, and of the land of Canaan, is renewed to him; his name is changed; he sets up a memorial pillar with religious rites, and calls the place Bethel. Rachel dies on the occasion of Benjamin's birth, and is buried on the way from Bethel to Ephrath. At the following station Reuben commits a shameful offence against his father. At last Jacob arrives in safety with his twelve sons at Hebron where his father Isaac dwells; with whose age and burial the account closes (xxxv.).

The next chapter contains a brief description of the descendants of Esau. His wives are first enumerated, which is succeeded by a notice of his sons, and of his removal from Canaan, where he and Jacob could not dwell together on account of their numerous herds of cattle, to mount Seir. Then follows a list of his sons and grandsons, with the Edomite tribes descended from them. At the same time there is a list of the tribes of the Horites, who also lived in Seir, and were descended from the sons and grandsons of the Horite Seir. The chapter closes with two catalogues, the one presenting the oldest Edomite kings; the other, the principal places of the Edomite races (xxxvi.).

The last part of Genesis contains the subsequent history of Jacob's family till the death of Joseph (xxxvii.-xlix.).

Joseph was the patriarch's favourite child, whom he distinguished by a peculiar attire. The jealousy of his brethren was

therefore excited; and two dreams which he told them increased it. At the age of seventeen he was sent to inquire after his brothers, whom he found in Dothan. On his approach they resolved at first to kill him; but at Reuben's instance he was thrown into a pit; out of which he was taken by Midianite merchants passing by, and sold into Egypt. His coat was dipped in blood, and with it a fraud practised on Jacob, who was led to believe that he had been devoured by a wild beast. In Egypt he was sold to Potiphar, one of the king's officers (xxxvii.).

The next chapter's contents interrupt the history. They relate to the conduct of Judah with respect to Tamar. He fails to perform his promise to her by marrying her to his son Shelah after her husband Er had died. This leads her to perpetrate a shameful deceit; which is followed by the birth of twins, of whom Judah is the father (xxxviii.).

In the thirth-ninth chapter the history of Joseph is continued. He is sold as a slave to Potiphar, captain of the king's body guard, whose favour he gains; and is set over all his master's concerns. But in consequence of his exposure to the impure solicitations of Potiphar's wife, which he indignantly rejects, he is falsely accused to the husband and thrown into prison. Here the keeper of the prison entrusts him with the care of its inmates (xxxix.).

Two of the king's servants who are imprisoned at this time have each a remarkable dream, which Joseph interprets; and within three days the event realises the interpretation. Two years after, the king himself has wonderful dreams, which the wise men of Egypt could not explain. On this occasion Joseph's fellow-prisoner, who had been restored to his place, remembers the Hebrew captive and refers to him. Accordingly Joseph is brought forth from prison, and interprets the dreams of seven years of plenty, to be followed by seven years of scarcity. He also suggests to Pharaoh proper measures to be taken in the time of plenty for that of famine. His advice is followed; he is appointed general superintendent over Egypt; and is married to a daughter of the priest of On, who bears him two sons—Manasseh and Ephraim. The predicted years of famine come; and the neighbouring nations apply to Egypt for corn. The ten oldest sons of Jacob present themselves before Joseph and make obeisance. He immediately recognises them, though they do not know him, and assumes a harsh tone: accuses them of being spies, and places them in custody. On the third day he releases them; and retaining Simeon as a hostage dismisses the others, commanding them to bring to him their youngest brother. On the way home one of them discovers his money in his sack and is terrified. Their distress is

increased when, having arrived at their father's house, it is found that each brought his money back. Jacob is rent with grief, and declares that he will not send Benjamin. But the famine continues; and the sons refuse to return to Egypt without Benjamin. At last the father gives way, after Judah had become surety for Benjamin's safety. With a small present and twice the sum necessary to pay for the expected corn, Joseph's brethren again appear in Egypt. They are mildly treated, are brought to the house of the governor, and invited to his table, where they are arranged according to seniority. Benjamin is distinguished with superior favour. Joseph directs his steward to return the money as before; and besides to put his own cup into Benjamin's sack. After the men had been dismissed, the steward is sent in pursuit and severely expostulates with them on their ingratitude. The cup is found on examination in Benjamin's sack; and in utter dismay the brothers return to the city. Judah offers himself and brothers as servants. But Joseph refuses to detain in bondage any but the offender himself. This is followed by the most moving address of Judah, who begs that he should be substituted as a bondsman in the place of his younger brother. After this inimitable appeal, Joseph can no longer contain himself and weeps aloud. He tells his brethren who he is; and reminds them that divine Providence had controlled the events of his life for the general good. He directs them to hasten back to Canaan for the purpose of bringing his father to Egypt, where he and all his household might settle in Goshen. As soon as Pharaoh heard of it he reiterates the request, and makes abundant provision for the journey. The brothers, dismissed by Joseph with a liberal present for the aged patriarch, return to Canaan. Jacob will not at first believe the joyful tidings, but is soon satisfied of the truth of his sons' account, and resolves to go down to his beloved Joseph. The patriarch accordingly, with all his family, settles in Egypt; where he is presented by Joseph to Pharaoh, and receives a residence in the district of Raamses. There he lives seventeen years. When taken sick he is visited by Joseph accompanied by his two sons Manasseh and Ephraim, who are formally adopted by the aged patriarch, and placed in the same rank, with the same patrimonial inheritance, as his own children. At the approach of death he blesses his sons; and enjoins them to bury him with his father in the cave of Machpelah. Immediately before death Jacob is said to have uttered a prophetic address relating to the future circumstances of his children's posterity (xl.–xlix.).

Joseph causes his father's body to be embalmed in the Egyptian method, and lays it in the family sepulchre at Hebron; to

which it was attended by all the brethren and many Egyptians. After the decease of their father, his brothers unjustly fear his anger, and send a messenger to him; but he receives and treats them with fraternal affection. The account of Joseph's death at the age of one hundred and ten years, surrounded by his family and avowing the same faith as his ancestors, closes the book. His body is also embalmed and put into a coffin (l.)

II. HISTORY AND SCIENCE AS BEARING UPON MYTHOLOGY.—The question whether a *mythus* be found in Genesis is one of wide and far-reaching import, which should not be hastily determined. In approaching it the mind should be divested, if possible, of preconceived opinions; and left free to draw a right conclusion from the phenomena presented. Is every narrative in the book literal and real history; or must we assume traditional and mythic elements? Perhaps the safest method of commencing the investigation is to take some passage which necessarily requires the mythic interpretation. Before doing so it should be remarked, that the word is offensive to many, because they attach a wrong idea to it. Identifying it with *fiction* or *fable*, they reject the notion of mythus with a feeling approaching to horror. But *myth* is not synonymous with either of these English words. In consequence of the ignorant prejudice connected with the term in question, we should have gladly dispensed with the use of it, had it been convenient to do so; imitating in this respect the procedure of Ewald and Bunsen. Yet these very critics assume an idealizing costume, which virtually amounts to the same thing. Bunsen's *historical* often disappears, to a great extent, in his process of eliminating the ideas. We sympathise, however, in his effort to find some tangible basis in history, wherever it can be reasonably done. It is much more convenient to employ the term than with Kalisch to adopt circumlocutory phrases expressive of the same idea; and therefore we shall abide by it, even at the risk of being misrepresented. "A narrative," says Von Bohlen, "may be recognised as *mythic* when it refers to a period in which no written records could have existed; when things not cognisable by the senses or beyond the reach of human experience are related in it as historical facts; and when these statements of supposed facts are interwoven with rude conceptions of nature and of the Deity, or when they betray throughout a tincture of the marvellous."[1] Myths have been divided into philosophical, historical, and mixed, or rather *philosophical* and *historical;* for the latter, which are said to contain a mixture of both, do not deserve to be considered a class.

[1] On Genesis, edited by James Heywood, Esq., vol. i. p. 1.

Historical mythi are such relations as existed and were orally propagated among the more cultivated nations before history was written; and were so adorned by tradition in the course of time as that the truth of events was enveloped in a veil of fiction, which ought to be carefully stripped off. *Philosophical* mythi again, were those very ancient opinions devised by human genius respecting abstruse subjects, presented in a historical form that they might be better submitted to the eyes of other men. The genuine history of all civilised nations is preceded by a series of myths and legends, whose object is to trace the origin and exalt the early heroes of the people. "Speculations on metaphysical subjects, as well as theories and reflections on the origin and revolutions of the universe, on the moral and physical constitution of the world, on the commencement and first development of the human race, were clothed like all the learning of the East, in an historical dress; and the essence of all these several theories, when adorned and expanded according to the individual conceptions of the poet, forms the proper mythology of a nation."[1] That the Hebrew people should form an exception to all others in having no mythology, would be singular. It would be especially singular, amid the coincidences between the Biblical traditions and those of other eastern nations, which are so prominent in the early chapters of Genesis, to deny a mythology to the Israelites. The traditions are remarkably alike; why should a different mode of interpretation be applied to them? Those in the Bible are ennobled and purified by the monotheism of the people whom God chose as the depositaries of a higher truth. They are therefore superior to the parallel traditions of others. The process of creation in successive days, the temptation of the first human beings by the serpent, the forbidden tree, the loss of Paradise, the longevity of the patriarchs, the deluge and re-peopling of the earth, belong to one circle of ideas common to all the most ancient oriental peoples; each nation shaping them in different forms according to its genius and culture. The Hebrew mind has given them a higher moral character as well as a more practical interest.

Let us now look at Genesis xxxii. 24–32.

"And Jacob was left alone; and there wrestled a man with him until the breaking of the day. And when he saw that he prevailed not against him, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and the hollow of Jacob's thigh was out of joint, as he wrestled with him. And he said, Let me go, for the day breaketh: And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me. And he said unto him, What is thy name? And he said, Jacob. And

[1] Von Bohlen, edited by Heywood, vol. i. p. 6.

he said, thy name shall be called no more Jacob but Israel: for as a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed. And Jacob asked him and said, Tell me, I pray thee, thy name. And he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name? And he blessed him there. And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel: for I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved. And as he passed over Penuel the sun rose upon him, and he halted upon his thigh. Therefore the children of Israel eat not of the sinew which shrank, which is upon the hollow of the thigh, unto this day: because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew that shrank."

It is obvious that here we have not literal history; else ideas totally at variance with the divine nature are promulgated. A man wrestles by night with Jacob. It is soon apparent, as the narrative proceeds, that by him who is called *a man* is meant none other than God himself. But how can the Almighty wrestle with a mere creature? The thing is utterly repugnant to reason. "This wrestling," says Poole, "was *real* and *corporeal* in its nature." If so, then God cannot have been engaged in it, since he is *Spirit*. Because of the insuperable difficulty it is often assumed that it was an *angel* who wrestled; for which purpose Hosea is quoted; according to whom *an angel* bearing the commission and name of God is meant. And this again necessitates the hypothesis that *the Son of God* is intended, because he alone is properly called God and can give blessings, not a *created* angel. Then another assumption is ready, viz., that the Son of God took a human form on the occasion. But although the wrestling of *an angel* with Jacob relieves the present narrative of much difficulty, and has accordingly been adopted by many interpreters, the passage itself, to which alone we must look irrespectively of Hosea, gives no intimation of an angel having been the being in question. The name *Elohim* is employed by the writer; which cannot mean *an angel*. It never signifies even *angels*, as Gesenius has proved. Neither can the word denote *a God-like being*, as one translator has proposed. The name *Elohim* is here chosen on purpose to shew that the writer means to explain the words compounded with *El*, viz., Israel and Peniel; else Jehovah would have been used. Assuming then what the narrative conveys, that the wrestling was between God and Jacob, is the thing to be looked upon as a fact? Literal history it cannot be. According to some it was only a lively vision which the patriarch had in a dream. The whole was enacted in a vivid dream. According to others, all that is meant is a violent wrestling of the mind in prayer; an opinion entertained by Hengstenberg. The lameness of Jacob caused

by the dislocation of a hip-joint does not agree well with either supposition. For a dream or a prayer to cause the limping of Jacob and the abstinence of the Israelites from eating the *nervus ischiaticus*, or rather to be the occasion of the author's introducing the mention of them as if the things were mutually connected, is unsuitable and unlikely. If therefore the occurrence can neither be resolved into *a dream* nor *a prayer*, nothing remains except to regard it as a myth. The writer records an imaginary scene for some purpose or purposes. What are they? The chief reason seems to be the glorification of the ancestral patriarch of the Israelites by representing him as worthy of contending with no less a Being than God himself, and so far prevailing as to extort a blessing. But this is not the only thing which gave rise to the fictitious narrative. The writer meant to account for the origin of the names Israel and Penuel. At the same time also he wished to explain the rise of a certain practice of the Israelites, who abstained from eating one part of animals slaughtered for food. Such appears to be the most probable view of the passage in question—a passage whose contents have no parallel in the Bible. The narrative is unique. It bears the impress of a stronger anthropomorphism than is elsewhere to be found. Those who are solicitous of adhering to the literal narration have only to carry a historical explanation through the entire passage, to see its absolute untenableness. What, for example, can be meant by the words, "When God saw that he prevailed not against him (Jacob);" or rather, as Raphall translates, that *he could not prevail*, etc.?[1] Is not this very strange, even on the hypothesis of an angel wrestling? Why should he prove inferior in physical force to a mere mortal? We know what is said in reply, "the angel allowed himself to *seem* the weaker party during the struggle;"[2] but this is a mere hypothesis to escape from a difficulty. Our feelings of reverence for the Divine Being, the omnipotent and spiritual Ruler of all, will not allow us to take the incident as real.

Another passage which occurs to the mind in this connexion is Gen. vi. 2: "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose." Here it is stated that *angels* visiting the earth, saw and cohabited with the daughters of men. It is almost unnecessary to prove that בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים can mean nothing else than *angels;* because this is acknowledged by all competent Hebrew scholars. The fruit of the cohabitation in question is

[1] See the Book of Genesis in Hebrew and English, by De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphall, p. 214.
[2] Ibid., note.

said to be *giants;* for this is the only probable connexion between the fourth verse and that which precedes. The fact of such intermarriages was displeasing to God, as represented in the third verse, and therefore He shortened the duration of human life to one hundred and twenty years. The account implies that great size of body and length of life are proportionately connected; and therefore when giants were born man's duration on earth became almost immortal. But Paradise could not be regained in this physical way. The daring attempt to recover immortality must be punished by abridging the duration of life. This narrative of the origin of giants cannot be taken historically and literally. It is not proper history. Much of it is mythical.

The two passages just noticed lead the reader to infer, that if they be of the character represented, the history with which they are connected may be so also. They create a presumption in favour of that idea—a presumption strengthened by a minute examination of the book of Genesis. At the same time care should be taken not to assume any mythical element or elements except where the accounts contain what is unsuitable to the Divine Being, or contradictory to the reason He implanted in man. Besides, a pure mythus having no foundation in fact should be cautiously assumed. The mythic may have a historical basis.

As an example of a pure myth may be taken the account of the frustration of the building of Babylon and its tower. The purport of it is to account for the separation of so many peoples, though they all sprung from the same origin. Instead of living in the unity of one great family they are strangers to one another. And again, the fact of the different peoples having such different languages must be accounted for. There is also an etymological play on the name בָּבֶל, *Babel.* This conclusion is founded on the fact that the narrative contradicts history, in which Babylon and its tower play an important part. They were not only in existence, but occupied a prominent place in ancient history. Thus the scheme was not frustrated as here represented. It succeeded; for the city was built. Or if suddenly destroyed, it was immediately rebuilt. Hence the frustration of the undertaking could not have been a Divine judgment on the daring and proud spirit which prompted it, as the writer represents. And it is also irreconcilable with the historical tradition respecting Nimrod in x. 10, where we read that the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, viz., the foundation of the Babylonian empire and consequently the building of the city are attributed to him. That the account is unhistorical is also confirmed by the language employed; for

after "the Lord came down to see the city and the tower which the children of men builded" (xi. 5), he says, "Let us go down and there confound their language," etc. (xi. 7.) The grossly anthropomorphic language in the fifth verse, in which the Deity is described as going down to see the city and tower, does not harmonise with the succeeding words; because after he had gone down, seen the city and tower and said: "Behold the people is one, and they have all one language," etc., it is repeated, "Go to, let us go down," etc. The author did not mean to be understood as writing literal history.

The introductory history of the human race which precedes that of the chosen theocratic people, is the part of the sacred history which chiefly partakes of a mythic character. The first eleven chapters, therefore, should be explained more or less on that principle. Their contents render the acceptation of their literal, historical reality unworthy of the Divine procedure, because at variance with His nature. The transition from the mythical to the legendary takes place at the commencement of the twelfth chapter, where an historical basis becomes more distinct and enlarged. History thrusts itself much more prominently into the narrative in question, than in the first eleven chapters.

We are grieved to find that some have run to great excess in pronouncing narratives in Genesis wholly mythical or traditional; expelling true history from among them by that means. There are sober limits to interpretation in this direction, which should be carefully observed. It is better to err on the side of the historical and literal than on that of the traditional. We do not know of any rule or rules to guide the expositor here. General principles of interpretation cannot be laid down in relation to it. All that can be proposed for the interpreter's guidance is cautionary and prudential. The nature of the Supreme Being as derived from reason and revelation, a sense of the right and proper as determined by the voice of conscience in man, consistency in the narrative, its agreement with itself and true history, and especially a right apprehension of the moral attributes of God which are ever in harmony with the deeper nature of humanity, will contribute to the correct separation of the different elements of a narrative, that they may be judged of as a whole. Piety, humility, and prayer are much needed here, by the side of acuteness and learning.

We shall now proceed to consider the first chapter of *Genesis*, with the object of shewing its mythical character. And here we remark,

First. Understood as literal history it is irreconcilable with geology. As this is a grave statement to which divines gene-

rally and even some geologists would object, we shall furnish the evidence on which it is founded.

"The manifest entire tenor of the narrative in the first chapter of Genesis can only convey the idea of *one* grand creative act, of a common and *simultaneous* origin of the whole material world terrestrial and celestial, together with all its parts and appendages, as it now stands, accomplished in obedience to the Divine fiat, in a certain order and by certain stages, in six equal successive periods, expressly designated as alternations of day and night, measured and determined by an evening and a morning, and necessarily (from the very nature and object of the whole representation) of the same length as the succeeding seventh natural day, on which a peculiar blessing was pronounced."[1] On the other hand the fundamental truths of geology unequivocally shew, that the existing state of things was evolved by successive changes out of a long series of antecedent stages. "The formation of the variously dispersed beds of diversified materials did not occur at any one time, or even by any successive universal simultaneous acts, but by the gradual and local operation of the varied physical agencies, accompanied by corresponding series of changes in the forms and species of organised beings tenanting the earth and the water, each partially continuing during the rise and increase of the next; some more persistent, others dying out, as new forms were introduced, and this in a continuous succession from the earliest epochs, when none but forms now extinct prevailed, down to a time when those now existing began to hold a joint dominion; while the period which is characterised as the most recent reaches to an infinitely higher antiquity than any contemplated by history or fable. And lastly, the origin of our own race, though it has (hitherto) only been traced by remains belonging to a comparatively very recent epoch, yet has not been fixed by any certain evidence to a particular date."[2] A particular specification of the points in which natural science and the cosmogony in Genesis disagree may perhaps be desirable to the reader.

The first verse of Genesis is a summary account of the six days' work which follows in detail. On the first creative day, God produced the matter of the world and caused light to arise out of it. Hence it is implied that the world was created only about six thousand years ago. But geology teaches most incontrovertibly, that the world must have existed during a long period prior to the races of organised beings now occupying its surface. Thus geology and Scripture come into collision as to the age of the earth.

[1] Powell's Christianity without Judaism, pp. 59, 60.

[2] Ibid. pp. 57, 58.

Secondly. The second verse obviously describes an *universal* chaos or destruction; whereas inductive science generally shews that there never has been such a condition. In like manner, an universal and sudden creation or rather evolution of the entire earth out of that chaos, with all organic and inorganic products is described in the first chapter; which is opposed to natural science. The latter teaches that all things have proceeded from age to age, through the innumerable periods of past duration, in one unbroken chain of regular changes. Law, order, uniformity, slowness, partiality characterise those changes; not suddenness or universality. Universal destruction and reconstruction—anarchy followed by order—are things unknown to science and opposed to all its fundamental conclusions.

It has been thought however by some divines, that the six days' work refers merely to a comparatively *recent act* by which the present state of things received its origin. For this purpose the narrative in Genesis is perverted in various ways; and a view given of the first verse very different from ours. According to Drs. Smith and Hitchcock, it announces the act of creation at some indefinite point in past duration.[1] It merely informs us that the first act of Deity in relation to the universe was the creation of the heavens and the earth out of nothing. If this be so, a period must have intervened between the first creative act and the subsequent six days' work long enough to allow all the changes of mineral constitution and organic life which took place on the globe. However plausibly this view has been urged we submit that it is forbidden by the plain language of the sacred record. The second verse of the first chapter is connected with the first verse by the copulative conjunction *vau;* and disallows of an immense break between the two. Besides the chasm between the verses being unnatural, since it would never suggest itself to a plain reader of the Bible, it is inconsistent with the copulative at the beginning of the second verse. We are aware that Dr. P. Smith supposes the conjunction to mean *but*, thus separating the verses, or, *and afterwards*, appealing to Dathe and J. G. Rosenmüller in favour of such rendering. Both however must be decidedly rejected. And when the same scholar writes, "the particle may be copulative, or disjunctive, or adversative, or it may express a mere annexation to a former topic of discourse, the connection being only that of the subject matter or the continuation of the composition;" "This continuation forms one of the most marked pecularities of the Hebrew idiom, and it comprehends every variety of mode in which one train of sentiment may be ap-

[1] See Smith's Scripture and Geology; and Hitchcock's Religion of Geology, p. 46, et seqq. Glasgow edition.

pended to another,"[1] he gives an unphilosophical and incorrect account of the particle; in refutation of which we may only refer to the Lexicons of Gesenius. *It is solely copulative* and *in coupling* does certainly allow of some latitude; though we cannot think that in the present instance it admits what Smith and Hitchcock assume. We do not believe that the sacred writer would have employed the particle had he intended to separate the two verses of Genesis in the manner these geologists require them to be divided for the sake of their geological phenomena. To such a use of *vau* there would be no analogy or approach to analogy, in the Hebrew Scriptures.

These observations are corroborated by the fact that the phrase "the heavens and the earth" in the first verse does not mean *the universe*, as the two scholars already mentioned argue, but *the earth itself*. Other examples prove this, as Gen. xiv. 19–22; Ex. xxxi. 17, with which agrees 2 Peter iii. 13. So Roediger in Gesenius's Thesaurus interprets it, *universus mundus*, the whole world; coinciding with the opinion of Delitzsch and Knobel. If any other evidence were required to shew the sense of the phrase in the first verse of Genesis, the language of the fourth commandment might be quoted: "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea," etc., shewing that the six days' work related to the earth and the heavens, *i.e., the earth itself*. This is corroborated by the second chapter of Genesis, where we read at the end of the six days' work, "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished;" and immediately after: "These are the generations of the heaven and of the earth when they were created; in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens." We have thus the most conclusive proof that "the heavens and the earth" cannot mean *the universe* in Gen. i. 1. If that be true the first verse does not form a distinct proposition by itself, describing the creation of the matter of the whole universe at some indefinite epoch in past eternity. On the contrary, it is closely connected with the second. "The heavens and the earth" in Gen. i. 1, relates to the matter of the world—the chaotic mass introduced immediately after. Jehovah created at first the materials of the world, or the world in an unformed, unshapen state, consisting of rude materials. What he did as described in the first verse belonged to the first creative day; which we infer from the language of Ex. xx. 11; xxxi. 17, since the whole creative process was included in the six days. Much useless discussion has arisen about the proper meaning of בָּרָא whether it denotes *making out of nothing, i.e., creation*, or

[1] Scripture and Geology, pp. 274, 275, third edition.

forming out of pre-existent materials. The fundamental idea of the verb *in and by itself* is neither the one nor the other. In Gen. i. 1, it was intended to convey the notion of a proper creation. And it is never applied to men, but always to God. Nor is it accompanied by the accusative of the material. On the whole, philology will not admit the theory of interpretation which supposes an unknown period of the world's history to have passed in silence, when the extinct animals and plants found in the rocks might have lived and died. Whatever geologists may wish to assign as the proper exegesis of Gen. i. 1, 2, we are persuaded that the sacred writer himself never intended to convey this meaning. Still more untenable is the hypothesis of Dr. P. Smith, that the narrative of the six days' work is a description of a series of operations, by which God adjusted and finished *not the earth generally*, but a PORTION of its surface for most glorious purposes. The meaning of the phrase *heavens and earth* in the first verse determines that of *the earth* in the succeeding verses; just as the latter serves to fix and strengthen the meaning of the former. Dr. Smith's limitation of the term *earth* is sufficiently refuted by the words of the fourth commandment: "For *in six days* the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is;" as well as by the first and fourth verses of the second chapter. By help of this untenable meaning assigned to the word *earth*, viz., a small region of Asia, Dr. Smith gets rid of the notion of a *chaos* or state of universal destruction and anarchy described in the second verse. "This region," says he, "was first brought into a condition of superficial ruin or some kind of general disorder." He then proposes the conjecture that the state in question was produced by the subsidence of the region, the immediate cause of which was a movement of the igneous fluid mass below. Extreme darkness is often known to accompany such phenomena. With great simplicity the writer affirms that "the sacred record presents to us the district described as overflowed with water, and its atmosphere so turbid that extreme gloominess prevailed. 'Darkness was upon the face of the deep;' the 'waters' mentioned just before. Both this deluge, from the flowing in of a sea or rivers, and the darkness would be the effect of an extensive subsidence." All this is most unsatisfactory. It is an unsuccessful attempt to cramp the meaning of the words into the smallest possible dimension. The sense of the two words rendered "without form and void" conveys far more than "a condition of *superficial* ruin," or "*some kind of* general disorder." The terms properly and truly intimate a state of complete desolation and destruction, of anarchy and disorder. And then "the deep" is not merely what arises from

the influx of a sea or rivers, but *a whole deluge of waters*, wide and devastating. The term "darkness," also, is far more than "a turbid atmosphere where extreme gloominess prevailed." It must be taken in its natural acceptation of a condition pervaded by the absence of light, as the context shews. There was no light. The earth was a complete chaos, covered with waters dark and deep. Disorder was universal on its face.

A fatal objection to the hypothesis advocated by the scholars already named, arises from the fact, that light did not exist till the first day, nor the sun and other luminaries till the fourth day; whereas the animals and plants dug from the rocks could not have existed without light, and could not therefore have lived in the supposed long period previous to the six days. Dr. Hitchcock candidly says, "If it be indeed true that light was not called into existence till the first day, nor the sun till the fourth, this objection is probably insuperable."[1] How then does he dispose of it? "We may suppose," says he, "that the production of light was only rendering it visible to the earth, over which darkness hitherto brooded; not because no light was in existence, but because it did not shine upon the earth."[2] This is a mere evasion of the difficulty. Nothing can be plainer than that the language relates to the creation of light. By His almighty fiat God calls forth light from chaos, so that it appears a special creation of itself. It is here introduced because necessary for the future creative processes.

Equally futile is it, with Chalmers and Buckland, to regard the sun, moon, and stars, not as created on the fourth day, but as only *constituted* or *appointed* at that time to be luminaries and serve certain purposes. Those bodies, as they think, existed before the fourth day, and were merely assigned their respective offices on it. The words of the record are directly opposed to this exposition: "And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and for years: and let them be for lights in the firmament of heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so. And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night." The words at the commencement of the fourteenth verse cannot be translated with J. G. Rosenmüller, Hensler, and Richers, "Let lights be in the firmament of heaven for dividing," etc., *i.e.* "let them now serve to divide," etc., but, *let lights exist.* The Hebrew will bear the latter sense alone. The commencement of the sixteenth verse sufficiently explains the meaning of *let there be*

[1] Religion of Geology, p. 48. [2] Ibid., p. 49.

lights, for it is a re-statement of the same thing. "And God made two great lights." He *called them into existence;* then the purpose for which they were called into existence is stated. The record plainly implies that the sun, moon, and stars were brought into existence on the *fourth* day, and light on the *first* day.

It is not necessary to discuss other modes of reconciling the discrepancy between the Mosaic account and the conclusions of geology, because they are much more improbable. Whatever ingenuity may belong to them as *possible* methods of conciliation they cannot be sustained. Too little attention has been paid by those who have laboured to bring geology and the Mosaic cosmogony into harmony, to the most natural meaning of the words; as the author himself wished them to be understood. It is not sufficient to shew that the history of the creation *admits of* a certain interpretation; it is incumbent on the reconciler to point out that the method of explanation he adopts is the one the original author most probably meant. It is not enough to say with Hitchcock, "I do not maintain that this is the most natural interpretation, but only that the passage will fairly admit it by the strict rules of exegesis," and then to appeal to geology for "sufficient reason to adopt it as the correct interpretation." It is not the true method of procedure, "to call in the aid of science to ascertain the true meaning of Scripture," unless it be first *assumed* that the sacred authors always wrote what is in harmony with science. Did they possess infallibly accurate information on matters of science, so that whenever they touch upon it, their language must coincide with whatever is scientifically exact, or with physical truth? By assuming their scientific accuracy in the first instance, and taking that hypothesis into the region of pure exegesis, the whole question is prejudged. In that case we cannot institute an inquiry into the extent and character of their knowledge on natural subjects; because such inquiry can only be conducted on purely philological ground. In other words, we can know whether infallible inspiration extended to their notices of natural phenomena *only* by what they wrote in relation to such phenomena. First *prove* that the sacred writers possessed accurate knowledge on all scientific matters, and then one may appeal to geology or any other science, for the true meaning of Scripture. Science should not be summoned in aid of exegesis, till it be demonstrated that the writers themselves were accurately acquainted with science as far as they speak of it. "I am forming," says Dr. Smith, "no hypothesis in geology; I only plead that the ground is clear."[1] But we submit that the ground is *not* clear. Philology

[1] Scripture and Geology, Supplementary Notes, p. 531.

will not fairly allow it to be so. The sacred writer meant to describe the six days' work of creation, and to include the operation mentioned in the first verse of Genesis *in the first day's work*. There is no room for an interval of time of immense duration between the first and second verses. The plain narrative forbids it. In this view of the meaning we are glad to be able to have the full concurrence of the first Hebraists of the day, of Ewald, Hupfeld, Roediger, Knobel, and Delitzsch.

Are geology therefore and the Mosaic cosmogony at variance? To this question we are compelled to say that all the evidence is to that effect. In consequence of the disagreement of the narrative respecting creation and geology we are forced to believe that literal and true history is not in the first chapter.

In arriving at the conclusion that they are irreconcilable, divine revelation is neither weakened nor impugned; for those who have been most anxious to bring Scripture and geology into accordance are obliged to admit *in essence* the same thing. Thus Drs. Smith and Hitchcock, who have laboured so much to harmonise the two, dwell largely on the fact that descriptions of natural things are "adapted to the very erroneous notions which prevailed in the earliest ages of society, and among the common people." "Natural phenomena are described as they appear to the common eye, and not in their real nature; or, in the language of Rosenmüller, the Scriptures speak 'according to optical, and not physical truth.' They make no effort to correct even the grossest errors on these subjects, that then prevailed."[1] If therefore the sacred authors write incorrectly on scientific subjects; if they used the current language and shared the current notions of their age, what cause is there for expecting an agreement between their account of natural phenomena and the present state of physical science? Why make laboured attempts to reconcile Scripture and geology, if the sacred writers speak of natural objects agreeably to the knowledge of the age in which they lived? Dr. Smith expressly says, that "it never entered into the purpose of revelation to teach men geographical facts, or any other kind of physical knowledge:" why then should he labour to make it teach modern physics; or at least to square it with the advanced state of natural science? Two suppositions only are possible. One is that the authors of Scripture did not possess *such* an inspiration as raised them above the knowledge of physical objects current in their own time. The second is, that though so far inspired as to be able to write with accuracy on such points, they were directed *not* to do so, out of accommodation to the erroneous conceptions of their day. God

[1] Hitchcock's Religion of Geology, p. 43.

either *led* or *permitted* them to adapt their descriptions to the very erroneous notions then entertained, in order that they might be understood. It makes no important difference which supposition be adopted; they amount *virtually* to the same thing. The latter appears to us the more objectionable of the two, because it represents the Deity as adapting himself, through his immediate agents, not only to the imperfect, but *positively erroneous*, conceptions of by-gone ages. It will be said in reply, by such as use Dr. Smith's argument, "If it was not unworthy of God to permit himself to be described in terms infinitely beneath Him, much more may it be regarded as consistent with His word that its references to natural objects should comport with the knowledge of the age in which they were delivered."[1] The argument however is illogical. The cases are not analogous, and therefore the reasoning is invalid. In relation to descriptions of the Deity, it is unavoidable that He should be spoken of in terms infinitely beneath Him, because borrowed from human affections. To be at all intelligible, the sacred writers were compelled to use *some* anthropomorphic expressions respecting the Supreme Being. This holds good even under the Christian dispensation, with all its spirituality and universal adaptation. But there is no such necessity in relation to natural objects. They *might have* been described in exact terms for all time. It is true that they would probably not have been understood by the contemporaries of the writers; but they *might have* been understood by them, and *would be* understood by succeeding ages. The difference between the cases is, that the adaptation in language was unavoidable in the one case, *not* in the other. *The like necessity* did not exist in both. Hence we are inclined to believe that the sacred writers had no correct knowledge of scientific objects.

Thirdly. In another place we have shown that there are two different accounts of creation presenting considerable diversity, and even contradictory in one or two points. This leads to the inference that neither the one nor the other was meant to be regarded as literal and true history. If an editor put both together, one succeeding the other and different from it, it is clear that *he* did not look upon *either* as the true historical account. Neither should *we*.

Fourthly. Judged by modern natural science, the cosmogony given by the writer is from a very limited point of view. The earth is looked upon as *the proper world*, and all else in the universe as a mere appendage to it. Heaven is a *solid concave* in which the stars are fixed; water is above it; rain comes down thence;

[1] Scripture and Geology, p. 268.

and the heavenly bodies are appointed for signs. At every creative act God employs his word; he speaks to the things created, contemplates the productions to which he has given existence, rejoices over them, and rests on the seventh day. The writer assumes that the world was created and brought into its present condition by a rapid series of successive acts tantamount to *one* great act of creation, bringing all within the space of six days because he was familiar with the Hebrew week. His theory of creation is imperfect and unsatisfactory, being founded on very limited knowledge and arranged on an artificial plan.

Some however have thought that it shows considerable insight into nature, because science confirms it on various points. Those who take the days as *epochs* generally attach importance to this idea. Thus Hugh Miller identifies the palaeozoic, secondary, and tertiary formations of geology with the days or epochs of plants, reptiles, and mammals. But there is no *physical discontinuity* between the geological formations mentioned; which the narrative viewed as corresponding to the geological series evidently implies. Animals are found *along with* plants in the earliest deposits which have remained unfused. Indeed animal life, as far as geological phenomena enable us to ascertain, is more abundant than vegetable life in the very oldest strata. To make the harmony of the Mosaic and geological records complete, Miller is obliged to have recourse to the *salient points* in the assumed lengthened periods, which would have most powerfully arrested a human eye. Hence he takes the *middle periods* of the palaeozoic, secondary, and tertiary divisions, leaving out of view their earlier and later ages. This is arbitrary. The harmony between the record and geological science is essentially marred by the circumstance that plants were few and small in the earlier period of the palaeozoic division; and that the division generally possessed corals, crustaceans, molluscs, fishes, and reptiles; or, to speak scientifically, Brachiopoda, Gasteropoda, Zoophyta, Dimyaria, Cephalopoda, Echinodermata, Crustacea, Monomyaria.[1] The record plainly implies that plants alone existed on the third day; that vegetables *preceded* animals, and were not contemporary with them; that reptiles both of sea and land were not created till the fifth. The living creatures of the fifth day were wholly unknown to the third. Each day was distinguished by its peculiar existences; which existences were not continued or gradually developed from one to another. Such is the plain tenor of the record; whereas geology shows *continuity* and *succession*, the living things of the palaeozoic division passing over into the

[1] See Phillips' Life on the Earth, its origin and succession, pp. 82, 83.

secondary, and no interruption existing between the divisions in relation to their products or possessions.

We need scarcely say, in opposition to the hypothesis noticed, that *the creation-days are nothing but common days*. The original record, not merely by mentioning *evening* and *morning* with each, but in its whole conformation which is adapted to the ordinary week and sabbath, excludes the sense of epochs. No good Hebrew scholar can hold any other opinion about the term *day*, than that it means *the usual* Jewish day of twenty-four hours. Some pertinent remarks in favour of this explanation are made by Richers.[1]

It has also been thought that nature has been improved from the moment of the origin of life, the different *classes* of animals being gradually developed from the imperfect to the more complete. But if *such* development be found in the narrative, geology scarcely confirms it. "The opinion is, if taken generally, one of the least certain of all the general notions now current, because of a radical defect in the reasoning. This defect consists in assuming into one induction the terrestrial and the marine races of animals."[2] Yet there is a *general* sort of development in the description as a whole, which geology may be said to corroborate. A general correspondence between Scripture and geology may be fairly admitted. We are far, however, from allowing the extensive agreement assumed by many, especially by Miller and Pfaff.

The great lesson taught by the present cosmogony to faith is, that God is the creator of all things, which he made good and well-ordered. An infinite intelligent Being brought into existence and arranged the material world at first, putting in operation natural laws which regulate and control all changes.

Fifthly. We believe that the narrative has a mythic character, and may be favourably compared with the cosmogonies of other ancient nations; the Etrurian most resembling it. It is an old pre-Mosaic tradition, which originated independently of the Bible, and shews traces of an age when the Semites were more nearly connected with other races. The main features of it may be seen in the old religions, such as the Indian and Persian. Thus we find a chaotic watery mass, the separation and arrangement of its parts, the production of light, a succession of creative acts, and the creation of man last or last but one, in the Etrurian, Indian, Persian and other systems of religion. The Hebrew mind is not expressed in *the essentials* of this very ancient history of creation. It is not peculiar to the Hebrews as far as the gradations which form its distinctive

[1] Die Schoepfung's Paradieses und Sündfluthgeschichte, p. 101.
[2] Prof. Phillips in Powell's Connection of Natural and Divine Truth, p. 309.

characteristic are concerned. It cannot therefore be termed a pure Semite cosmogony; for it reaches up to a primitive age when the Semites were closely associated with other cultivated peoples. Eight works of creation are specified in it, three of them relating to chaos, viz., the production of light, the upheaving of the half of the watery mass to form the visible heavens, the collecting of the other half into great reservoirs or seas; and five others, belonging to the production of living things in the world thus furnished with light and arranged, viz., the vegetable tribes, the heavenly bodies, aquatic animals and winged fowl, the various classes of animals, and man. This history of creation comprising eight successive works, has a new form in the book of Genesis. Having passed over to the Hebrews from a high antiquity, it received the impress of a religion above heathenism, and therefore a peculiar conformation. The Mosaic conception of the week and its close the sabbath blended with it, giving it the present idiosyncracy. The writer wished to attach the institution of the sabbath to creation, because it is a symbol of creation. Of course this could not have been done till after the sabbath and the week had received their holy significance in Mosaism. Then was the human observance of the sabbath recommended by the example of God at creation. The original history is thus moulded into a shape suited to the religion of Moses. The work of eight days is identified with that of six days by putting the third creative act with the fourth, and the seventh with the eighth, and assigning one day to the two together. Thus the whole work is completed in six days. The Elohist has also made the Deity express his satisfaction with the work of his hands seven times. Thus the Hebrew mind is but partially expressed in this first cosmogony, whose outline may be traced in other old religions. The *second* history of creation, as given in the second chapter of Genesis, is a Hebrew myth embodying the deepest thinking of the national mind; but the first belongs *substantially* to a hoary antiquity, and was more developed than it appears in the book of Genesis. Yet the original type can be discerned in the brief outline preserved; notwithstanding the superadded Mosaic element. One prominent difficulty has been left, which might have been removed had the Hebrew writer been more philosophical, viz., the creation of the heavenly bodies on the fourth day after light had existed before. But he was not concerned about difficulties of this nature.

If these sentiments be just, we may see how vain are the efforts of modern theologians to *find* or *make* a harmony between science and the first chapter of Genesis. The first cosmogony (that in the first chapter) is essentially a poem, containing, as is

probable, some germs of science. Imagination prevails over reflection in it. Neither it nor the second narrative of creation should be judged from a scientific point of view. Why do not dogmatic theologians attempt to show a similar harmony between the Indian histories of creation in the Puranas where the views of the philosophical schools are presented and modern science, to that which they search for here? Both contain sublime truths in religion; though the Genesis-account has purer ones and better—truths which must be implicitly received because God speaks in them to man. The writers thought less of devising a *scientific* system than of establishing the fundamental principle that God is the creator of all.

Bunsen[1] has endeavoured to shew, by a comparison of Berosus's account, that the Scripture narrative is essentially a Chaldean history of creation. Abraham, as he supposes, got it among the Chaldees, and handed it down to posterity stripped of mythological deposits and poetical ornaments. But the cosmogonies of the Indians and Persians are rather nearer to it than the Chaldean. And it appears to us contrary to the narrative itself to regard it as both devoid of the mythological element, and divested of poetical ornaments. If Abraham be thought to have purified and simplified this tradition, as the critic supposes, we cannot believe that he purged it to the extent imagined. To our apprehension it has still mythic and poetical ingredients. We do not object to calling it in one sense *historical*, though in another it is *philosophical;* but it is then a historical *myth* or *tradition*. Nor is there any advantage in Bunsen's opposition to the term *myth*, while he virtually allows the cosmogony to possess *costume* or *dress*, such as *the days*. The general Semitic mind reflecting upon the creation of the world, expressed itself in various ways, among various races. Here we have a cosmogony exalted above others by its simplicity, purity, and *general* correspondence with the facts of nature; but yet by no means divested of the childishness of a primitive age. It is not history. It is a philosophical myth stripped of much that is improper and mythological by the consciousness of the divine in Abraham; yet still retaining part of its pre-Abrahamic and heathen character.

We need not enter into any refutation of the view recently proposed by Challis for reconciling science with the first and second chapters of Genesis.[2] It is sufficient to state, that he takes the Greek version to be an inspired and authoritative edition of the Hebrew; and interprets the Scriptural account in Genesis i. as a communication of the *plan* of creation originally framed in

[1] Bibelwerk, zweyte Abtheilung, erster Theil., p. 21, et seqq.
[2] Creation in Plan and in Progress, 12mo. 1861.

the mind of the Creator, not a narrative of facts. It is proleptical. The order of the creations in Scripture is reconciled with geology on the supposition that it is the order of the *maximum generations* of the different kinds of organisations. The first narrative (i.-ii. 5) contains a scheme of creation formed in the divine mind antecedently to the visible unfolding; but the second speaks of continuous physical action which took place in course of time. This is pure hypothesis violating right principles of interpretation. The writer seems ignorant of the alphabet of sacred criticism when he affirms that the *ipsissima verba* of the Septuagint text are of importance; that its deviations are made *scientifically* from the Hebrew; and that the account in the first chapter "claims to be divine revelation—to be a communication from the Spirit of the Creator himself." He errs in taking the days as long periods, and in imagining that when existence was given to light on the first day, the earth became *self-luminous*. The whole essay is *retrogressive* in tone and character. The author appears to hold that the Holy Spirit himself *wrote* the first chapter (in the Greek version, we suppose); and that no element of human composition is in it. Criticism has advanced beyond this puerile stage; on which we are sorry to see a scientific man gravely taking his stand.

III. Interpretation of the Record of Man's Fall.—The narrative contained in the third chapter of Genesis gives an account of the origin of evil in the world. Whether it is to be taken as a symbolical representation involving historical truth, or as a literal history of things which took place as they are related, is a point on which opinions are divided. It is not one of essential moment; provided *the fact* of evil and suffering be regarded as the prominent doctrine taught.

1. Much may be said in favour of the literal truth of the narrative regarded as history. Accordingly, Holden advances arguments which may appear weak when taken singly, but have the semblance of strength together. Thus he argues that the literal sense is always to be received unless solid grounds appear to the contrary; that if the sacred author had intended it as a *figurative* representation of the introduction of sin into the world, some intimation to this effect would have been communicated; that as the book of Genesis contains a work evidently historical, the whole must be supposed to be a narration of facts, or of what the author believed to be facts, till it is shown that a part is fabulous or mythological; that if Genesis be an inspired work, its historical truth may be considered the necessary consequence; that the nature and scope of the book strongly militate against the notion of allegorising the narrative; that it is incredible that the author would abruptly break the thread of literal history

after writing the words of Gen. i. 27, involving both that fact and the events which followed in succession in mythological obscurity; that no sufficient motive can be conceived for a dark, mysterious, parabolical record of the fall; and that the literal truth of the history of the fall is proved by its still existing effects. In like manner, the various traditions respecting the fall preserved in Pagan and idolatrous countries, are adduced in favour of the literal interpretation; together with the general belief of the ancient Jewish church. Many passages too in the Old Testament books are supposed to contain allusions to the fall, as Job xii. 16; xx. 4-7; xxxi. 33. In allusion to Paradise we find frequent mention of *the garden of the Lord*, as in Isaiah li. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 13; xxxi. 9; xxxvi. 35; Joel ii. 3; of *the tree of life*, as in Prov. iii. 18; xi. 30; xiii. 12; xv. 4; Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2; of the *serpent*, in Isaiah lxv. 25; Micah vii. 17; while hereditary depravity is found in Gen. vi. 5; viii. 21; 2 Chron. vi. 36; Job. xiv. 4; xv. 14; xxv. 4; Psalm li. 5; liii. 3; cxliii. 2; Prov. xxii. 15; Eccles. vii. 29; Isaiah xlviii. 8. Again, if the creation and marriage of our first parents were designed to show forth symbolically the mystical union of our Lord and his church, the peculiar circumstances related of that creation and marriage must be literally true; because types must have their foundation in matters of fact. The typical character of Adam also attests the reality of some particulars in the history. Again, if the Creator actually made the declaration contained in the expressions quoted in Matthew xix. 5, that part of the account to which they relate, that is, the formation of Eve out of one of Adam's ribs, and their union in marriage, must be literally true. If it be argued that the words were not spoken by the Deity but by Adam, the result is the same; for Adam must have uttered them under a divine impulse; and if he were inspired, the history must be true. And supposing them to be the words of Moses, the result will not be different. Besides, if the obedience of the second Adam was a fact, so was the disobedience of the first Adam; according to the reasoning of the apostle in Rom. v. 12–19. Having thus established the truth of one part of the Pentateuchal record, we may thence infer the literal truth of the whole. In like manner, the reasoning of the apostle in 1 Cor. xi. 8, 9, would be fallacious, if the Mosaic account of Eve's formation were not a literal fact. The same sacred writer declares, in 2 Cor. xi. 3, that Eve was seduced, and by the means of a serpent, which confirms the record in Genesis. In 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, the apostle grounds his direction to women to be silent in the churches, on the Mosaic history of her creation.[1]

[1] Dissertation on the Fall of Man, p. 219, et seqq.

Such are the chief arguments adduced and expanded by Holden with the view of establishing his proposition that the account of the fall should be understood in its plain and literal sense. We cannot enter into a detailed examination of them singly, else it might be shewn that they are vulnerable. The inquirer will perceive, that not a few of them assume that *the fact* of the fall is denied by those who object to the literal acceptation of the narrative. But this is by no means the case. Such as advocate a mythus, parable, or allegory *need not*, and some of them *do not* reject the fact of the fall. Besides, the allegorical and mythical are not distinguished by the critic in these his reasonings in favour of the literal sense. He also builds on the inspiration of the New Testament writers certain things which may be questioned, making no allowance for the principle of accommodation they sometimes employed. In short, the arguments adduced require sifting. They are loosely constructed, and sometimes entirely unsound. If we understand aright the authors who reject the literal sense, they do not deny *the fact* of the fall. The mythic interpretation does not compel the resolution of the narrative into baseless fiction; nor does the allegorical necessarily subvert all traces of a foundation containing elements of true history. The narrative as mythical may contain a germ of truth.

2. Another method of interpreting the history is *the allegorical.* By this is meant "that latent and more refined way of delivering truth, under the dress of fiction or fable, which was practised chiefly in ancient times, and by the sages of the Eastern world."[1] Philo advocated this sort of explanation. According to him Paradise represents the governing part of the soul; the tree of life, piety towards God; the tree of knowledge, understanding or prudence; the serpent, pleasure by which our first parents were beguiled; the river which watered the garden denotes virtue in general; and the four streams into which it was divided, the four cardinal virtues, prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice. It is doubtful whether Josephus held the same principles to any great extent; that he partly believed them may be inferred from his own statement in the preface to his Jewish Antiquities. The allegorical method was adopted by Origen and some others of the fathers; while in modern times it has not been without adherents, the most prominent of whom are Dr. Conyers Middleton, S. T. Coleridge,[2] and Dr. Donaldson.[3]

We cannot approve of this allegorical interpretation. It im-

[1] Middleton, Essay on the Allegorical and Literal Interpretation of the Creation and Fall of Man, p. 124.
[2] Aids to Reflection, p. 241, et seqq. (Ed. Burlington, 1840.)
[3] Jashar.

plies that a fictitious clothing is *deliberately* thrown over truth for the purpose of concealing it. The record itself contains no hint of such a purpose. Its simplicity is repugnant to allegory. "This mode of interpreting the passage," says Knapp, "was resorted to merely for the sake of avoiding certain difficulties, some of which seem to arise from the great simplicity of this narrative, and others from the great dissimilarity in the manner of thought and expression from that which is found in this cultivated and refined age. The interpreters of this passage thought it necessary, therefore, to make the writer say something of higher import and more philosophical than is contained in the simple words; and proceeded, with regard to Moses, very much as the later Grecian interpreters did with regard to Homer."[1]

But while disinclined to the allegorical explanation, we do not coincide with the reasoning of Horsley, who contends that either the whole is an allegory or the whole literal history. Even were there no alternative between these two interpretations, the validity of the argument urged on behalf of the one or the other exclusively is questionable. When Horsley reasons in a categorical and imposing manner like the following, he will deceive none but the unreflecting: "No writer of true history would mix plain matter of fact with allegory in one continued narrative, without any intimation of a transition from the one to the other. If therefore any part of this narrative be matter of fact, no part is allegorical. On the other hand, if any part be allegorical no part is naked matter of fact: and the consequence of this will be that every thing in every part of the whole narrative must be allegorical. If the formation of the woman out of the man be allegory, the woman must be an allegorical woman. The man therefore must be an allegorical man; for of such a man only the allegorical woman will be a meet companion. If the man is allegorical, his paradise will be an allegorical garden; the trees that grew in it allegorical trees; the rivers that watered it allegorical rivers; and thus we may ascend to the very beginning of the creation and conclude at last that the heavens are allegorical heavens, and the earth an allegorical earth. Thus the whole history of the creation will be an allegory, of which the real subject is not disclosed; and in this absurdity the scheme of allegorising ends."[2]

The principle here *assumed* will not be allowed by the candid expositor. It is quite possible for allegory to exist *in the part* of a narrative and not in *the whole*. Necessity sometimes requires

[1] Theology, translated by Woods, p. 237.

[2] Bib. Crit., vol. i. p. 9.

a resort to it. If the intermixture of the literal and figurative without any intimation be usual in Scripture; if the language of parable be interrupted by literal expressions; uniformity of interpretation should not be demanded in regard to allegory. Thus in the allegory of the vine contained in the eightieth Psalm, we read in the sixteenth verse, "it is burned with fire; it is cut down; they perish at the rebuke of thy countenance," where a literal clause is appended to the figurative representation. So also in the ninth chapter of the Book of Judges, Jotham's address must be explained as parabolical in part and literal in part. Wherever the literal sense involves what is inconsistent with the character of God or with reason—where it contradicts another part of scripture or implies an absurdity—necessity demands the application of the parabolical. Some parts of the history of the fall and creation *may be* narrated in language partly allegorical. If it can be shown that there is an absolute necessity for it, the allegorical should be applied.

But, though Horsley's reasoning be built on a mere assumption, difficulties lie in the way of an allegorical interpretation, which demand its rejection. It appears to us, that the method of explanation advocated by Origen and others is liable to serious objections. It would be better to take the account as partly allegorical and partly literal. Fewer difficulties would then appear.

3. A third way of explaining the narrative is that which has been termed the mythical, assuming either that the history is enwrapped in a veil of fable and is only true in part, or that it consists of certain philosophical conjectures thrown into the historical form without describing what really happened. Most critics who have adopted the mythical interpretation look upon the description of creation and the fall as *philosophical* mythi or philosophemes not *historical* mythi, *i.e.*, as ancient opinions devised by human genius and presented in a historical form that they might be more palpable to the apprehension of others. Perhaps it will be best to state some circumstances adverse to the literal acceptation, as introductory to a favourable view of the mythic. Here we proceed upon an undoubted principle of interpretation, viz., that every part of Scripture must be explained in such a manner as is consistent with right reason and the known attributes of the Deity. Just conceptions of the Supreme Being should precede and regulate the method of exposition.

(*a*) The earth is divided into Eden, the garden in Eden where the first human beings dwelt, and the land of Nod in which those expelled from Eden's garden wander. A river divides Eden and the garden, and thence becomes four rivers—Pison,

Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates. Two Edens are elsewhere mentioned in the Bible; yet the present can be identified with neither. This is intimated by the very punctuation which the Masoretes give to Eden in Genesis. (See Amos i, 5 and Ezek. xxvii, 23). In all ages men have been ignorant of its situation. Yet if we understand as literal history its being strictly guarded by cherubim and a flaming sword the implication is that it was still accessible to man after Adam's expulsion. The first man was not far removed from it after being driven out; and his descendants must have been planted and settled on all sides of it. There is not however the slightest record of it in the history of those antediluvian ages. Hence the difficulty of conceiving that it existed in a particular part of the world. The multitude of hypotheses, says Munk,[1] relative to the topography of Eden—hypotheses always very arbitrary, which have led to no result, is the best proof that the garden is a creation of the imagination, and belongs to the mythic geography of the ancient East. A certain locality indeed was indistinctly identified with Eden, and therefore the historical element is not wholly wanting. Although we find the Semites in Armenia, when the first knowledge of their movements appears, that country can scarcely have been their cradle. The Semite race had reminiscences of an anterior geography indistinctly floating among them—a geography which lost its early signification to them. Two of the primitive names of the rivers were altered by the Hebrew redactor of Genesis, into others better known; for the Tigris and Euphrates hardly belong to the same geographical system as the Pison and the Gihon. The region which best satisfies the condition of these early chapters is that of the Imäus; where the inductions of Burnouf, Lassen, and A. von Humboldt place the cradle of the Aryan race. There alone can it be said, with some degree of probability, that four rivers proceed from the same source, the Indus, Helmund, Oxus, and Jaxartes. The Pison appears identical with the Indus in its upper course. The land of Havilah is the region of higher India, where are gold, precious stones, and bdellium. It is associated with Ophir, which certainly denotes a region not far from the mouth of the Indus. The Gihon is the Oxus, which still bears the same name (Jihoun); and Cush is a vague word, denoting a distant country indefinitely. Thus the tradition was changed, after it had passed from the East to the Hebrews, among whom it got another aspect and colouring. The Indian tradition was, that four streams flowed into all parts of the world out of the one original water, or the holy Meru.

[1] Palestine, p. 428.

If this view be probable, the Pison cannot be the Phasis of Colchis, nor the Gihon the Araxes of Cush (the Cossaeans or Medes, in a wider sense). The four rivers are not historical and geographical; as Reland and many later scholars have maintained. It sounds plausibly to start with the two well-known ones, the Tigris and Euphrates; and then to look for two other historical ones, the Phasis and Araxes; but various features of the description do not agree with Armenia: for example, the bdellium, onyx, and gold; and Cain's wandering to the land of *Nod*, which was *east* of Eden. In giving the word *Nod* as the name of a country, the writer may have had a vague knowledge of a country *eastward* of Eden, *Hanod* or *Hind;* the name of which was connected with the banishment of Cain, by a slight change of the term. Neither does the account of the *cherubim*, placed at *the east* of the garden, agree well with Reland's view, revived as it has been by Von Lengerke, Kurtz, and Bunsen.

Another opinion from which we dissent is, that while the Tigris and Euphrates are the well-known rivers of Armenia, the Gihon and Pison are the Nile and Indus respectively. Thus rivers were taken to complete mythically the analogy to the upper Asiatic tradition. This is the opinion of Tuch,[1] whom Kalisch[2] follows. It is unlikely that a Hebrew writer would have connected *the Nile* with three rivers of Asia; and therefore we cannot agree with Josephus, Volney, Gesenius, and Tuch, in identifying Gihon with that river.

(*b*) The planting of the garden in Eden by God, like an husbandman; the wonderful properties attributed to the two trees prominently set forth by the narrator; the human method in which the Almighty is described as walking about in the cool of the evening in the garden, and as entertaining jealousy of the aspiring man (iii. 5, 8, 22); the serpent speaking and the nature of its punishment; the circumstance of the first pair hearing the voice (rustling) of the Lord God in the garden, and of the Almighty calling to Adam in his hiding place among the trees, together with the cherubim placed at the east of the garden, and the flaming sword to prevent access to it or "keep the way of the tree of life," are adverse to a literal acceptation. Accordingly we find Origen writing in this strain: "Who so silly as to think that God, like an husbandman, planted a garden, and in it a real tree of life to be tasted by corporeal teeth; or that the knowledge of good and ill was to be acquired by eating the fruit of another tree?" And as to God's walking in that garden, and Adam's hiding himself from him among the trees he says—"no man can doubt that these things are to be taken figuratively

[1] Kommentar ueber die Genesis, p. 75, et seqq.
[2] Commentary on Genesis, p. 92, et seqq.

and not literally, to denote certain mysteries or recondite senses."[1]

(*c*) To the tree of life is assigned the property of strengthening the power of physical life and rendering it indestructible. The first man should become immortal by eating the fruit of a certain tree. Surely this is at least highly improbable. We admit that Omnipotence *may have* endowed a particular tree with the virtue of conferring immortality; but it is most unlikely. Besides, admitting the possibility, it has been pertinently asked, how the effects of the tree of life could be extended to Adam's posterity in every part of the world? How could they everywhere partake of its fruit? It is easy to say with Holden, that "we ought not to be staggered, should it be beyond our ability to discover *how* the effects of the tree could be extended to Adam's posterity;"[2] and perhaps we should not be over-curious in the matter; but the difficulty is one that *will* suggest itself to a reflecting mind. According to the narrative, God imparted such a power to the tree of life as he could neither recal nor alter, since he expelled Adam from Paradise, lest the latter should eat of it and live for ever (iii. 21, 22). The words in iii. 21, 22, imply that man was created mortal at first, and that he would have become immortal by partaking of the tree of life. They also involve the idea that Elohim was jealous lest the first pair, after they had attained to one divine prerogative—the knowledge of good and evil—should arrive at another such prerogative—viz., immortality. Elohim therefore sent them forth from the garden, and appointed guards to prevent access to it. It is true that the present meaning of the text is thought to be erroneous by those who hold the literal view of the narrative; but their assumed explanations are unnatural. Thus when the sense is elicited, "Behold the man *has attempted to become* as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and *attempt to take* of the tree of life, *in the vain expectation* of living for ever, he shall be expelled from Paradise: therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden;" the words are grievously misinterpreted. It is wholly incorrect to say with Macdonald, "the language determines nothing as to the possibility or impossibility of such a result; it only expresses *a purpose* which might be aimed at."[3] If words have a natural sense, those of the sacred writer *do* mean the possibility of the thing aimed at. The Hebrew will not fairly bear the assumed interpretation. Still more untenable, because absurd, is Macdonald's interpretation of the clause—*the man is become as one of us*, *i.e.*, "he became *by redemption* like God, for he was re-

[1] Philocalia, cap. i. pp. 12, 13.
[2] Dissertation on the Fall, p. 76.
[3] Creation and the Fall, p. 471.

newed in the spirit of his mind!" Nor is Preston's translation more consonant with the Hebrew original than those we have quoted,—"The man was at first like one of us—spiritual beings—capable to distinguish between right and wrong; but now that he has chosen the evil, and eaten of the forbidden fruit, it is not to be permitted that he put forth his hand, and take of the tree of life too as well as of the forbidden fruit, and eat and live for ever." [1] Equally incorrect is another sense, according to which the passage is understood ironically—"Behold the result of the serpent's promise. The man, forsooth, is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest with equal success, he put forth his hand and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and buoy himself up with the vain hope that, by so doing he shall live for ever, he shall be expelled from Paradise. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden." We may affirm that any interpretation of the passage, which represents Adam and Eve as expelled from the garden for some other reason than that lest by eating of the tree of life they should become immortal, is directly contrary to the plain meaning of the original words. Hence the Deity is supposed to have invested the tree with a virtue which he could neither recal nor alter.

(*d*) In like manner, the property ascribed to the tree of knowledge partakes of the marvellous and improbable. It is supposed capable of awakening and increasing spiritual power—of imparting higher knowledge. The perception of good and evil, right and wrong, is represented as the effect of its fruit. It may well be asked therefore, how could a little fruit communicate moral insight, or awaken the conscience to a sense of the difference between good and evil? Here again, by means of other interpretations than the only natural one, an attempt is made to uphold the literality of the narrative. Some suppose that the tree was so called *from the event;* man, by eating of its fruit, having made a sad experiment of the difference between the good in his state of innocence, and the evil of the condition which followed his transgression. But Vitringa has refuted this hypothesis, arguing among other things very justly, that "to know good and evil," in the language of Scripture, is to *understand* the nature of good and evil or right and wrong, not to *experience* it. Surely the Almighty would hardly style it the tree of knowledge of *good* and evil from an event which introduced nothing but sin and misery into the world. Others suppose, that the tree was so called because it was *a test* of good and evil, by which our first parents were tried whether they would be good or bad. Here again Vitringa has done good service

[1] Phrascological Notes on the Hebrew text of the Book of Genesis, p. 24.

by refuting the proposed hypothesis.[1] As surely as the tree of life possessed the property of lengthening natural life; so surely had the second tree the virtue within itself of imparting a moral perception of right and wrong. As soon as one comes to have a full perception of evil—when he has the capacity of noting the evil and improper wherever it presents itself, he *knows good and evil* in the sense here intended. Such efficacy is ascribed to the tree—an efficacy which at once lifts children and childish men from their infantine state of mental development to that of ripe self-knowledge of evil.

(*e*) The account of the cherubim and the fiery sword does not comport with the literal sense. Surely God's simple command was sufficient to prevent the re-entrance of the banished pair into paradise, without an angelic guard and flaming sword. And how can such a guard be thought necessary when the garden of Eden most probably lay under the curse as well as the whole earth? Here the cherubim have an employment assigned them of which no notice occurs elsewhere. In other parts of Scripture they appear as *supporters of the divine throne.* The writer deviates therefore from the prevalent view of the cherubim. It is unnecessary to allude particularly to the different methods of explaining the verse in which the cherubim and fiery sword are mentioned so as to obviate the objection to the literal sense founded upon it. The dreams of Hutchinsonian writers about the cherubim may be seen in Parkhurst and others of the same school. The cherubic figures can only be compared with the fabulous *griffins*, which are represented by various writers as guarding gold in the northern parts of Asia; especially as the term *cherub* has no Semitic etymology, but belongs to the same root as the Greek γρύψ, griffin, viz., *gribh*, Pers. In any case a literal guard is improbable.

(*f*) The creation of the woman from a rib in the side of the man presents another obstacle in the way of the literal explanation. Adam's male posterity are not deficient in that part of their bodily organisation; and therefore he himself could not have been so after a rib was taken from him. What the writer wishes to shew, is the companionship of the woman to the man. She is dependent on the man, and at the same time his attendant, helpmate, and associate.

In connexion with this argument may be mentioned the sentence on Eve. The pain of conception is represented as the consequence of her transgression. But she *must have* pain in childbirth from her physical constitution. The existing effects of parturition suggested the words of the sentence passed upon her. All that

[1] Observationes Sacrae, Lib. iv. cap. xii. § 4, et seqq.

Holden can say against this amounts to nothing. He thinks it *not impossible* that, had the woman continued in a state of innocence, she *might have* experienced no pain in conception; and that some alteration, sufficient to produce existing effects, *might have* taken place in the structure of her body. It is also suggested that God *might originally fashion* her to suit a fallen state. Assumptions like these need no refutation.

(*g*) In the nineteenth and twentieth verses of the second chapter, it is related that the beasts of the field and fowls of the air were brought to Adam to receive names. Accordingly he named all tame and wild mammalia, together with the fowls of the air. Zoologists however tell us that this is impossible, because animals are exclusively adapted to the respective regions they inhabit. It is contrary to their nature to be assembled in one place. Of course a miracle could at once cause the thing to be done; but even the advocates of the literal sense are averse to call in the aid of the miraculous in this instance. By *impossible* we mean *zoologically* so, in conformity with the natural habits and instincts of animals.

In answer to this argument it is said that only *a number* of the newly-created animals were brought together. *All* were not brought. Holden also thinks, that only those are meant which were within the precincts of the garden of Eden, and that they came at successive times to receive names.[1] This is contrary to the plain view of the narrative. "And out of the ground the Lord God formed *every* beast of the field and *every* fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called *every* living creature, that was the name thereof." As surely as the statement is to the effect that God created all the beasts of the field and the fowls of the air, so surely did Adam give names to *all that were created.* If he only named *some,* it must be consistently maintained that he created some. He named *as many* as are said to have been created. The account is wholly opposed to the idea, that only the animals within the precincts of the garden of Eden were included; for the expressions, "every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air," are too plain to be restricted. And as to the *successive* naming, there is no hint of it in the account. It is an arbitrary assumption. It will thus be seen that we coincide with Bochart[2] and the ancient expositors, in interpreting the narrative in the most extensive sense; though that celebrated writer failed to shew the possibility of the whole animated creation being assembled.

(*h*) Without at present discussing the entire question re-

[1] Dissertation on the Fall, pp. 99, 100. [2] Hierozoicon, Part I., Lib. i., cap. ix.

specting the serpent, we shall merely deduce from it an argument against the literal acceptation, on the supposition that the brute serpent was concerned in the first temptation. The punishment inflicted, whether the animal was merely the instrument of the devil, or led to the transgression by eating of the fruit in obedience to its native instincts, cannot be reconciled with eternal justice. Why should an unoffending animal suffer?

In answer to this, Holden refers to the sovereignty of God, who has a right to dispose of all his creatures as he pleases. That is not in point, because the question is, Would the Almighty punish an innocent animal? Is it consistent with his justice and goodness to do so? We believe not. The same writer questions whether the serpent's sentence can be regarded as a real punishment. Surely punishment is intended when we read, "because thou hast done this, thou art *cursed* above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life," etc. It is absurd to lay down, as Holden does, a definition of punish, *i.e.*, to inflict misery, and then argue that the serpent has no pain or misery, because punish often means *to inflict with loss*.[1] If a being is deprived of what it had before, it is so far punished. When it is farther argued that important benefits resulted from the vengeance exercised upon the serpent, the point in dispute is evaded.

An easier way of escaping from the difficulty is that apparently adopted by Leland,[2] followed by Macdonald,[3] in which it is supposed that the curse was only and properly directed against Satan, who actuated the creature called *the serpent*. Thus the animal serpent is excluded from all direct participation in the punishment denounced. It is easy to see that if a real serpent were employed in the transaction by an intelligent agent, *both* are included in the punishment. This is plain from the terms of the curse, which *cannot, without arbitrariness*, be limited to Satan himself. They are not only accommodated to the condition of the creature actuated by Satan but are *excessively metaphorical* on the hypothesis of the exclusion of the literal serpent from punishment. Indeed they include it; without which they seem unsuitable to a being simply spiritual.

(*i*) Other particulars serve to strengthen the impression which the preceding evidences of *un*literality are fitted to make on the mind of the reader, such as, the Lord God making coats of skins and clothing the first pair. "There is no occasion for denying, with the generality of commentators, that the coats of

[1] Dissertation on the Fall, chap. ii. sec. 6.
[2] Answer to Christianity as Old as the Creation, Part II., p. 516; 1733. 8vo.
[3] Creation and the Fall, pp. 138, 139.

skin were made immediately or directly by God . . . . . The garments were God's gifts—God's contrivance." Such is the language of Macdonald. We should not like to have *his* conception of the Deity. The cursing of the unoffending earth, and making the act of eating a little fruit from a tree to be visited with so severe a penalty point towards the same conclusion. We know that in the act of eating the fruit was involved the crime of disobedience to God, which justly deserves severe punishment; but to make abstinence from the fruit of a tree the test of obedience to the divine will, scarcely accords with the known character of Deity. In view of the entire narrative of the introduction of evil, with which that of creation is so closely connected that both must be interpreted in the same manner, the patient reader of the Bible will perhaps come to the conclusion, that the things to which we have called his attention are unfavourable to a literal acceptation. Repeated study of the account will probably incline him to some other mode of interpretation. Such a reader, however, will not *dogmatise.*

Before proceeding to indicate the conclusion to which we come, it may be desirable to consider *who* or *what* is meant by "the serpent," in the third chapter. There are three leading views.

1. Some, as Horsley, suppose that the devil or Satan was the only agent in the temptation. According to this view, the serpent is a symbolical name for the devil. The going upon the belly and eating of the dust in the malediction, are figurative expressions describing in images taken from the life of the common serpent a state of degradation and perpetual mortification of appetite to which the deceiver is condemned. The serpent is selected to represent the devil on account of his proverbial cunning and the very general antipathy with which mankind regard this class of animals. When he holds communication with the woman and induces her to disobey the divine will, the description is necessarily figurative, in conformity with the nature of a created spirit.

However plausible this hypothesis, it is inconsistent with the record itself. Thus it does not agree with iii. 1, "the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field," which will not bear Horsley's forced paraphrase—"a *certain* serpent was cunning beyond any beast of the field, whether of the serpent or of any other kind." Nothing else is intimated than that the serpent itself was one of the beasts of the field. In like manner, iii. 14 is adverse; where the punishment plainly refers to a literal serpent. "Going upon the belly" cannot be frittered away into the sense of "abject degradation," whatever meaning be attributed to *eating dust.*

2. Others think that a real serpent is spoken of in the narra-

tive, no other agent being meant as a tempter. This opinion is held by Abarbanel, Dathe, Herder, Tuch, Knobel, and most German critics in recent times. It is favoured by the fact, that the seducer is never mentioned by any other name than the serpent; nor is any intimation given that another being is intended under that symbolical appellation or lurked under the serpentine form. The thoughts that arose in Eve's mind are represented, agreeably to the genius of orientalism, under the figure of a conversation. They are pictorially set forth in the form of a dialogue. In early ages it was usual to represent the lower animals speaking. The terms of the curse agree with this view, because they recognise *the serpent alone. The seed of the woman i. e., mankind* shall bruise the deadly part and so kill the serpent tribe; while the animal shall bite and injure the least mortal part of the human body, the heel. We hold, therefore, that the writer thought of nothing else than a serpent; though later readers either introduced Satan besides, or *identified* the serpent *with* Satan.

In opposition to this it has been said, that the expressions in the text imply as plainly as words can do, a real conversation between Eve and the serpent. This is mere assertion. With greater plausibility it has been stated by way of refutation that in the Persian myth, which presents more resemblance to the Hebrew narrative than the Greek, Tibetan or Indian ones, the evil principle Ahriman causes the first man to be tempted; for which purpose he comes to earth in the form of a serpent. Jewish tradition speaks of the devil as the tempter. Accordingly the Book of Wisdom says, "through envy of the devil came death into the world" (ii. 24). The Targum of Jonathan (on Gen. iii. 6) has, "and the woman saw Sammael the angel of death and was afraid." In Rev. xii. 9, the great dragon, that old serpent, is synonymous with the devil and Satan. The same epithets are applied in Rev. xx. 2. In like manner in John viii. 44, the devil is called a "murderer from the beginning," with reference to his agency in tempting the first pair to sin, and so introducing death. The christian fathers, as is natural, take the same view of the tempter.

These considerations are by no means decisive. Later Jewish views of the temptation must not be taken as a guide in ascertaining the historical interpretation of a passage in their ancient books. The New Testament writers partook of various Jewish ideas current in their time. The record itself speaks of nothing but a serpent, who must either be taken historically or mythologically, according to the character of the entire narrative.

3. A third view regards the devil as the principal agent who employed the serpent as his instrument for effecting his

purpose. The brute serpent reasons and speaks because it is the organ of an evil spirit; and the sentence of condemnation refers to both. This hypothesis satisfies some requisitions of the case. But it is not free from objection. According to it the devil has the power of working miracles. It is very doubtful whether *any* created spirit in the universe possesses natural powers adequate to produce miraculous results. To our own mind the miraculous character of the transaction is an insuperable objection. Supposing Satan to have had the power of working miracles, is it probable that the Deity would allow him to exert it for the purpose of ruining man? Is it likely that the great enemy of God, filled with envy at the happiness of our first parents and contriving a plan to destroy it and so mar the beauty of the divine workmanship and introduce disarrangement into the newly made world, would be permitted to abuse one of God's good creatures by making it his instrument in the destruction of the father of the human race? If he *was* able to effect a series of miracles in order to ruin the lord of this lower world, made in the image of God, would he be allowed to put them into operation *in the manner stated*, abusing the body of an innocent animal for the purpose of destroying the master-work of God's hands? We believe not. The divine goodness is adverse to it. All the attributes of his nature, as well as his known conduct in relation to man, forbid it. Besides, when the Jehovist wrote, Satan was not conceived of by the Jews as a being independent of Jehovah and possessing a power to do evil of himself. He was not so thought of till near the captivity, when the conception of him was developed under Eastern Asiatic influences. At the time the book of Job was written he still belonged to the council of the Almighty; and was so far from being the independent head of a host of other evil spirits, that he required the express permission of the Deity to put Job to the trial. It would therefore be inconsistent with the proper period of the Jehovist, to suppose that he represented Satan as the principal agent in tempting Eve.

It is unnecessary to notice the unscriptural assertion of Horsley that the "tempter assumed, perhaps by necessity, the form of the serpent, being permitted to assume no better than that of a mean reptile." Since the Almighty had before pronounced all his creatures *good*, the idea of meanness in any before the fall must be rejected.

From this survey of the leading views of the serpent who was active in the temptation it will appear, that the only admissible one requires a mythical character in the narrative. The tradition was a national mythus.

Let us now recur to the interpretation of the entire nar-

rative. Various arguments were adduced against the literal explanation. The nature of the serpent, the manner in which he is said to have proceeded, the dialogue between him and Eve, the sentence pronounced, militate against that mode of interpretation. The speaking of the serpent must ever be a strange thing in literal history. Indeed it is too like the ancient fable of inferior animals having been endowed with reason and speech to be accepted as history. What then is the most probable explanation of the account given of the temptation and fall of man? If it be neither an allegory nor a literal history, what is it? Constrained as we are to reject both hypotheses, what reply can be given to the question, How should the narrative be regarded?

The mythic hypothesis *in some form* is the only one that commends itself to the reflective mind. Before proceeding more particularly to speak of it, two or three observations must be premised.

1. Either from misapprehension or ignorance of its nature, it has been regarded as hostile to the Bible. Thus one of whom better things might have been expected writes: "We could not *consistently* adopt it unless we went with them (the German antisupernaturalists) to the infidel length of denying any positive revelation."[1] It is incorrect to say by implication that none but antisupernaturalists adopt the hypothesis in question. Some supernaturalists do so. As to the *consistency* of denying any positive revelation if this hypothesis be held, we are unable to perceive it. Consistency does not demand the conclusion. If it did, the hypothesis should be repudiated. With equal truth might it be said, that the allegorical view is hostile to the idea of a positive revelation, as denying the literal history of the account. Yet "we have the assurance of Bishop Horsley, that the Church of England does not demand the literal understanding of the document contained in the second (from verse 8) and third chapters of Genesis as a point of faith, or regard a different interpretation as affecting the orthodoxy of the interpreter."[2]

2 From ignorance it has also been said that the mythical view "is incompatible with every idea of divine inspiration." If by inspiration be meant *infallible knowledge*, the assertion may be true. But the thing so called was a spiritual apprehension on the part of the sacred writers which admitted of many degrees—some persons being more highly inspired than others. If their knowledge of divine things was *graduated*, they could not be *infallible*.

[1] Smith's Scripture and Geology, p. 196, third edition.
[2] Coleridge's Aids to Reflection, p. 241.

3. "We have in a speech and the epistles of the apostle Paul, references to this very initial part of the book of Genesis, in such expressions as seem to imply the *historical* sense, and can, by no fair means of interpretation or of analogical argument, be made compatible with a *mythic* character (Acts xiv. 15, 2 Cor. iv. 6)."[1]

This argument is weak and inadeqate. Even if it were apposite, which it is manifestly not, we could not allow the apostle's interpretation of the early part of Genesis to be *necessarily* and *unquestionably* the true one. Modes of interpretation current among the Jews had some influence on apostolical ideas and argumentation. The advocates of the literal interpretation *cannot* fairly and consistently adhere to it. They are compelled to have recourse to figure, to restriction of the plain grammatical meaning of the text, and to *gratuitous* miracles. They reject the mythical explanation and resort to methods which are no better. Sometimes they affirm, "we have not undertaken to decide that the literal sense is in all cases the only true, or the most correct one. We are disposed rather to admit, that in those things which transcend altogether the limits of human knowledge, and which lie beyond the reach of the tests that may be applied to other subjects of inquiry from the collateral light of history and philosophy, *there is often room for a more mystic sense*,"[2] etc. Sometimes they say that *the proper and sole reference of inspiration is to religious subjects*, and if that be rejected affirm the inevitable conclusion, "that we must impute error to the Spirit of God."[3] Yet withal the literal truth of the Mosaic cosmogony is contended for, as well as its agreement with geology. Sometimes they assert that "the Scripture does use language, even concerning the highest and most awful of objects, God and His perfections and operations, which we dare not say is *literally true*, or that it is according to the reality of the things spoken of,"[4] and yet reject the idea of myths. At other times they speak of "explaining language by stripping off the figurative covering, and drawing forth the simple truth, which ye then express in some kind of abstract phrase metaphysically more accurate;"[5] and yet speak most strongly against myth. Sometimes again they affirm, that the "Author of revelation spoke to mankind in such language as they were accustomed to use, such as they could most readily understand," while forced to admit that it is scientifically inaccurate. Surely it is better to adopt the mythical explanation

[1] Smith's Scripture and Geology, p. 523, third edition.
[2] Hoare's Veracity of Genesis, pp. 270, 271.
[3] Smith's Scripture and Geology, p. 311.
[4] Ibid. p. 310. [5] Ibid. p. 311.

than attribute error to the Almighty; as is really done by those well-meaning christians who hold that He spoke in condescension to the ideas of illiterate men. In our view, it is inconsistent with all proper notions of His character to hold that He spoke in any other way than that which is strictly true and correct. And after all, Dr. Smith's "stripping off the figurative covering and drawing forth the simple truth," is not very far from a process equivalent to the mythic explanation.

The preceding observations will help to prepare the way for what follows, as well as to indicate that form of the mythic hypothesis which we submit to the reader's notice. In accordance with the teaching of the New Testament, we must find in the narrative such truths only as accord with right ideas of the Deity, with the moral character of man, with the indubitable declarations of pure reason, and the word of God generally.

The myth is a *philosophical* not a historical one, in which a reflecting Israelite sets forth his views of the origin of evil. The narrative was not intended to teach, as is often supposed, the origin of man's universal sinfulness, but that of evil generally in the world. The author's object was not to trace the rise of moral corruption and its transition from one man to all his posterity. *Original sin*, as it is called, hardly appears as a doctrine in the Old Testament. The nearest approach to it there is in the fifty-first Psalm. Much less do we meet with *the imputation of the guilt of Adam's sin to his posterity* in the Jewish canonical Scriptures. The writer of Gen. iii. intended to explain the origin of suffering, toil, and death in the world. This he deduces from the violation of God's law respecting the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Transgressing a divine prohibition, the man passed from a state of innocent unconsciousness of evil to one of higher development, but at the same time of self-will and conscious pride in his mental and moral relations. Thus while the philosophical Israelite sets forth his views of the origin of evil, he also shows man's advancement from simple innocence to conscious freedom and responsibility. The original state in which he is described is not one of holiness and perfection in knowledge. It is rather that of indifference to good or evil. In the language of Paul, Adam was a *living soul* or *natural man*. He was of the earth, *earthy;* not πνευματικός but ψυχικός. He was a man with a *soul* (ψυχή) not with a *spirit* (πνεῦμα). No part of Scripture intimates that the primitive condition of the human race was one of holiness. Many indeed have thought that the divine image in which man is said to have been created consisted of holiness, either wholly

or in part. Thus we read in the Westminster Confession of Faith: "God created man in his own image, in knowledge, righteousness and *holiness*, with dominion over the creatures." In like manner, Lutheran theology explains the image of perfect holiness and wisdom. In proof of this, Coloss. iii. 10 and Ephes. iv. 24 are adduced. But here it is assumed without proof, as Julius Mueller has well remarked,[1] that the new creation by redemption is essentially nothing else than a restoration of the condition in which Adam was before the fall. One thing is certain, viz., that the image of God was not lost by the fall, for it is still assumed as remaining (Gen. ix. 6, and Psalm viii. 6). It appears to us that the image consisted in the consciousness of God in man—the divine spirit communicated to him.

Some may perhaps regard it as doubtful whether *the main idea* of the myth lies in the endeavour to set forth the origin of evil in the world or the mental advancement of man—his transition from a state of *nature* to that of *spirit*, in which he resembles beings of a purely spiritual nature and even God himself. The former appears to us the more probable view. But it implies the latter. Man is impelled to obtain the knowledge of good and evil. He aspires to such knowledge, and takes the step to acquire it. In other words, scope is given to his nature; and in the development of his moral consciousness he becomes manly and noble, emerging from the sphere in which he resembles the lower animals to that in which he clearly discerns good and evil. But *in doing this*, he transgresses the will of God. *The manner* in which his moral powers unfold themselves is evil. He exceeds the boundary fixed by God and therefore sins. Thus a transition from the primeval age of childish simplicity to one marked by toil and trouble is described *along with* elevation to moral freedom and independence. In its present form, the myth was intended to shew the origin of misery in the world, by presenting it under the more general aspect of man's advancement to freedom from the childishness of nature. In emerging out of this original condition he was greatly elevated; for the discernment of good and evil lifted him at once to the sphere of spiritual reflectiveness; but while making the step, he disobeyed the Creator. It was a step at once *downwards* and *upwards*. Innocence was lost, but the possibility of spirituality attained. Such appears to be the essence of the myth. It is superfluous to observe, that the problem of the origin of evil is not solved. Neither was the mythus invented by the Jehovist but taken from the national

[1] Müller's Christian Doctrine of Sin, translated in the Bibliotheca Sacra, for 1849 p. 264.

traditions. Its *first form* proceeded from a philosophical Hebrew; and its present shape may be somewhat different from the primitive one.

It will be seen that we do not assent to the opinion of Tholuck[1] and Jul. Mueller[2], that the myth is historical. Though clothed in a historical garb it is a *philosopheme*. By bringing it into the Jehovist's later period of reflection, we do not introduce any variance between its nature and the ancient character of the language and style, as Mueller imagined. Nor is it any valid objection, that the deep, meditative piety of an Israelite, exercising his imagination on the holy traditions of the first parents of the race, would not have dared to represent his own imaginings as history; because the reflecting Israelite merely *clothed them in the dress* of history. He did not represent them *as history*.

If this interpretation be correct, we have in the beautiful garden furnished with all manner of trees, the prohibition to eat the fruit of certain trees, the license to partake freely of all except such as are forbidden; in the nakedness of the first pair, their sense of shame after disobeying the divine prohibition, the dialogue between the tempter and the woman and other outward circumstances nothing more than *symbolical* narrative, or the form in which truths are clothed. The mind of Eve suggested that she should give scope to her own will; and Adam followed. Before the transgression, both were in a state of childish simplicity—their intellectual and moral powers dormant; after it, those powers received a wonderful expansion. Their awakened faculties in the act of being enlarged made them like to God in one point of view, and separated them from Him in another, because the temptation which a higher knowledge brought with it prevailed.

IV. Cainite and Sethite Genealogies in the Fourth and Fifth Chapters.—The mythic view of the first three chapters of Genesis is corroborated by the succeeding narrative; for it is apparent that the fourth chapter, giving an account of Cain, originally stood in a very different connection from that in which it has been put here, and presupposes a different theory of the origination of mankind. It belonged to a tradition of another form and extent. The fourteenth verse of it presupposes the existence of other human beings beside the first-born of the first man. Jabal, the last of Cain's posterity is said to be the originator of nomad life (iv. 20); whereas Abel was *a keeper of sheep* (verse 2). Surely it is strange that a descendant of Cain

[1] Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner, Dritte Beilage, p. 214, et seqq. Sixth edition.

[2] Translated in the American Bib. Sacr. for 1849, p. 262.

the tiller of the ground, should be represented as the originator of that kind of life to which the pious posterity of Seth were addicted. At first the genealogical theory had no connection with Cain and Abel. If so it cannot be historical.

The genealogy in the fifth chapter may be called the Sethite; that in the fourth (verses seventeen and eighteen), the Cainite. They are parallel accounts resolvable into one and the same genealogy; as Buttmann first showed.[1] The Cainite table contains apparently but seven generations; the Sethite has ten; yet the former assigning three sons to Lamech has the names of ten antediluvian patriarchs. From the coincidence of several names in the two, as Enoch, Lamech, Irad and Jared, Cain and Canaan, Methusael and Methuselah, Mahalaleel and Mehujael, we infer that the same names furnished the basis of both lists. The older of the two or that in the fifth chapter, which refers to the West and is Elohistic, seems to us the Sethite. But when in process of time the Hebrews obtained a knowledge of the eastern Asiatics, they too were derived from Adam through Cain. Out of the older Sethite table names were taken and transferred to the later Cainite table. The differences of the two are apparent. The Sethite one intimates that Seth was the first-born of Adam (v. 3, 4); the Cainite represents him as the third son (iv. 25). The former presupposes the eating of flesh in the time of Adam; the latter intimates that it began with Noah (ix. 3). As usual, therefore, the Elohist and Jehovist give different representations. Bunsen has tried to shew the identity of the two in a peculiar way, thinking that the Jehovist one is the older.[2] Both are certainly forms of a tradition relating to the primeval age of the world; but whether the Seth of the one be the old Semitic name of God is doubtful. Adam and Enoch are obviously the same. Ewald conjectures that Seth is identical with Cain; and that the four express nothing but *man* and *child*, *father* and *son*, old humanity and young.[3] This is very precarious. It is more likely that Lamech and Enoch were looked upon as demigods in the more ancient form of the myth. The names must not be taken as those of individuals. They refer to races, periods of humanity, demigods; or express ideas which were no longer apprehended rightly. Confused and fragmentary reminiscences of distant times make up a part of them. When the traditions embodied in the two genealogies became unintelligible, they were thrown together. Thus Cain and Abel are merely representatives of humanity in a state of sin—of the two primary modes of life, husbandry and

[1] Mythologus, vol. i. p. 170, et seqq.
[2] Bibelwerk, Band v., p. 305 et seqq.
[3] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 353. Second edition.

nomadism. The myth bodies forth the idea that a very ancient people dwelt in the East, among whom early civilisation prevailed, but who could not prejudice the nobility of the Western Asiatics because the latter possessed peculiar rights from God. The ground-tilling people, living far in the East, were separated from the nomads, and under the divine curse. The essence of the myth is the flight and divine outlawry of Cain, intimating the impassable separation and distinction of peoples personifying the privileged and unprivileged of God—the Western Asiatics and a remote eastern race. The ideas of those among whom the myth was entertained respecting the superiority of nomadic life are obvious. The narrative has no historical consistency in itself; though it has sufficient points of connection with the preceding account of Adam's fall. The second genealogy however is attached to the posterity of Seth, without knowing anything of Cain and Abel, and shews a different writer—the Elohist.

After the deluge, the traditions are more real. There the genealogies are made up for the most part of the names of countries, such as Canaan, Aram, Arphaxad; of mountains, as Mash, Riphath; or of towns, as Serug and Sidon. Some words too denoting events occur, as Peleg. It is usual to regard tribes as individuals, and to group them in artificial families. Thus to say that Heber is the son of Arphaxad means that the tribe came from the country of Arphaxad.[1]

V. LONGEVITY OF THE ANTEDILUVIANS. — The extraordinary longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs should be explained on the same principle as the account of the fall, and in conformity with the character of the whole narrative in the first eleven chapters of Genesis. As it forms part of a mythical history, it should be regarded as mythical. Analogous ideas of longevity appear among other oriental nations. Thus among the Hindoos, the life of man is supposed to have decreased in the four periods of the world, from four hundred to three hundred, two hundred, and one hundred years. To take the ages literally, is to run contrary to the known laws of physiology: and to introduce a miracle in support of the literal is arbitrary. Here commentators have often laboured in vain. They have perplexed themselves to no purpose by idle attempts to uphold the longevity as purely historical—a thing simply *impossible*. Even Whately supposes the influence of the tree of life to have caused longevity; whereas the words in which the exclusion of Adam from Paradise is related, shew that neither the first man nor any of his posterity partook of it.

[1] See Renan's Histoire des Langues Semitiques, p. 28.

VI. ANTIQUITY OF MAN.—We may remark on the present occasion once for all, that the Bible chronology generally cannot be regarded as historically correct. Sometimes geological evidence shews this. Thus there is sufficient evidence to shew that the human race has existed much longer than the Bible represents. Instead of its having commenced four or five thousand years before our era; twenty thousand would accord better with the testimony. Baron Bunsen cannot be far from the mark when he supposes it to be so. Such antiquity of the human race is demanded by geological evidence derived from deposits of mud mixed with human remains in river deltas, where a regularity of deposition can be shewn to have taken place. The careful experiments of Mr. Leonard Horner in the delta of the Nile, have placed this in a clear and satisfactory light, proving that men having a certain amount of civilization lived in that region upwards of thirteen thousand years ago at the least.[1] Evidence to the same effect has also been derived from caverns in which human remains or implements of human art have been discovered mixed up with bones of animals long since extinct and covered by other deposits. M. Boucher de Perthes, Falconer, Prestwich and others, have brought to light interesting fragments from the caves of France, Sicily, and England.[2] Proof has also been derived from gravel beds whose geological age is ascertained, and where the remains of man are also imbedded with those of other animals; as Prestwich, M. Buteux, and M. Hebert, have pointed out. In consequence of the accumulated evidence thus obtained, the chronology of the Hebrew Bible in relation to man's duration on the globe must be placed in the same category with its natural history or astronomy. Certainty does not attach to it. It is no part of a divine revelation properly so called; but may be freely canvassed,[3] like any other subject of human research.

VII. THE DELUGE.—It is hardly necessary to enter upon a formal discussion of the subject of the deluge described in the sixth and following chapters of Genesis. Much has been written on the one hand to shew that it was *universal*; on the other that it was *partial*. A previous question relates to the *historical* or *mythical* character of the narrative. The former view has been justly abandoned by all good critics, who see at once that the difficulties connected with it are insuperable; such as the existence of the vegetable kingdom after the flood had continued for a year; the gathering together of all the animals, with their appropriate food, from the entire

[1] Philosophical Transactions for 1855 and 1858, pp. 105, 53.

[2] Antiquites celtiques et antediluviennes, 2 vols., 8vo., 1847 and 1857. Proceedings of the Royal Society for May 26, 1859.

[3] See the National Review for April, 1860, article second; and Prof. Ansted's Geological Gossip, chapters x. and xi.

surface of the earth by Noah; the continuance of rain over the earth forty days and forty nights; such an overflow of the sea as covered the tops of the highest mountains to the depths of fifteen cubits; the safe navigation of the ark over the billows without rudder, keel, or sails; the insufficiency of air and light —only one small aperture in the huge vessel affording both to the thousands of living creatures within; and that too not having been opened for 190 days. It is impossible to give any rational explanation of these and other particulars in the narrative, on the assumption of its historical accuracy. The whole is mythical, embodying the old Hebrew belief in the retributive punishment of sin. And every reader is struck with its poetical character. It is in fact a grand poem, whose colouring is simple and childlike. What gave rise to the mythus, was the yearly inundations which happen in most countries. The legend, as it stands in the Bible, bears the marks of a country like Mesopotamia, where the Tigris and Euphrates overflow their banks at certain periods of the year and cause a great flood deluging the country. The scene of the legendary flood, as depicted in the popular belief of the Hebrews, was not Canaan, but the land whence their forefathers were supposed to come.

We shall not trace the legends of a deluge, which are found among most nations of antiquity and resemble one another, more or less, in their peculiar features. Some of them were evidently derived from the same origin as the Biblical one; perhaps the Chaldean, given by Syncellus; while others were developed independently, as exemplified, perhaps, by the Hindoo account. The fundamental ideas embodied in the myth may be regarded as unfolding themselves in parallel narratives, which owed nothing to the Bible-legend but grew up independently.

If the account of the deluge be a poetical myth, it is of no importance to inquire whether the catastrophe was partial or universal. Those holding the literality of the account, should consistently maintain the universality of the flood; because the terms are too plain and exact to be explained naturally on any other assumption. *The earth* is spoken of throughout as the scene of the waters; the fountains of the great deep (or ocean) are broken up; the windows of heaven are opened; two and two "of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life," go into the ark; and "all the high hills that were under the whole heaven" are covered. "Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered." Other expressions are in conformity with these, constraining the interpreter who takes the narrative as literal history to view the deluge as *universal*.

Philology admits no other explanation. We must therefore express our dissent from the divines who maintain both the historical character of the description and the partial nature of the deluge. The one part of their belief requires an unhesitating assent to the universality of the flood; since they set out with adopting the historical interpretation. It is the pressure of insurmountable difficulties that usually drives the most reflecting adherents of the narrative's historical literality to a partial deluge. But this expedient cramps the language of Scripture. Universal expressions are divested of their universality; and "all the high hills that were under the whole heaven" dwindle down into the hills of Mesopotamia or of the adjoining regions. Yet they are certainly right in rejecting the universality of the deluge—a hypothesis opposed alike to all geological evidence as well as to the known laws of science. The physical constitution of the globe is such as to negative the occurrence of a universal flood. No marine inundation could extend over the highest mountains, without subverting the law of gravitation which maintains the stable equilibrium of land and ocean. The quantity of rain said to have taken place for so many successive days is impossible, according to the composition of the atmosphere. Zoology and comparative anatomy are opposed to the radiation of all living things from a common Asiatic centre. The dimensions of the ark, its form, its ventilation, shew that so many pairs of all animals could not have been preserved in it alive for an entire year. Authentic Egyptian history ignores the existence of a general flood, to which there is no allusion in the annals from the epoch of Menes, the founder of the kingdom of Egypt, B.C. 3463, till its conquest under Darius Ochus, B.C. 340; whereas the period of the Noachian deluge is said to be about 2348 B.C. At the latter time, when the whole human race is supposed to have been reduced to a single family, the Egyptian people must have attained to a flourishing and civilised state—indeed they were civilised and in some degree settled before Menes united them into one great empire—*i.e.*, towards 4000 B.C. The uninterrupted existence of their annals from Menes till Ochus, as well as the absence of all reference to a general flood, proves the non-occurrence of such a disaster. We are not surprised that thinking literalists feel the force of these and other difficulties connected with physical science so much as to compel their adoption of a partial deluge; though it is contrary to the plain requirements of the language, and exposes them to the charge of inconsistency.

How then, it may be asked, do we interpret the description? It is a poetical myth embodying the popular belief of the old Hebrews in punishment as the necessary consequence of sin, and

in the repeopling of the earth. That popular notion attached itself to local inundations. To the poetical colouring of the myth belong the various circumstances of the animals being brought together and preserved in the ark; the annual duration and universality of the flood; the incessant rain for forty days and forty nights; the overflow of the ocean; the sending forth of the dove and raven; the non-destruction of the vegetable creation, exemplified in the freshness of the olive after the catastrophe; and other particulars. It is only when these and the like features are viewed as poetical embellishments, that the right explanation is obtained. Poetry disdains the ordinary rules of sober reason, and overleaps the barriers of natural science. Especially does Hebrew poetry of the most ancient type do so; because it proceeds from the infantine simplicity of an uncivilised state of society. It takes no account of the difficulties which philosophy presents to the lineaments employed for filling up a picture. But though in the primitive development of the myth a local deluge was contemplated, which poetry amplified into a universal one, there could have been little difference in the mind of those who first employed this beautiful illustration of their ideas of retribution in the world, between a *partial* and *universal* deluge; because their limited horizon was bounded by their native land. The earth was considered to be an extended circle, on the exterior edges of which rested the solid concave vault of heaven. There was no knowledge among the ancient Hebrews of its vast dimensions. What they thought of its figure is not clearly expressed in any passage of the Bible. They seem to have conceived of it as a *circular* plain; for we read in Isaiah, "It is he that sitteth upon *the circle* of the earth:" in Proverbs viii. 27, "when he set a compass upon the face of the earth." Isaiah xi. 12, and Jeremiah xlix. 26, do not contradict this in speaking of *the four corners of the earth* and *the four quarters of heaven;* for these expressions mean *the four cardinal points.*[1] The geographical notions of the inhabitants of a country were often included within the horizon of the country itself. Hence it is easy to see how a poetical description founded on a partial deluge—one inundating the greater part of a people's native land—would merge into the grand delineation of a universal deluge covering the outstretched earth. The ideas of the peoples who bodied forth their belief in a poetical form would scarcely distinguish the local from the general in respect to *the extent* of inundation; especially as poetry deals in the exaggerated.

VIII. THE SONS OF GOD AND DAUGHTERS OF MEN COHABITING. —In Genesis vi. 1, 2, etc., it is written, "And it came to pass,

[1] See Munk's Palestine, pp. 426-7.

when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose."

Here the meaning of the "sons of God" is disputed. The phrase has been understood chiefly in three ways.

1. Some think that the sons of the great and powerful are meant, who carried off and married women of lower degree from among the common people. This nationalistic view was taken by the Samaritan; by Jonathan, Onkelos, and the Arabic versions; by Symmachus, Abenesra, Rashi, Kimchi, Mercier, Buttmann, etc. It is now justly abandoned, the objections to it being insuperable.

2. Others think that it means the *Sethites* who intermarried with *Cainite* wives called "the daughters of men." So Calvin, Piscator, Le Clerc, Vatablus, Hengstenberg, Redslow, and Bunsen suppose. A modification of the same view which refers the sons of God to the pious part of the Sethites taking wives out of the mass of unbelieving women, is held by Seb. Schmidt, I. D. Michaelis, Schulz, Hensler, etc. On the contrary, Ilgen supposed that the Cainites were so called on account of their inventions. Akin to this is the incorrect view of Poole, that *the worshippers of false gods* are meant.[1]

The arguments adduced for the Sethite view are of little force, such as *the connexion*—the fourth chapter giving the history of the Cainites, the fifth the history of the Sethites, the sixth the mixing of the two lines and the corruption thence resulting; *the words* "they took unto them wives," implying legitimate marriages; and *the addition*, "all that they chose," implying choice according to selfish lust, which does not suit demons but men. Although this view is found in Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret and many later theologians, and is defended by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, Dettinger, as well as English divines, it is wholly untenable. Such marriages as these would not have been so very displeasing to God. Besides, the origin of giants is not thus explained; though the context shews that a race of giants sprung from such intercourse; or at least that the giants were supposed to have originated in this manner. The expression *daughters of men* or rather *daughters of Adam* signifies *women in general*, without distinction of race or religious position. It is of universal import, not being restricted by anything in the context. Why then should the antithetical expression *sons of God* be restricted to certain persons?

3. Others suppose that "sons of God" mean *angels*. This

[1] Genesis of the Earth and Man, p. 39, et seqq.

opinion has found many supporters both in ancient and modern times. It appears in the text of the Septuagint; at least in many MSS., which have ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ. It was held by Philo, Josephus, and most of the Rabbins. It is in two old apocryphal books—viz. the so-called *Book of Enoch*, and the little Genesis (λεπτὴ γένεσις). It is indicated in the Epistle of Jude and the second epistle of Peter. The oldest fathers of the Church, as Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, and Lactantius maintained it. In modern times it is adopted by Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Maurer, Von Bohlen, Tuch, Koeppen, Fr. V. Meyer, Twesten, Nitzsch, Bleek, Drechsler, Hofmann, Baumgarten, Delitzsch, Kurtz, Knobel, Stier, Dietlein, Huther, Ewald, Hupfeld, Maitland, etc. Thus the weight of critical authority is in its favour. Indeed it is the only tenable one, because it rests on undeniable evidence as—

(*a*) The usus loquendi בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים. In all other places the phrase refers only to angels, as Psalm xxix. 1, lxxxix. 7, Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7; Daniel iii. 25.

(*b*) The expression *daughters of men* agrees only with this view; for if the sons of God were also human beings, there would be no proper opposition.

(*c*) This view alone accounts for the origin of the giants mentioned in the context. *They* were the offspring of such intercourse. The expression in the fourth verse, "mighty men which were of old, men of renown," agrees with the supposition of giants being the fruit of these strange intermarriages and with that alone.

(*d*) Jude 6, 7, and 2 Peter ii. 4, favour it, and

(*e*) It is only on this supposition that the necessity appears for destroying the whole human race by a flood and producing a better one.

Objections derived from the context, especially the fourth verse, have been made to the explanation. It has been said that the verse in question intimates that *nephilim* or giants sprang not merely from the connexion of the sons of God and daughters of men, but from other not unusual connexions. If the sons of God had been angels, those begotten by them must have been specially distinguished from all others. This inference from the verse is decidedly erroneous; for it does not state that giants arose *besides* those springing from the intercourse of the sons of God with the daughters of men. Neither in the phrase אַחֲרֵי־כֵן can the writer refer to the Palestinian giants or *nephilim* in the time of Moses. The right translation of the phrase is this:—

"My spirit will not always be humbled in man;
So far as he goes astray he is flesh.
Then let his days be an hundred and twenty years.

There were giants on the earth in those days (and also after that) because the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men; and the latter bare children to them. These are the heroes who were of old men of renown." The sense is: angels who are pure spirits must not be allowed to debase themselves to a lower and lower degree by such an unnatural mixture with human beings, since that were to perpetuate sin for ever. Man as far as he sins is liable to death, and must not therefore by such union of the divine with him live for ever; let his life then be shortened to 120 years, to see if he will repent in that space and so check the progress of sin within him. Thus in the days before the flood there were giants, and also after the flood, because the sons of God did so and so, etc.

About the dogmatic grounds urged against this interpretation we are not much concerned. It has been argued from Matthew xxii. 30 that angels are purely spiritual and incorporeal, and therefore the idea of their lusting after women, cohabiting with them, and begetting sons of huge stature, is foreign to their nature. There is force in this argument, which Hofmann, Delitzsch, Kurtz, and such writers as contend for the literal history of the statement in vain try to turn aside. Those who adopt the mythological view are not required to defend the statement even against doctrinally correct notions of angels. When we consider it as the Semitic tradition of Titans or heroes, the true nature of the myth is indicated. Neither is it needful to consider the question whether we should understand *angels already fallen*, or *falling now for the first time*. The oldest witnesses unanimously favour the latter; for what reason it is not easy to discern. The question may be discussed by the adherents of the literal and historical; to others it is of no moment. Kurtz treats it as a grave point; in which respect he and his compeers, Hofmann, Delitzsch, etc., act consistently.

IX. On the Plural Appellation of Deity—Elohim. The use of the plural אֱלֹהִים as an appellation of the Deity has been noticed as a peculiarity. More attention has been given to it than it would otherwise have received, from its being drawn into the region of dogmatics. We shall notice the various views.

1. It is an old opinion that this plural contains an intimation of a plurality of persons in the Godhead, the sacred Trinity. Its union with a singular verb, which is almost always the case, assumes the fact of a plurality existing in the divine unity.

The objection to this hypothesis is, that when the book of Genesis was written and still later, the Jews had no conception of the doctrine of the Trinity. Even at the time when the book of Proverbs, or at least the first part of it was composed, the three attributes were not *hypostatised.* Hence the Hebrews could not convey a tenet in their writings which did not become one till after the usage of plural appellations of Deity with singular adjuncts had been long established. Besides, poets subsequently formed a singular אֱלוֹהַּ. Intimations of the Trinity ought to become clearer and more frequent as the belief in it grows more definite, according to the natural tendency of beliefs and the progress of revelation. The later formation of the singular is adverse to such development. That our remark respecting the Jewish belief in the Trinity is correct is acknowledged by Dorner; who admits that in Prov. viii., *wisdom* is not *hypostatised.* Intimations of the Trinity in the Hebrew Scriptures, prior in time to Prov. viii. should be adduced, before this can be entitled to consideration. It is too late in the day to quote for that purpose distinctions between Jehovah as *invisible* and Jehovah as *manifested,* in the Old Testament; and to reason from *angel of Jehovah* or *messenger of the covenant;* because it shews total misapprehension of the subject. Even Dorner's work might point out the true interpretation of such phraseology. Delitzsch rightly says that the Trinity-plural here is a thing which has too much of the New Testament in it: and the learned Jewish scholar Munk affirms, that Mosaism *is opposed* to the philosopheme of the Trinity.[1]

2. Gesenius explains it as the plural *of excellence* or *majesty; pluralis excellentiae* or *majestaticus.*[2] Nordheimer assents, affirming that the Hebrew idiom employs names of the only true God to denote superior dignity or pre-eminence. They are, he says, *plurals of pre-eminence.*[3] In opposition to this, Ewald distinctly affirms that nothing is so false as to suppose the present Hebrew language to have any feeling for the so-called *pluralis majestaticus.*[4]

3. Von Bohlen thinks, that the plural in question is a remnant of the polytheism which had prevailed among the Israelites at an earlier period in Mesopotamia and Egypt. And he finds a confirmation of the fact that Elohim was originally understood to imply the plural number in the circumstance that in many cases, particularly when speaking of idolatry or hold-

[1] See his *examen* in Cahen's La Bible, vol. ii. p. 4, etc.
[2] Grammatik, thirteenth edition, p. 192.
[3] Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language, vol. ii. p. 44.
[4] Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Spraches, fifth edition, p. 344.

ing intercourse with heathens, the name is connected with a plural verb and adjective.[1]

This explanation implies too great a remnant of polytheism in the monotheistic religion inculcated by Moses on the people.

4. Rosenmüller attaches no meaning or significance to the plural appellation in question, affirming that the Hebrew, in common with other languages, employs the plural occasionally for the singular, as in Job xviii. 2, 3; 2 Sam. xvi. 20, and xxiv. 14. These passages, however, may be explained on other grounds; the speakers connecting themselves mentally with others. It appears to us that there is a reason for the usage of אֱלֹהִים. It cannot well be resolved into nothing.

5. According to Baumgarten[2] it is a *numerical* plural, *originally* denoting God and angels together.

6. Delitzsch calls it, not very happily, an *intensive* plural, meaning that it includes in itself an internal manifoldness. What gave rise to the plural was not the conception of *angels* along with God, which is a heathen idea, but its polytheistic reference, of which when divested it came to denote God as uniting in his single person all the fulness imparted to the gods of the heathen. This leads to what we regard the correct explanation.[3]

7. It is a plural of *abstraction*, according to Hofmann and others.[4]

8. The noun אֱלֹהִים seems to have remained in the plural from remote times, because the Deity was conceived of as existing in manifoldness and distribution of power. His internal resources were regarded as infinite and yet united. It is with reference to such *multiplicity* of the manifestations of divine power, that the plural *Elohim* was employed by monotheism. Whether it was retained from polytheism and thence transferred by monotheism to the *God of gods;* or whether the latter chose it purposely, is difficult to determine. The former is more probable. It is remarkable that תְּרָפִים, *penates*, is always used in the plural, even where it denotes a single image (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16). The use of קְדֹשִׁים, *holy one*, God, which occurs occasionally, is based on the same conception of manifold and communicative power (Hosea xii. 1; Prov. ix. 10; xxx. 3). So too אֲדֹנִים, *lord*, equivalent to אָדוֹן; and בַּעַל, *lord*, in the

[1] Introduction to the book of Genesis, edited by Heywood, vol. i. p. 143.
[2] Theologischer Commentar zum Pentateuch, vol. i. p. 5.
[3] Commentar ueber die Genesis, pp. 66, 67.
[4] Der Schriftbeweis, vol. i. p. 77, second edition.

plural, with the suffix of the third person singular בְּעָלָיו, *his lord.*[1]

The word אֱלֹהִים has not always singular adjuncts. In a few passages it has its concordant plural. When idols or false gods are denoted, it is so construed as a matter of course. Expressing the true God however, it has the plural in Gen. xx. 13. Perhaps Abraham used it here in compliance with the notions of Abimelech. But in xxxv. 7, a similar explanation will not apply. Neither will it in 2 Sam. vii. 23, or Ps. lviii. 12. In Ex. xxii. 8, *Elohim* is used for the plural noun *judges,* and has therefore the plural verb.

The question now suggests itself, Is there any additional reason for the use of the plural Elohim when the Divine Being is represented as speaking *of* or *to* Himself? Thus in Gen. i. 26, we read, "And God said, Let *us* make man in *our* image, according to *our* likeness." So too in chapter iii. 22: "And the Lord God said, Behold the man is become as *one of us,*" etc.; chap. xi. 7, "Go to, let us go down, and there confound their language," etc.; and Isaiah vi. 9, "And I heard the voice of the Lord saying, Whom shall I send, and who will go for *us,*" etc. In these passages language appropriate to sovereigns is transferred to God. We know that kings issuing proclamations and decrees are wont to employ the plural *we*; as is exemplified in Ezra iv. 18, vii. 24. The Supreme Being is considered as an elevated monarch; and when he enters on a great work like that of creation or is about to put forth his power has elevated and solemn language ascribed to Him. The usual plural is employed in *such* a manner and in *such* context as to indicate the writer's purpose to make him speak like a great sovereign. If we be asked to prove the customary use of the plural number by sovereigns among the Jews at the period when the Pentateuch was written, we are no more required to do so than objectors are to prove the contrary. There are examples of such phraseology in the book of Ezra at least. Who shall say that it was not earlier? We cannot approve of the hypothesis of Delitzsch and various Rabbins, that the language is addressed to angels, to whom the Almighty communicates his purpose previously to some of his acts. As a monarch is surrounded by his nobles and dignitaries, so is God depicted in council with his most distinguished angels. It is thus the *pluralis communicativus,* in which the Deity includes angels with himself.[2] But the Elohist never mentions or alludes to angels. And we cannot

[1] See Roediger's edition of Gesenius's Hebräische Grammatik, Siebzehnte Auflage, p. 208; and Ewald's Lehrbuch, p. 344.

[2] See Die Genesis ausgelegt, p. 78.

admit that the whole tenor of Scripture confirms the notion, as Delitzsch supposes. The passages he quotes to shew it are insufficient.

X. FORTY-NINTH CHAPTER OF GENESIS.—In this chapter the patriarch adduces the tribes according to the successive ages of their ancestors. Hence the six sons of Leah come first, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Zebulun, and Issachar. According to xxx. 17–20, Issachar should stand before Zebulun. Next come the four sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, Dan, Gad, Asher, and Naphtali. Here too according to xxx. 5–13, Naphtali should follow Dan immediately. Finally, the two sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin, are noticed. Of all these Jacob speaks in the third person; with the exception of Reuben, Judah, and Joseph, who were the three principal sons. The most important tribes are favourably spoken of. Judah, and Joseph (*i.e.*, Ephraim and Manasseh) occupy the most prominent place in the father's heart. Naphtali is touched upon more briefly, but favourably; his heroic deeds and poetic discourses being referred to. So is Asher noticed in relation to his productive territory. Gad is spoken of in a tolerably favourable manner; for though he should be oppressed, he should be victorious in the end. That Zebulun should dwell on the sea coast is not a distinguished fortune. The utterances respecting Issachar giving himself to agricultural labours as an ass; respecting Dan lurking in the way like a serpent and adder, and Benjamin ravening like a wolf desirous of his prey, contain a mixture of disapprobation. The announcement relating to Reuben who lost the privileges of the first-born by his overheated excess of passion; and those pertaining to Simeon and Levi, who for their accursed deeds of violence to the Shechemites were to be scattered throughout all Israel, are entirely unfavourable.

Critics have entertained various views of Jacob's discourse.

1. The old hypothesis is that it presents the declarations of the dying patriarch as they were uttered. The address, it is supposed, came from his lips just as it is given. It is of no moment whether Joseph wrote down the discourse of his father, and so delivered it to his descendants; or whether the sons generally put together in writing the words relating to each. Many objections have been urged against this opinion, especially by Heinrichs. It is thought inexplicable that such a prophecy, with its verbal allusions to the names bestowed on the twelve at their birth or paronomasias, its images, its boldness and power, its beautiful parallelism, and its highly poetic character generally, should proceed from a decrepit, enfeebled, and dying old man. The knowledge too of the Israelitish tribes

which pervades the entire poem, of their localities and other relations as they existed long after Jacob, have awakened suspicion against the authenticity of the piece. The improbability of such a prophecy from a simple nomadic man has been adduced; as well as the strangeness of the circumstance that the patriarch, intending to prophecy, carried down his predictions to the time of David and no farther.

2. Others think it possible that Jacob, old, feeble, and dying as he was, may have had the Spirit of God in such a measure as to see distant events and describe them in figurative diction. Nomad as he was, they see nothing improbable in his prophesying; especially as he was not an ordinary man occupying a common position in the history of the chosen race. But though some of the arguments urged against the authenticity of his final address are invalid, they are inclined to believe that the highly poetic character and regular parallelism belonging to it are adverse to the opinion which holds it to have come from Jacob's lips in its present state. That the substance and matter of it is his, they have no doubt. Perhaps, as Herder suggests,[1] the well known character of the sons suggested the germ of these predictions respecting the descendants of each: but the Divine Spirit aided the patriarch's mind to see into the future. The language is not so clear in particulars as history written after the facts and incidents announced would have pourtrayed them. Thus they regard *the ideas* as proceeding from Jacob. *The form* and *poetical character* appear to belong to a later time. The substance has been put into shape by a poet. It may be supposed that the utterances were briefer at first; and were afterwards expanded into a poem with fine parallelism and many etymological allusions. The plays on words and most of the images are supposed to have come from him who digested the whole into a lyric. Nothing but the kernel of the address proceeded from the dying man. It is unlikely that he would have spoken in such a manner, with the verbal allusions, poetic parallelism, and numerous figures that appear.

3. Most critics deny the authenticity of the prophecy and assign it to a late date. They do so, not merely on the grounds advanced by Heinrichs, but because all antiquity recognises such anticipations of the future on the part of the dying; and there is no evidence of this writer's departure from the general belief; except that he attributed the gift of foresight in Jacob to the Spirit of God. But although we do not dispute the possibility of the predictive spirit being in Jacob, we must reject

[1] Briefe das Studium der Theologie betreffend, Brief v. p. 62.

its utter improbability, in the case of any patriarch. The Deity did not see fit, as far as we can judge, to impart to any man like Jacob the foreknowledge of future and distant events. Had he done so, he would not have left him in darkness respecting the immortality of the soul and a future state of rewards and punishments. He would not have left him to speak on his deathbed like an Arab chief, of no higher blessings to his sons than rapine and plunder; without the least reference to another and better state of existence on which he believed he should enter; and in relation to which he might counsel his sons to act continually. The true way of dealing with the prophecy, is simply to ascertain by internal evidence the time in which it was written; on the only tenable and philosophical ground of its having been put into the mouth of the dying patriarch by a succeeding writer. It has the form of a prediction; but it is a *vaticinium post eventum*. With regard to *the time* of its composition, some, as Hasse and Scherer, put it in that of Moses and ascribe it to him; others, as Ewald, assign it to the last half of the period of the Judges; others still, as Tuch, put it in the time of Samuel; and others, as Heinrichs, Friedrich, von Bohlen, Knobel, in the age of David. The last three think it probable that Nathan composed it.

We believe that the time of the prophetic lyric falls under the kings. The tribes are referred to as dwelling in the localities which they obtained in Joshua's time. The announcement respecting Judah's pre-eminence brings down the composition much later than Joshua, since he is represented as taking the leadership of the tribes in subduing the neighbouring nations. We explain the tenth verse in such a manner as to imply that David was king over the tribes and had humbled their enemies. But a certain pre-eminence is also attributed to the tribe of Joseph, not "a perfect equality" with the royal tribe of Judah, as Kalisch asserts; for the phrase נְזִיר אֶחָיו does not imply *a kingdom* of Ephraim; nor is it best translated "the crowned among his brethren," as the same critic renders it. It simply means, *the prince* of *his brethren*, and certainly does not involve the royalty of the tribe. At the same time we admit that Joseph is delineated as a powerful tribe. This it was, however, in the time of David; enough so to satisfy the demands of the description here given of Joseph, in which personal traits mingle with characteristics of the tribe. The poem may have been composed in the time of David or Solomon. Nathan may have written it. Its prophetic nature and moral tone favour this conjecture. Kalisch's argument, that it cannot relate to the reigns of David and Solomon, appears to us insufficient.[1]

[1] Commentary on Genesis, p. 745, et seqq.

XI. SHILOH IN GENESIS XLIX.—The blessing pronounced by Jacob on Judah is a prominent and important part of his final utterances relative to the fortunes of the twelve tribes that sprung from his immediate offspring. There is however great difficulty in one phrase, viz., עַד כִּי־יָבֹא שִׁילֹה, rendered in the English version, "till Shiloh come." Opinions are exceedingly diverse respecting the true meaning of these words. Nor is it likely that there will ever be perfect agreement among expositors about them. All admit that the clause is most difficult. Indeed the interpretations are so numerous and the arguments by which they are supported so abundant, that it is not possible in a brief compass to give a complete view of them. A mere outline is all that can be attempted.

What is Shiloh, or שִׁילֹה in Hebrew?

The reading must first be noticed.

The common textual reading is שִׁילֹה. Another reading is שִׁלֹה. In a few MSS. is שִׁלוֹ. The authorities for these readings need not be given in the present place, as they will be found elsewhere.[1] It is better to abide by the usual text.

What is the sense of שִׁילֹה? "This word," says Cahen, "is understood by no one, though there is not any expression throughout the Scriptures respecting which so much has been written, and which has served as the foundation stone for theological systems, like this much disputed word."[2]

1. Some take it to be the Ephraimite city where the tabernacle was erected after the Israelites had entered the promised land. During the time of the Judges the sanctuary remained there (Judges xviii. 31); there the yearly feasts were kept (Judges xxi. 19); there the pious assembled as in the religious centre of their long-promised land (1 Sam. i. 3; ii. 13; iv. 3, 4. Psalm lxxviii. 60. Jer. vii. 12, 14.); and God revealed himself there. (1 Sam. iii.). In this manner the word is understood by Zirkel, Eichhorn, Ammon, Diestel, Bleek, Hitzig, Tuch, Ewald, Palfrey, Kalisch, Bunsen, Preston; and the rendering will either be "till he (Judah) or *one* come to Shiloh," or "as long as one (the people) assemble at Shiloh," viz. *for ever*, in the sense of the speaker; which latter is the exposition of Tuch. Those who adopt the former interpretation "till *he* or *one* come to Shiloh" understand the patriarch to mean, that Judah should be the leader of the tribes during the march through the wilderness, till they arrived at Shiloh, the centre of the promised inherit-

[1] See my Hebrew text of the Old Testament, revised from critical sources, p. 11.
[2] La Bible, traduction nouvelle avec l'Hebreu en regard, tome premier, p. 174.

ance. It favours this rendering that Shiloh occurs as the name of an Ephraimite town in every other passage; and therefore it is natural to take it so here. Why understand the term in a different sense from that which it bears elsewhere? Surely the presumption is against making a solitary place an exception.

There is something unnatural in introducing the foreign subject *one* or *the people*, to the verb יָבֹא "till *one* or *the people* come;" for thus a *collective* sense is assumed. Those who translate, "till *he* (*i.e.*, *Judah*) come," give a rendering much more probable than any other. What then is implied in Judah's coming to Shiloh? All the tribes came thither; so that whatever importance the city had in the national history, *all* the tribes shared in it. Shiloh was selected by the writer as the spot of the national sanctuary. The expression *till* does not imply that the pre-eminence of Judah should cease as soon as he came to Shiloh—that the sceptre and staff of authority should be laid aside there. Yet Bleek appears to believe so when he says, that after the conquest of the promised land the principality passed from Judah to Ephraim. It is an unquestionable fact, that Judah had a pre-eminence belonging to none of the other tribes, both in the wilderness and in subjugating Palestine. In the two censuses it was the most numerous tribe, had the foremost place in the camp and march through the wilderness, and went at the head of the Israelite army in fighting against the Canaanites. And when the conquered land was divided, it received its inheritance before all the rest, even at Gilgal. It is true that the host in the desert was under the command of a Levite, and subsequently under that of an Ephraimite; but neither circumstance impairs the place of honour and rank held by the tribe in question. The blessing of Jacob refers to Judah as a *tribe*: Moses and Joshua were *individuals*. It is vain therefore to deny with Hengstenberg, that leadership did not belong to Judah because Moses and Joshua did not belong to it; since *the tribe in general* is spoken of, like all the others. Judah undoubtedly enjoyed the precedence. Shiloh as the resting-place of the tabernacle is selected for mention, because the planting of the tabernacle there contained the first instalment and sure pledge of the entire subjugation of Canaan. "Judah will be the leader of the other tribes till Canaan be subdued, and after obtaining a quiet and sure abode in the country, shall still maintain its superiority." Such appears to us the sense of the passage.

We cannot agree with Tuch[1] in translating עַד־כִּי *as long as*. Judah's dominions shall continue as long as the people come to

[1] Kommentar ueber die Genesis, p. 578.

Shiloh to serve the Lord there, *i.e.*, *for ever*, in the view of the poet. Here a sense elsewhere unknown to עַד־כִּי is assigned to it; for Tuch in referring to such passages as 2 Kings ix. 22, 1 Chron. iv. 31, Nehem. vii. 3, where עַד involves the idea of *duration*, leaves the כִּי, which is closely connected with עַד, out of account. Both together signify nothing else than *until that*. Besides, a new subject to the verb יָבֹא is introduced by the proposed interpretation—viz., *the people*, which is foreign to the connexion. These remarks are equally valid against the explanation of Kalisch who translates "even when they come to Shiloh," *i.e.*, "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, even if many flock to Shiloh and join the crown of Joseph."[1] Here too a sense is attributed to עַד־כִּי which it never has. The passages quoted by Kalisch, Gen. xxviii. 15, Ps. cx. 1, cxii. 8, are not parallel; none of them having עַד־כִּי. The subject to the verb *come* is also arbitrarily supplied—viz. *many*.

After these statements it is almost superfluous to answer objections against the construction which takes Shiloh as the name of a place, such as that there is nothing in the Hebrew history which would justify so great importance being assigned to its possession; and that the general character of the poem does not accord with mention of the place, because the sanctity of the latter was not *permanent* but only *accidental* and *temporary*. In opposition to these statements it is easy to see, that the planting of the tabernacle there was tantamount to the occupation of the whole land. It implied the entire subjugation of the Canaanites, and the peaceful settlement of the Israelites in their territory.

The interpretation in question, "till he come to Shiloh," we hold to be the only natural and tenable one, notwithstanding Hofmann's assertion that of all possible explanations it is the most impossible.

2. Many take the word to refer to a *personal* Messiah. In doing so, they arrive at that meaning in different ways. Thus Jonathan, Luther, Calvin, Knapp, and some of the other expositors take שִׁילֹה to mean *his son*, Judah's son, the Messiah; supposing that שִׁיל denotes *son* and that ה is equivalent to וֹ *his*. The word שִׁיל *son* is unknown to Hebrew.

A very ancient interpretation is founded on the reading שִׁלֹה, which is pointed שִׁלֹה, *i.e.*, שִׁלּוֹ for לוֹ אֲשֶׁר. The term שֵׁבֶט is then supplied from the preceding context and the meaning is, "Judah shall possess the sceptre till *he* comes to whom it belongs." This rendering is in the Septuagint, ἕως ἐὰν ἔλθῃ

[1] Commentary on Genesis, p. 727, et seqq.

τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, "till there come the things reserved for him;" or according to another but later reading, ᾧ ἀπόκειται, "till he comes for whom it is reserved." In the same manner Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus translate. So too the Peshito renders, "he to whom it belongs." Onkelos translates, "the Messiah, whose is the kingdom." In the Babylonian Talmud שלה is adduced; and the Jerusalem Targum agrees with Onkelos. In like manner, Saadias Haggaon in his Arabic version renders, *he to whom it belongs*. Thus most of the ancient versions favour the rendering in question. We cannot however adopt it. The reading שלה is only the defective orthography of שִׁילֹה; and the vowel pointing שֶׁלֹה for אֲשֶׁר לוֹ assumes that the prefix שֶׁ for אֲשֶׁר occurs in the Pentateuch; whereas with few exceptions it belongs to the later books.

It is often supposed that Ezek. xxi. 32, refers to this passage. "The reference," says Hengstenberg, "cannot be mistaken."[1] But the allusion is not of such a nature as to place it beyond doubt. The similarity between them is not very great. If there *be* a reference, מִשְׁפָּט corresponds to שִׁילֹה in our passage, since peace will be established through righteousness; or if it be still urged that the עַד בֹּא אֲשֶׁר לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט of Ezekiel should regulate the meaning of שִׁילֹה, the translation of שֶׁלֹה by אֲשֶׁר לוֹ should be maintained. It is not consistent to declare the latter sense incorrect, and hold the phrase in Ezekiel to be a guide to the true sense of שִׁילֹה. When Hengstenberg affirms that the words אֲשֶׁר לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט, which Ezekiel puts in the place of שילה, allude to the letters of the latter word (which forms the initials of the words in Ezekiel) שׁ being the main letter in אֲשֶׁר as shewn by the common abbreviation of it into שׁ, and the י in שִׁילֹה being unessential; we do not clearly perceive his meaning. As far it *is* perceptible, it represents Ezekiel as an ingenious and fanciful trifler. In the prophet's allusion to Genesis xlix. 10, there is nothing more than a *general* reference; his developed view of the Messiah being put into it. All the light which Ezekiel has shed upon the words should not be unphilosophically attributed to Jacob, as though the same fulness of Messianic knowledge could be assigned to the patriarch.

Two considerations influence us in rejecting this very old explanation—viz., that it involves an inappropriate contrast between Judah and him to whom the sceptre belongs, because

[1] Christology Translated, vol. i., p. 85.

implying that the sceptre does *not* rightfully belong to Judah; and also, that Judah, on whom a remarkable blessing is pronounced, is said to lose the sceptre he once had. *That* is no blessing, but the reverse. Although therefore this exposition has so great authority in its favour, and is supported by Jahn, Sack, Larsow, etc. in modern times, it must be rejected. Teller and Von Bohlen, while adopting it, refer the coming to some earthly ruler, to Saul, Jeroboam, or Solomon, which is wholly untenable. *The Messiah* is the only true subject of the verb, if such be the right explanation of שִׁילֹה.

Others who refer the word to a *personal* Messiah derive it from the root שָׁלָה *to be at rest.* It is thus an abstract noun put for a concrete, *rest-bringer, peace-bringer, i.e.*, the Messiah. This interpretation has been very extensively adopted. Vater, Muhlert, Plüschke, Mössler, Justi, Gesenius, Winer, Schumann, Maurer, Rosenmüller, Hengstenberg, Baumgarten-Crusius, Reinke, accept it; though many of these critics suppose the *rest-bringer* or *pacificator*, to have been a mere earthly ruler, like Solomon. Forcible objections have been made by Tuch to the derivation of שִׁילֹה from שָׁלָה in the appellative sense *rest*; which have been appropriated by Hengstenberg. In vain do Kurtz and Reinke endeavour to meet them by referring to the analogous forms קִיטֹר, בִּידֹר, בִּישֹׁר, none of which come as appellatives from verbs לה. Neither can *Shiloh, taken as an appellative*, be abbreviated from שִׁילֹון; the final liquid disappearing and then the ו being written as ה (compare גִּלנִי 2 Sam. xv. 12; שִׁלנִי 1 Kings xi. 29; xii. 15), because this is done only in proper names. By the principles of grammar, an *appellative* signification of the word as derived from שָׁלָה is impossible.[1]

There are other leading objections to the rendering of Shiloh as *rest-bringer* or *man of rest* implying a personal Messiah. It is opposed by the fact that the expectation of a personal Messiah was entirely unsuited to the patriarchal period. We will not say that it was unknown when the writer of the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis put this poem into the mouth of Jacob; but it is probable that he would not have glaringly violated the proprieties of time. Again, neither the Messiah nor any of the New Testament writers applied this text to him; which is strange if they looked upon it as Messianic; especially as they employ many other passages which refer to him in a remoter manner.

[1] See Tuch, p. 575. et seqq.

Still farther, the structure of the sentence shews that Shiloh is the *object* not the *subject*. In this way the parallelism of members is best preserved. In the translation, "Till Shiloh come and to him the obedience of the nations be," there is no proper parallelism but rather a development of the same idea. By taking Shiloh as the *object* and supplying *Judah* from the preceding context as the *subject* we have, "till Judah come to Shiloh and obtain the obedience of the nations." Hengstenberg himself virtually admits the superiority of our version while resisting the argument, for he affirms that the parallelism is "slightly concealed."[1] Certainly the parallelism is clearer and more palpable on the hypothesis that Shiloh is the object. Besides, it is more natural to take Judah in the preceding context as the subject of the verb *come*, than to suppose the transition to another subject. The phrase עַד־כִּי leads the reader to expect that something should be stated about Judah—some point or condition to which his uninterrupted possession of the chieftainship should come; whereas if the subject be changed, this is wanting. It is indeed possible that there may be a change of subject, and that Shiloh may be the person making it; but it should not be assumed without a *necessity*. We must therefore hold that שִׁילֹה cannot be the subject of the verb יָבֹא. Again, in pronouncing the blessing upon Judah, it may be asked, how can the patriarch look away from Judah so as to make the culminating point run into a person about whom it is not even hinted that he is a descendant of Judah? Hengstenberg asserts, that although we are not told of Shiloh's being descended from Judah, this is supposed to be self-evident; but even granting the correctness of the assertion, the sense of Jacob's prophetic utterance is futile on the supposition of Shiloh's being the personal Messiah and subject of the verb. For what is the meaning on this hypothesis, "Judah shall continue to rule till the ruler sprung from Judah shall become ruler?" Is it not tantamount to saying, *that Judah shall rule till he rule?* And if Shiloh be the subject of the second half of the verse, Judah being the subject of the first, how shall we deal with the eleventh, which begins, "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the strong vine." Exegesis requires that Messiah or Shiloh be the subject of such description; if Shiloh were the subject of the verb *come* and of the suffix *to him* preceding.

The train of thought and tenor of Jacob's whole speech respecting Judah demand that Shiloh be taken as the object. He is

[1] Christology Translated, vol. i., p. 71.

spoken of as a conqueror and spoiler of his enemies, attaining to a state of final victory and peace and willingly obeyed by the nations. This description is continued in the eleventh and twelfth verses, where the peaceful condition into which Judah had entered is farther depicted in the luxurious fulness of his rich territory. When Hengstenberg says that "the tenor of the eleventh and twelfth verses is quite different from that which precedes," he virtually severs their connection from the foregoing, and confesses the violence introduced by his view. It is only by taking Shiloh as *object* that the just sequence of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth verses is brought out.

If this reasoning be correct, we must reject an interpretation which has been offered by Gesenius, viz., "*till rest, i.e.*, the rest of the Messianic time come, and to him (Judah) shall be the obedience of the nations," an interpretation which unnaturally assumes the reference of the suffix לוֹ to Judah, thus returning to the first subject; whereas the subject had been changed to suit יָבֹא in the intervening clause. Why should it be changed again back to its former self? The only proper subject in this case would be that of יָבֹא viz., Shiloh, which word would then have to be taken as a concrete. We must also abandon an explanation proposed by "an association of gentlemen,"[1] viz., "*till rest come, and unto it shall be the obedience of the nations,*" where, besides the noun שִׁילֹה being *subject* and not *object*, the suffix לוֹ is referred, not to the nearest and therefore most natural antecedent but to the remote one, מְחֹקֵק *staff*.

Some Jewish expositors, who take Shiloh to mean *the anointed King Messiah*, separate כִּי from עַד, and regard the latter as a substantive denoting *eternity*. The rendering accordingly is, "the staff shall not depart from Judah; for ever. For Shiloh cometh." So R. Menasseh Ben Israel, followed by De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphall. We do not think that this simplifies the meaning, as is alleged. It is true that עַד as a noun often means *eternity;* but we are not aware of its being used for *unto eternity, for ever*, without the preposition לְ before it. The Masora and punctuation which, it is said, are violated by taking עַד and כִּי together, need not be rigidly followed since they are of little authority. Few at the present day take Shiloh to be a *proper name* of Messiah. Delitzsch himself rejects it, and fixes upon the place Shiloh.[2] As Dr. Lee (Hebrew Lexicon) appositely says, it "has neither authority nor parallel in the Scriptures;

[1] Bibliotheca Sacra for 1850, p. 171.
[2] Commentar ueber die Genesis, p. 593, third edition.

and especially it is directly opposed to the whole current of antiquity."

3. Others who though holding the passage to be Messianic do not find a *personal* Messiah in it, take שִׁילֹה as a concrete in the sense of *resting-place, the place where rest is attained* and render "till he (Judah) arrive at the place of rest, and to him (Judah) be the obedience of the peoples." Such is the opinion of Kurtz.[1] We have already seen that the derivation of Shiloh from שָׁלָה is grammatically impossible, as well as its etymology from *Shiloni* or *Shilon, unless it be a proper name.* The critic is reluctant to abandon the Messianic idea, and preserves it thus in a general way.

The proper translation of the verse is this :—

> "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
> Nor the staff of power from between his feet,
> Until he come to Shiloh,
> And to him the obedience of the peoples be."

We translate the word מְחֹקֵק *staff of office* or *sceptre,* because it agrees better with the parallelism שֵׁבֶט, corresponding to it in the antithetic line. That it has this secondary sense is proved by Num. xxi. 18; Psalm lx. 9. Those who adopt the primary sense of *lawgiver, ruler,* suppose an euphemism in the word translated *from between his feet,* meaning *posterity. A ruler shall never fail.* In support of this *honesta genitalium* description, appeal is made to Deut. xxviii. 57. But there it is used of *a woman*; so that the sex is not pertinent here. Hence it should be taken literally. *The staff of power between the feet* is illustrated by an ancient Oriental custom, proof of which exists on antique memorials like the ruins of Persepolis, where princes appear sitting on the throne with the long staff of rule between their feet.

An objection has been made to our translation of Shiloh from the want of a preposition before the accusative after a verb of motion. There is in reality no difference between the construction *coming to the city, coming to the gate,* and that before us. Yet both those expressions dispense with a preposition (Jer. xxii. 24; Gen. xxiii. 10, 18; Psalm c. 4).

In placing the fulfilment in the time of Joshua, after the tribes were settled in their respective inheritances, we are aware that Hengstenberg avers in the most positive terms that it cannot be sought for in any period prior to David. But this assertion rests on the false foundation that royal dominion and power alone are designated by the terms *sceptre* and *staff of power.*

[1] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 552, et seqq.

The words in question are used where *royal* dominion is *not* meant; the former in Judges v. 14, the latter in Numb. xxi. 18. What they denote is *leadership* in relation to the tribe of Judah; and therefore the fulfilment of the prophecy may have begun earlier than David, even when the tabernacle was placed at Shiloh. The עַד כִּי *until*, has always a reference to the *terminus ad quem* and includes it; but that *terminus ad quem* is not necessarily the last. It is one of special importance; in this case *the first* or incipient fulfilment. And if Judah should arrive at a secure resting-place *there*, he would never be dislodged from it; because the first was an earnest of a higher position in the future.

We have thus endeavoured to shew that the explanation which refers Shiloh to a personal Messiah is exegetically untenable, and have also indicated the true meaning. The promise made to Abraham and repeated to Isaac, culminated in Jacob. So Jacob's last blessings culminate in Judah; the crown of all consisting in Judah's glorious, peaceful, eternal kingdom. It might indeed have been argued, *à priori*, that a personal Messiah could not have been expected in the passage, since it would have been an anomaly in the patriarchal history. So far from Hengstenberg's confident assertion "there cannot be any doubt that the promise of a personal Messiah in his kingly office, if it be found in the Old Testament at all, must exist in the passage we are now considering,"[1] being well founded, it is destitute of support. It may be safely said that the idea of a personal Messiah would have been unsuitable in the patriarchal period. There is a concatenation of history with prophecy. The organic progress of each advances in correlative connexion; their successive stages mutually corresponding. Prophecy is linked on to history as its substratum. Arising out of history in the present, it takes its flight into a higher region. And the prophecy must correspond to the historical point of attachment. There is a certain stage of the history which it does not and should not overleap. What then is the great aim of the entire patriarchal history? It is the expansion of oneness into a numerous people. Accordingly the idea of a personal Saviour could not originate till after the patriarchs had actually become a great nation. When a single leader of the whole people had arisen, he formed the first point of attachment for the idea of a personal Messiah. The repeated promises to the patriarchs consisted in the announcement of a numerous posterity with possession of Canaan, and of a blessing to come upon all nations through them. This blessing, though often spoken of in the patriarchal history from

[1] Christology Translated, vol. i., p. 67.

Abraham to Jacob, is never unfolded more definitely. It continues in the same stage of progress. It is possible that in Jacob's case it may have at once taken a great leap in development; but as he stood on the same ground with his distinguished fathers, and under the same influences, it is not likely that he was so far carried beyond them. The only progress which the blessing received through him, was in distinguishing Judah above his brethren; thus pointing to the one tribe whence the Messiah was to spring. It is true, as Hengstenberg states, that all the blessings of salvation which the church possessed at the time when Jacob's blessing was uttered had come through single individuals; and that single individuals are in the patriarchal period the depositaries of divine promises and the channels of divine life. But that by no means recommends the idea that Abraham, for example, should be as fit a type of Messiah as David. The unity of the family had to be developed into the manifoldness of the people; according to the promise in which the Messianic expectation was bound up. In the promises made directly by Jehovah himself to the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in which alone spiritual in addition to temporal blessing is announced, the spiritual lies in the promises in such a form as implies the multiplication of the unity of the family into a people. Separation cannot take place first; since it would only remove the longed-for spiritual blessing farther back. The family must become a great people and possess the land of their inheritance. Thus the right soil for the reception of a prophecy relating to a personal Messiah was not prepared so early. An example will perhaps make our meaning more intelligible. Let us take Gen. xxviii. 14, where Jehovah announces to Jacob, "And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south: and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed." These words shew that dispersion and multiplication must be the first state into which the spiritual blessing unfolds itself in history. The unity of the family is first multiplied into a great people, out of whom unity is resumed and reconstructed in the person of a single deliverer and ruler. There is no perceptible progress in the development of the promised blessing from the time when Abraham was called till that of Jacob. Why then should it take such a leap forward in Jacob? That it did not, appears from the blessing pronounced upon Judah, in which no trace of a personal Messiah appears. If Jacob saw so clearly, as is said, a personal Messiah, how comes it that Moses, long after him, did not see the same? Was the organic progress of prophecy

retarded between Jacob and Moses; or rather did it retrograde? This reasoning holds good even if Jacob himself uttered the expressions recorded in the chapter, as many suppose. We believe, however, that another put them into his mouth. As the latter did not introduce the patriarch speaking of a personal Messiah, he either had no proper perception of the future deliverer; or having it was sensible of the characteristics belonging to a former age. Shiloh's mention shews that the present of the poet lay in the time when the tabernacle was at that place. And it suits well the age of the Jehovist to represent the assembling of the peoples as being to Judah; because David and Solomon had then proved themselves mighty conquerors.

The earliest form in which prophecy refers to the Messiah is that of *Messianic hopes*. The expectation of the people centred in *better times* for the theocracy. These hopes (Joel iii.) were gradually developed into the definite and individual, out of the indefinite and ideal. They are first attached to the house of David (Hosea ii. 16–25, Amos ix. 11–15); then a descendant of David is conceived of as the restorer of the theocracy (Micah v. 1, etc., Isaiah ix. 5–6). As the future Messiah was expected to be a victorious king, the notion of an *individual Messiah* could not originate till the kingly period. At different times the idea was more or less vague. After it had attached itself to a personal descendant of David, we must not suppose that it became progressively clear and distinct. On the contrary, several late prophets return to the original indefinite stand-point, as we see from Zephaniah (iii. 9–20) and the second part of Isaiah; though Micah and Isaiah had pointed to a person; as Jeremiah and Zechariah also do.

The promise of a Messiah was first announced to their nation by the prophets, who looking into the future with the foreshadowing eye of inspiration found consolation there for weary spirits. The experiences of the present were unsatisfactory to the religious mind, which must have been painfully affected by the discrepancy between the promises of religion and the outward phenomena of life. The pure, high idea of the theocracy hovered over the imperfect reality, awakening a longing desire for inward peace. No reward or restitution in eternity was known. Hope could not turn in that direction. It must find comfort *on earth;* and this was realised in the expectation of Messiah—a wise, righteous, victorious King, who should restore the theocracy in its completeness, and introduce a time of prosperity and peace. Then should Jehovah dwell among his people and their communion with him be intimate and uninterrupted. This promise of Messiah was truly divine. It lifted the spirit above and beyond the present, nourishing

hope as well as purifying it, and furnishing a counterpoise to present imperfections. It was the flame that fed the inner life of the pious, and supplied their highest comfort. It must not be supposed that the kingdom about to be established by the Messiah was conceived of otherwise than an earthly one peculiar to the people of Israel yet destined to extend over all nations and fill the earth with its blessings. The comfort which this great Messianic prophecy gave to the better portion of the Jews, it is impossible to appreciate at the present day. It was an elevating hope, the bud of a blossom about to unfold its bright colours thereafter. Of divine origin it was imperishable, because bearing the germ of the salvation of humanity. A new and better—the only true religion—arose out of its bosom to bless the world.

It is needless to refute such dogmatic assertions as Hengstenberg indulges in when arguing for a personal Messiah in the passage before us. "There cannot be any doubt that Ezekiel found in Gen. xlix. the prophecy of a personal Messiah. They therefore who assert that no such prophecy is contained in our passage must at the same time assert that Ezekiel misunderstood it."[1] Before the time of Ezekiel, a personal Messiah was announced in prophecy, and therefore he may have taken the passage and treated it as such; but that fact does not imply that the words in the lips of Jacob referred directly to a personal Messiah. The germ of a personal Messiah is in them. When a personal Messiah had been revealed, the prophet Ezekiel may have expanded the germ into its ultimate form.

[1] Christology Translated, vol. i. p. 87.

THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

I. CONTENTS.—The book of Exodus may be divided in the following manner:—

1. Notices of the Hebrew people till the time of their exodus from Egypt, chapters i.–xii. 36.

2. The history of their departure out of Egypt and march to Sinai, chapters xii. 37–xviii.

3. Their encampment at mount Sinai; the giving of the decalogue with other laws and ordinances, chapters xix.–xxiv.

4. Instructions respecting the making of the tabernacle, the dress and dedication of the priests, sacrifices, and the observance of the Sabbath, chapters xxv.–xxxi.

5. The first act of apostasy, with the golden calf, the appearance of God to Moses, and the new tables of stone with the ten commandments, chapters xxxii.–xxxiv.

6. The solemnisation of the Sabbath, the erection of the tabernacle, its dedication, and the consecration of the priests, chapters xxxv.–xl.

In the first chapter, the great multiplication of the Israelites in Egypt after Joseph's death is noticed. They became a powerful people, sufficient to excite the suspicion of a later Pharaoh, who, fearing they might join his enemies, took measures for their diminution. First he tried to overwhelm them with excessive toil; then he commanded the midwives to kill all male children at their birth; and lastly, he ordered that all the new-born boys should be thrown into the Nile. The second chapter contains an account of Moses's birth. After having been hidden by his parents for three months, he was put into an ark among the flags of the Nile. But he was found and saved by Pharaoh's daughter, who adopted him as her own. When he grew up he killed an Egyptian who had ill-treated a Hebrew; and was obliged in consequence to flee from Pharaoh. He went into Midian, where he married Zipporah, and kept the flock of his father-in-law. Here, after forty years, he received a divine commission to return to Egypt and deliver the Israelites

from bondage. But he hesitated from a sense of incapacity for the work. Hence God revealed to him His holy name; and ordered him to ask of Pharaoh permission for the Israelites, for three days, to worship in the desert. But He knew that Pharaoh would not consent, and was therefore determined to inflict fearful plagues upon Egypt; after which the king would permit their departure with great spoil. Dreading the unbelief of the Israelites, Moses received from God three signs, which he was to exhibit before them to induce them to believe in his divine mission. Having again hesitated to accept the office, he was promised the assistance of his brother Aaron in the enterprise. He then asked and obtained leave from his father-in-law to return to Egypt. During the journey he incurred imminent danger, which was averted by the immediate circumcision of his youngest son. Aaron, commanded by God, proceeded to meet his brother, and joined him at mount Horeb. Both returned to Egypt, where they summoned the elders of the people, performed the three wonders, and were believed (i.–iv.).

Afterwards the two brothers repaired to Pharaoh, whom they requested, in the name of the God of Israel, to permit the Hebrews to celebrate a festival to their God, at the distance of three days' journey in the desert. Pharaoh refused, and ordered that henceforth no straw should be given to the Israelites for the bricks they made; but that they should gather it for themselves and yet make up the same number of bricks as before. The people were unable to satisfy the increased demands of the king, and therefore their overseers were harshly treated by the Egyptian task-masters. Yet though they complained to Pharaoh, he merely repeated his tyrannical edict. Under these circumstances they reproached Moses and Aaron, the former of whom in grief of mind addressed himself to the Lord (v.)

The Almighty now reveals himself to Moses under the holy attributes of the self-existent, immutable Being, promising Israel's deliverance from Egypt and their occupation of the promised land. But though the servant of God reports these divine assurances to the people, they scarcely listen. The Lord speaks again to Moses, who objects, as before, on account of his deficiency of speech. The genealogy of Moses and Aaron is then given by means of notices of the three tribes of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi; a more detailed description of the last being presented because Levi was Moses's ancestor (vi.).

Moses is again commanded by God to go to Pharaoh with the message that the children of Israel should be set free. Yet he is told that the message would not be effectual till after severe inflictions. In the presence of Pharaoh Aaron's staff is converted into a serpent, and devours the serpents of the Egyptian

magicians. But the king persists in his obstinacy; and therefore the first plague is inflicted upon Egypt: all the waters of the river being turned into blood. But when the magicians did the same, Pharaoh refused the request of Moses. Hence seven days after the first plague, frogs were produced in great abundance, and covered the land of Egypt. But as the magicians, though they also produced frogs, could not remove the plague, Pharaoh requested Moses and Aaron to entreat the Lord for its removal, promising to allow the departure of the Israelites. At the prayer of Moses the plague ceased the following day. But the king withdrew his promise, and accordingly a third plague was sent. Aaron smote the dust with his staff and it was converted into gnats, so that all the dust of the land became gnats. These the magicians tried in vain to produce; and were therefore forced to acknowledge the finger of God. Pharaoh however persisting in his obstinacy, God brought swarms of flies over all the land, except Goshen where the Hebrews were. Hence the king, calling for Moses and Aaron, requested them to pray for a removal of the insects, promising the Israelites liberty to sacrifice in the wilderness. The plague disappeared at the intercession of Moses, but Pharaoh remained obstinate. The next plague inflicted was the murrain among the cattle; after which boils on the skin were sent, followed by the plague of hail. Still Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and the Israelites were retained in bondage. God next threatened to send locusts. The servants of Pharaoh warned him to let the Israelites go. Moses and Aaron appeared again before the king, but on hearing that all the people with their wives, children, flocks and herds, wished to go, he drove them from his presence. Swarms of locusts were then brought to devour the entire vegetation. Upon this Pharaoh sent again for Moses and Aaron, confessed his sin, and asked them to pray for the removal of the plague, which they did accordingly; all the locusts perishing in the Red Sea. But the king remained obstinate. Accordingly, thick darkness was introduced over all the land for three days, after which Pharaoh conceded that the children should accompany their parents into the wilderness, leaving the flocks and herds of the nation as security. But this proposal was rejected. The king therefore forbad Moses to appear again before him under pain of death; which the latter promised with an emphasis (vii.–x.)

After this a divine message was delivered to the Israelites to ask jewels of their neighbours; and Moses threatened Pharaoh with the death of the first-born. A brief summary of the preceding plagues and their want of effect on the heart of Pharaoh is given preparatory to the last infliction (xi.).

Before the final stroke falls upon the Egyptians, which led at

once to the departure of the Israelites, God commands by Moses the ceremonies connected with that event. The passover is instituted to be a perpetual monument of it through future ages. The month Abib is constituted the first of the religious year; precepts are given relating to the selection, killing, roasting, and eating of the paschal lamb, as also the use of unleavened bread from the fifteenth to the twenty-first of Abib; and the persons who should partake of the supper are described. On the fourteenth of Nisan, in the evening, while the Israelites are occupied as they had been divinely directed, the first-born of Egypt, both men and beasts, are destroyed. The terrified Egyptians urge the Hebrews to go away in such haste that they had not time to leaven their bread. They left Egypt therefore laden with spoils; and journeyed from Rameses to Succoth towards the coast of the Red Sea. It is stated that the effective force of the nation was six hundred thousand men (xii.).

In the thirteenth chapter we learn that other laws were enforced in connection with the redemption from Egypt, viz., the sanctification of every first-born male of mankind and beasts. At the same time it was enjoined that the history of the deliverance from Egypt should be faithfully preserved, and handed down from one generation to another. After this the march of the Israelites is resumed, and the general direction pointed out. They proceeded from Succoth to Etham. It is also related that the Israelites took Joseph's bones with them, in fulfilment of a promise; and that the Lord led them by means of a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night (xiii.).

God next commanded Moses to turn and encamp in Pi-hahiroth. Pharaoh, therefore, thinking that they had lost their way, and repenting of having allowed them to go, pursued them with a great army. When the Israelities saw them approach, they reproached Moses with his rash plans. But God encouraged him by the promise of a wonderful deliverance. The pillar of cloud changed its place and stood behind the Israelites, separating them from the Egyptians all night. God caused the sea to go back by a strong wind, and the waters were divided. The Egyptians pursued, and went into the sea after them. But their chariots had great difficulty in following; and the people were afraid. In the meantime, the Israelites having crossed, the waters returned to their usual channel at the stretching out of Moses's arm; and all the Egyptian host was overwhelmed in the flood. Accordingly the people feared and believed the Lord (xiv.).

The fifteenth chapter contains a sublime hymn of praise after the successful passage of the Red Sea. It is then related that

the Israelitics proceeded in a south-eastern direction to Marah, where they murmured against Moses on account of the bitter waters. But by the infusion of the wood of a tree, he prepared the waters for the people's use. From Marah they came to Elim, where they encamped beside springs and under palm-tree shades. From Elim they journeyed to the wilderness of Sin, where they arrived on the fifteenth day of the second month after the exodus. Here being distressed for want of food they murmured against Moses, and repented of leaving Egypt. God miraculously supplied them with quails and manna. The last was to be gathered only from day to day as required, not on the seventh day; for on the sixth day they found a double portion. An omer of the manna was preserved as a memorial for future generations. This manna they ate forty years, till they came to Canaan. From Sin the people journeyed on to Rephidim, where they murmured against Moses on account of the want of water. But God sent a miraculous supply from a rock in Horeb. Here the Israelites were attacked by the Amalekites. Joshua was appointed leader, and the latter were defeated. Moses was commanded to write the history of this event in a book; and erected an altar in commemoration, which he called *Jehovah-Nissi*. The utter extirpation of Amalek was decreed by God. When Jethro heard of the miraculous deliverance of Israel by Moses he came to him to mount Horeb, bringing to him his wife and his two sons who had been sent back to Midian. On the next day, when he saw the burden of judicial labours resting on Moses alone, he advised him to divide the people into companies of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands; and to set over each an inferior judge who should determine all minor matters, while the important ones should be brought before Moses. The counsel was accepted and put into execution, after which Jethro departed to his own land (xv.–xviii.).

In the third month the Israelites arrived in the wilderness of Sinai, and encamped before the mountain. God out of the mount charged Moses to propose to the Israelites the question, whether they would obey Him and keep His covenant. They promised obedience. The Almighty speaking to him from the mountain, in the audience of all the people, commanded that the Israelites should sanctify themselves two days, and be ready, against the third, for a divine revelation. He appeared amid thunders and lightnings, clouds and fire, to the trembling people. Moses and Aaron were called up the mountain, the people below having been warned not to approach. There the ten commandments were proclaimed by Jehovah. The people, afraid of the terrible majesty of the divine presence, wished to receive the precepts of God through Moses. He explained the

reason why God had thus manifested himself. Moses ascended the mountain again, and received individual laws. After a prohibition of idolatry the command was given to make altars without steps (xix., xx.).

The twenty-first, twenty-second, and twenty-third chapters contain a number of laws supplementary to the fundamental laws of the entire Mosaic legislation given in the twentieth chapter. These have been called the *judicial* law, probably on account of the words in chap. xxi. 1—"Now these are the *judgments* which thou shalt set before them." But the term translated *judgments* means rather *rights;* and the chapters in question comprise social and individual, religious and political, criminal and civil, divine and human, regulations. At the conclusion of these (xxiii. 20–33), is an exhortation to obey God, to avoid idolatry, and even utterly to destroy the idols wherever they should be found; then would God send His messenger before the Israelites and their enemies should be smitten with fear; the promised land should come into their possession; and their territory should extend from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Arabian desert to the Euphrates (xxi.–xxiii.).

After these laws had been enacted the covenant was ratified between God and Israel. Moses erected an altar and twelve pillars, offered holocausts and eucharistic sacrifices, sprinkled the blood on the altar and the people, and read to them the book of the covenant, whose precepts they promised to obey. He afterwards ascended the mountain accompanied by Joshua. Clouds covered its top. Having waited there six days, the Lord called him on the seventh into the cloud where he continued forty days and forty nights (xxiv.).

The next communication which Moses receives relates to the provision of a suitable place for the national worship. This would serve as a visible centre of monotheism, where the religious ritual might go into operation. Accordingly a minute description is given of the construction of the tabernacle, with its various vessels and furniture, in the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh chapters (xxv.–xxvii.).

It is next related, that Aaron and his sons were set apart to the priest's office. Their official robes are described, a breastplate with the Urim and Thummim, an ephod, a robe, a mitre with a golden plate, drawers, girdle, turban, and tesselated tunic. The four last were for the ordinary priests; the former for the high priest alone (xxviii.).

We have now an account of the ceremonies to be performed at the consecration of the priests. After bathing, they were to be clothed in their official attire, and anointed with oil; a bul-

lock was sacrificed for a sin-offering, a ram for a burnt-offering, and another ram for a thank-offering; a loaf, a cake, and a wafer were prescribed as a wave-offering. These ceremonies of consecration were to be repeated daily through a week; after which, sacrifices for the expiation of the altar and the daily sacrifices were prescribed. God promised to dwell among the children of Israel, to meet them in the holy tabernacle, and cause them to know that it was He who delivered them from Egypt (xxix.).

The thirtieth chapter contains directions relative to the altar of incense, the ceremonies to be performed on it, and the kinds of incense to be used. Every Israelite above twenty years was to give half a shekel as ransom-money for the support of the tabernacle. Then the brazen laver in the court, with the preparation and ingredients of the holy oil, are described (xxx.).

We have next a designation of the artisans who were to execute the directions already given; of whom Bezaleel and Aholiab are the chief. The law concerning the sanctification of the sabbath is repeated, lest it should be thought that the work of the tabernacle released them from the observance of that rest; and God delivers to Moses the two tables of the law engraven on stone (xxxi.).

In the absence of Moses, the people urged Aaron to make a golden calf, as an image of their God who had delivered them out of Egypt. For this purpose they gave their gold ornaments. The calf was made, an altar was built, burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were brought, and there was a great feast. This image did not represent to the people the Egyptian Apis, but the Semitic god Moloch, the horrible king, who appears either as a heifer with human face, or a heifer in all its parts. God is indignant, is minded to destroy them and elevate Moses with his posterity to the privileges they should forfeit. But at the intreaty of Moses, the anger of the Lord is appeased. In descending from the mount with the tablets in his hands and hearing the revelry of the multitude, Moses throws them down violently on the ground, and they are broken. The calf is melted, and the fragments thrown into the water which the people are made to drink. He expostulates with Aaron; whose reply is a very feeble but natural excuse under the circumstances. Then he calls upon all who are for upholding the divine arrangements to rally around him. The sons of Levi having obeyed the summons are commanded to kill the prominent offenders, and accordingly three thousand are slain. He returns to the mountain to pray for the people's forgiveness, but is assured that only the actual sinners will be punished. God further assures Moses that though He will deliver Canaan into

the possession of the Israelites, He will not appear among them in personal presence, but will effect His purposes by an angel instead, on account of the rebelliousness of the people. This announcement diffuses grief throughout the camp. The people put off their ornaments and mourn. As a sign that God was reconciled, He consented to take His place in the midst of the people. Moses took a tent and pitched it outside the camp, calling it the tabernacle of the congregation. As Moses entered this tabernacle, the cloudy pillar descended in view of the people; shewing that the Lord, who had hitherto manifested His presence on the distant summit, took his abode as king in the midst of Israel. God communes with Moses there who asks to see His full glory but is reminded that such is impossible for a human being. Yet He promises to reveal to him all His attributes of mercy. Accordingly the Lord commands him to hew two other tables of stone, and reascend the mountain. There God descends in a cloud and proclaims His mercy and justice. Moses entreats God himself to accompany the people; and is answered by the announcement of observances previously enjoined, which they would be required to keep. Moses stays forty days and forty nights on the mount; during which time he writes down the words of the covenant. When he returns to the people with the tables of the law, his face shines with the rays of a divine glory, and he puts a vail on it when he does not commune with God (xxxii.–xxxiv.).

After enjoining the strict observance of the Sabbath, Moses calls upon the people to bring free-will gifts for the construction of the tabernacle and its furniture, as well as for the holy garments; to which they responded so liberally that it was necessary to restrain their generosity. Bezaleel and Aholiab are called to the work, which they commence accordingly, proceeding with the curtains, the boards, the bars, and the vails. Bezaleel then makes the ark and its staves, the mercy seat with cherubim, the table of shew-bread with its vessels, the candlestick with its lamps and instruments, the altar of incense with the anointing oil and sweet incense. Next he makes the altar of burnt-offering, the brazen laver, the court with its pillars and hangings. The amount of gold, silver, and brass contributed is given; and in the last place, an account of the making of the ephod, the breast-plate, the robe of the ephod, the tunics, mitre, and girdles. After all things had been completed, they were brought to Moses for examination; who approved of them as in accordance with the divine commandment, and blessed the people. On the first day of the first month, in the second year, Moses was commanded to set up the tabernacle, to anoint it and all its furniture; to wash, clothe, and anoint Aaron and his sons. After he did all these

things, a cloud covered the tabernacle, and the glory of the Lord filled it. When this cloud was taken up from the tabernacle, the Israelites proceeded on their journey; when it rested they encamped (xxxv.–xl.).

II. THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT.—It is now desirable to make some observations on the nature and peculiarities of the plagues wrought in Egypt; after which we shall inquire whether the magicians wrought *real* miracles in imitation of those performed by Moses.

The plagues are the following:

1st. The river Nile and all other water throughout the land of Egypt was converted into blood. The meaning seems to be that the waters assumed a red, blood-like colour. This is agreeable to the words of Joel ii. 31, "the moon shall be turned into blood," *i.e.*, into the colour of blood. But Kalisch objects,[1] that the transmutation stated in Ex. vii. 18, is not consistent with it; just as if the advocates of the proposed explanation denied that while converted into such colour it was not necessarily destructive of animal life, or unimpregnated with a substance capable of producing the two effects of colour and noxiousness. The same critic likewise objects to the analogy of Joel ii. 31, because the poetical diction of the prophet can prove nothing for the plain historical style of the narrative in Exodus; and then quotes Josephus as if *his* authority were worth notice. We cannot see that prose and poetry destroy the analogy in question. The redness of the Nile water is a regular annual phenomenon. The river assumes a reddish tint for above twenty days in the month of June, when it is rising or subsiding. In 1823, Ehrenberg found the whole inlet of the Red Sea, in the neighbourhood of Sinai, stained a blood-red colour by Cryptogamic plants. Hence the wonder does not lie in *the colour* of the water, but in the fact that it happened *at the beginning of the year;* that what was in the vessels was changed, and that the fish died. It is also implied that the Israelites had pure water, because it is not said that they dug for it like the Egyptians.

2nd. The second plague consisted in an innumerable multitude of frogs, occupying not only the rivers and all waters, but entering the streets and houses of the Egyptians, penetrating into their bed chambers and disturbing their repose. This must have been disgusting and distressing in the extreme. The marshy valley of the Nile is such that these animals sometimes become a plague, but are destroyed by serpents and storks. The wonder consists in their coming and disappearing at Moses's command, and in the Israelites being unmolested.

[1] Historical and Critical Commentary on Exodus, p. 122.

3rd. The third plague consisted in this, that all the dust of the land became gnats, which attacked both men and beasts. The obscure word כִּנִּים we take to mean *marsh gnats*, not *lice* as Bochart has tried to prove. They were a kind of mosquito, which flies into the eyes, nose, and ears, stinging these sensitive parts. If it be said that *gnats* would probably be included under the flies of the next plague; that depends on the *generic* acceptation of the term so rendered, which we hold to be incorrect. Here again we have a natural phenomenon of the country. The wonder of the plague lies in the gnats being suddenly called into existence by Aaron, and in their not touching the Israelites.

4th. The fourth plague consisted of swarms of the beetle, *i.e.*, the *Blatta orientalis*. Many authorities however are in favour of the *dog-fly* as the animal denoted by עָרֹב.

5th. The fifth plague was a pestilence among the cattle, so that they all died; those at least belonging to the Egyptians.

6th. The sixth plague consisted of a leprous-like disease which attacked man and beast. Black eruptions were common in Egypt, and continue till the present day, arising from the prevalence of marshes in various parts.

7th. The seventh plague was a great hail-storm, which not only destroyed the crops and herds of the field but killed men and beasts.

8th. The eighth consisted of a prodigious swarm of locusts.

9th. The ninth plague was an extraordinary and palpable darkness. The fearful hot wind *Chamsin* usually continues three days, during which the sun is darkened. The Israelites however had light in their dwellings.

10th. The tenth consisted in the death of the first-born in the land. This is "the plague" of which Egypt is almost the parent soil. It commonly appears at Cairo towards the end of March, or at the commencement of April. The first-born of the Egyptians died of it; while the Israelites were saved.

These visitations are related as extraordinary and miraculous. They are founded upon ordinary phenomena in Egypt. But they are represented as taking place at a season contrary to the usual occurrence of such phenomena, and appearing in rapid succession; as occurring at the time foretold by Moses and at his command, while they commonly ceased at his intercession; and as passing over the Israelites. Such a combination of circumstances is unusual. The country presented its analogies to them all; yet there are points of difference which shew the supernatural character of the phenomena as related. That the ten plagues were all actual and historical events we fully believe. Bunsen has done much to prove them such. It is only their *costume* or *drapery* that is poetical. Thus the last one, the death

of all the first-born, simply means that the plague did not spare the dearest and most beloved ones. It visited all, high and low. Even Hengstenberg admits thus much. "It must not be inferred," says he, "that none of the first-born remained alive in the land, or that none besides the first-born died."[1]. Travellers inform us that certain districts are not touched by it, while others are desolated; and that it attacks cattle as well as human beings. In regard to the *miraculous* element connected with these plagues, it appears to us that the *national traditions* account for all that appears as miraculous. Exaggerations of periodical visitations or of the regular phenomena of Egypt, along with every thing of the wonderful, are an embodiment of the popular traditions. Moses performs extraordinary deeds as the law-giver of the nation. This was a general belief among the ancients. We resolve what is miraculous in the plagues into a *traditional element* naturally shaping itself, among the Israelites, into the form presented by the naratives. The Almighty does not violently interfere with the eternal laws of nature which he established at first; for these laws are sufficient to effect whatever he intended to bring about in the history of redemption. When he established them, he foresaw all that they should be required to accomplish. If therefore a miracle mean an *interference with*, or a *suspension of*, nature's fixed laws, we cannot assume its existence; especially as we are ignorant of many such laws, as well as of *the effects* they are capable of producing.

III. CONDUCT OF THE MAGICIANS.—In considering the proceedings of the magicians, there are some views which must be discarded as untenable; especially that which supposes, either that God himself empowered such persons to work real miracles and gave them an unexpected success; as Fleetwood believes; or that while the magicians used their enchantments, expecting assistance of the demons to whom they applied, God himself was pleased to interpose and to effect a real change of the rods into serpents, according to Thomas Scott.[2] To represent the Almighty as interfering to give the magicians success, is injurious to his character, because it implies that he acted in opposition to himself. Equally untenable is the hypothesis that these miracles of the magicians were performed by the co-operation of the devil or evil spirits, as A. Clarke and others imagine. The apparent necessity for such baseless hypotheses arises from a false view of the performances of these magicians, as though they were truly supernatural. We do not believe that they were real miracles; because *real* miracles were not wrought by the hands of Moses

[1] Egypt and the Books of Moses, translated by Robbins, p. 129.
[2] Commentary on the Bible.

and Aaron. Whatever be the nature of the performances, it was the same in both cases. The language represents the magicians as wielding miraculous power; though less in degree than that of the Hebrew brothers. "Now the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments" (Exodus vii. 11). "And the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments" (vii. 22). Here the words are express; excluding modern theories which ascribe their feats to jugglery. We are prevented from such an assumption by the obvious text; and need not have recourse to the Haje serpent, which charmers can make like a stick by its becoming intensely inflated and rigid. The mythical and traditional element pervades the whole. If Moses and Aaron did not perform proper miracles, it cannot be thought that the magicians exceeded them in ability. Their feats as well as those of the Israelite leaders are exalted, the one to enhance the other. An air of exaggeration is thrown over them by the imagination of later times. It will be observed, that when both parties are represented as performing miracles, it must have been believed that there were other gods besides Jehovah, though inferior to him in power.

Bryant[1] has endeavoured to trace, with much ingenuity, the peculiar adaptation of the miracles wrought by Moses to display the vanity of the idols and false gods adored by the Egyptians; by which means the Israelites were warned at the same time not to fall into the like idolatry. But he has pushed his observations too far when he endeavours to shew that *all* the plagues except the tenth had a direct reference to Egyptian superstitions. Thus in the case of the plague of gnats, of murrain among the cattle, of leprous diseases, of the beetle, of hail, as well that of locusts, no such allusion is apparent.

IV. Duration of the Israelites in Egypt.—How long were the Israelites in Egypt? According to Exodus xii. 40 they were 430 years; the number 400 in Genesis being a round number and therefore less exact than the same with a fraction.

There are difficulties connected with 430 years as the time of the Israelites in Egypt, which are embarrassing. Kohath, the son of Levi, who had gone down into Egypt with his father (Genesis xlvi. 8, 11), lived only 133 years (Exodus vi. 18). Amram his son, the father of Moses, lived 137 years (Exodus vi. 20). Moses was eighty years old when he led the children of Israel out of the land. These added together make but 350 years, not 430. Besides, Kohath's age when he went down into Egypt should be subtracted, as also the years during which the fathers lived with the sons.

[1] On the Plagues of Egypt, 1811, 8vo.

To remove this difficulty some alter the text and appeal to the authority of the Samaritan copy, as well as to the Septuagint. The former reads, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel and of their fathers which they sojourned in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt was 430 years." The latter has the following, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan was 430 years." The Vatican text, in some copies is more conformable to the Samaritan text by the insertion "they and their fathers" after *ἦν παρωκησαν*. By adopting this reading, the period embraces the time from Abraham's entrance into the land of Canaan till the exodus. Thus from that patriarch's coming into the sacred land till the birth of Isaac was twenty-five years (Gen. xii. 4, xvii. 1, 21); Isaac was sixty years old when Jacob was born (Gen. xxv. 26); and Jacob was 130 years of age when he immigrated into Egypt, making the number 215 years, *i.e.*, 25 + 60 + 130. This leaves 215 years for the actual sojourn in Egypt.

We cannot approve of the expedient, though John Morin, Cappell, Kennicott, Houbigant, Geddes, etc., resort to it. The Hebrew text is entire; and the addition of the words supplied by the Samaritan and Septuagint is foreign to the scope of the narrative. Why *the previous sojourn* in Canaan should be inserted does not appear; and it would certainly be inappropriate. The supplementary words were manifestly interpolated by men who thought that they could remove the difficulty of the place by means of them. The more difficult reading is generally to be preferred; as in the present case, where almost all authority is on its side. And it should be observed, moreover, that the words *καὶ ἐν γῇ χαναάν* were not in all copies of the Greek version; for according to Theophilus of Antioch, they were wanting in the most ancient ones belonging to the second century of the Christian era. But supposing the Masoretic text to be genuine and uncorrupted, to which all the evidence undoubtedly leads, is it possible to elicit from it *a sense* equivalent to that which the Samaritan effects? So some imagine, thinking that a *double synecdoche* lies in the passage; the children of Israel including *their fathers*, and Egypt comprehending *Canaan*. Agreeably to this method, Jonathan, the Chaldee interpreter, paraphrases, "and the days which the children of Israel remained in Egypt were thirty times seven years, that is, 210 years; and the number 430 years is from that time when the Lord spake with Abraham—viz., on the fifteenth of the month Nisan, between the divided parts of the animals." The reference is to Genesis xv. 10–14. The same computation is followed by the apostle Paul in Gal. iii. 17, where he makes 430 years elapse

from the covenant made with Abraham till the giving of the Mosaic law. The obvious sense of the passage is against the twofold synecdoche; and whether we compute the 430 years from the ratifying of the covenant with Abraham, or from the entrance of that patriarch into Canaan, the difficulties are neither removed nor lessened. "The oppressive measures of the Egyptian king for checking the increase and annihilating the energies of the Israelites, must have commenced at least 100 years before the Exodus, because Moses was then eighty years old, and already a considerable time before his birth the cruel policy of the king had been carried into effect. Now, is it in any way probable, that a family of sixty-nine persons should, in not more than about 100 years, increase to a nation so formidable as to make the powerful king of a great monarchy tremble at the idea of their possible resistance?"[1].

As there can be little doubt that the Masoretic reading is correct, and that the sense of it is such as to include *merely* the sojourn in Egypt, we must seek for some other method of removing the difficulty. The most plausible is that proposed by Koppe,[2] who conjectures that all the genealogy of Levi is not given, but that several intermediate generations between Kohath and Amram, or between the former and Moses, are dropped. The same critic appeals for confirmation to Numbers iii. 28, where the family of Kohath is said to have consisted, even in the time of Moses, of 8,600 souls. Dividing that number between the four sons of Kohath, Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel, the posterity of Amram who had only two sons would appear to have increased in one generation to 2,150 males, which is incredible. Hence Kohath cannot have been the grandfather of Moses. It appears very probable, that all the heads of families from Levi to Moses in a direct line, are not mentioned. This solution is exposed to no serious objection. Perhaps the specifications of the ages belonging to heads of families were derived from another source than that which supplied the account of the whole time of sojourning in Egypt from a less exact one. Others think that the number is mythical or traditional, as in the case of other numbers, both ages of men and periods of time. Accordingly Bunsen conjectures that the sojourn in Egypt lasted 1,440 years;[3] while Lepsius makes it but ninety.[4] If we departed from 430, we should much prefer the hypothesis of Bunsen, since it allows ample time for the increase of the Egyptians to the great host of 600,000 fighting men,

[1] Kalisch's Commentary on Exodus, Introduction, p. 13.
[2] Pott's Sylloge Commentatt. Theol. ii. p. 255, et seqq.
[3] Egypt's Place in Universal History, vol. i. pp. 171-178.
[4] Einleitung, p. 16, et seqq.

besides women and children. Perhaps 430 years is not too small a period for so great increase. A careful computation may shew that it is at least *possible*.

V. PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.—In conformity with historical characteristics elsewhere observable in Exodus, the narrative of the passage across the Red Sea must not be viewed as literal history. It is history penetrated with poetry or legend. Later traditions exaggerated the event, surrounding it with wonder. The originally few and simple particulars were subsequently enlarged; being invested with a garb woven for them by the admiration of a younger race looking back with pride to the history of their fathers.

There is an ebb and flow in the Arabian gulf. This is well attested both by the ancients and moderns. It is but natural to suppose that Moses, who was acquainted with the peculiarities of the sea, took advantage of the ebb tide which was assisted by a strong north-east wind. At the time of the ebb, the channel is easily forded in the neighbourhood of Suez. Niebuhr, Napoleon, Russegger, Carne, and Tischendorf, rode through it, north of Suez. Arabs accompanied Niebuhr on foot. Parallels occur in ancient times, when great generals taking advantage of the tide led their armies through waters, to the astonishment of after ages. Josephus mentions, in connexion with the occurrence, the passage of Alexander the Great through the Pamphylian Sea, at Phaselis.[1] Of Callisthenes who accompanied Alexander in his expedition Eustathius says he wrote, "how the Pamphylian Sea did not only open a passage for Alexander, but, by rising and elevating its waters did pay him homage as its king."[2] Of Scipio, Livy relates that as he was besieging new Carthage, when it was about mid-day and a strong north wind blew along with the ebbing tide, the place became so shallow that he led his warriors through the water. The thing was given out as a prodigy, as though the gods had turned the sea to allow the Romans to cross.[3]

Various hypotheses have been resorted to for the purpose of clearing away the difficulty arising from the fact that such a multitude of people as two millions could not cross at a single ebb-tide. The numbers however may be exaggerated; or the strong wind may have retarded the flow of the tide for a longer period than usual. The narrative as it now stands is a poetical legend. The reflection subjoined by Josephus to his account of the event is singular: "I have given

[1] Antiqq. II. xvi. 5.
[2] Notes to the third Book of the Iliad. See Strabo, Book xiv. p. 666; Arian i. 26; Appian Bell. civile 2, p. 522; Plutarch Alex. 17.
[3] Hist. Rom. xxvi. 45.

every particular of this story just as I found it in the sacred books. But let no man be surprised at the strangeness of it, that such an ancient and innocent people should find a way opened for their escape through the sea, either by the will of God, or the concurrence of natural causes. Since in a like case as it were of yesterday the Pamphylian Sea retired before Alexander King of Macedon, and opened him a passage, where there was no other way for him, when God had a mind to put an end to the Persian empire. And this is affirmed by all who have written of his actions. But for these things *let every man take them in what sense he best likes.*" [1]

VI. Moses's Song.—The song of Moses in the fifteenth chapter was not written by Moses himself. It is a Palestinian production. If any part of it was sung at the time the Hebrews crossed over, it was probably the words of the first verse—

> Sing unto the Lord
> For he hath triumphed gloriously;
> The horse and his rider
> Hath he thrown into the sea.

This was probably repeated with some variations by the singers and musicians. Allusions are made in it to a time considerably after the song is said to have been first sung; for example in the seventeenth verse—

> Thou broughtest them in and plantedst them
> In the mountain of thine inheritance;
> In the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in,
> In the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established.

Here the temple on mount Zion seems to be meant. If so, the poem was not prior to Solomon's time. The name יָהּ for יְהוָה also occurs in the second verse, which was not formed till the practice of abbreviating names and connecting them with others began. Except in Exodus xvii. 16, where it is used by the Jehovist, and in Solomon's Song viii. 16, it never occurs but in late writings, such as the Psalms. The poem as we now have it is Elohistic.

Though the prose account in the fourteenth chapter differs from the poetical one in the fifteenth in various particulars, we can hardly determine which is the more ancient. An able writer considers the song the older; especially because of the nineteenth verse (xv). The hand of the Jehovist appears in the fourteenth not in the fifteenth, and therefore the latter is older.

VII. The Decalogue.—On comparing the decalogue as

[1] Antiqq. II. xvi. 5.

recorded in Ex. xx. 2–17 and Deut. v. 6–21, it will be observed,

1. That it is equally said of *both*, "God *spake* all these words" (Ex. xx. 1, Deut. v. 22).

2. Notwithstanding such express declaration, the following diversities occur. In Deut. v. 12, the term *keep* corresponds to *remember* in Ex. xx. 8, and the last clause of the former verse, "as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee," is wanting in Exodus. In Deut. v. 14, is the addition, "thine ox nor thine ass," as well as the clause, "that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou." Again in Deut. v. 16, two new clauses are supplied; "And that it may go well with thee," and, "as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee." The copulative conjunction is prefixed to the last four commandments in Deuteronomy. In the ninth and tenth the terms "falsehood" and "covet" are not the same as in Exodus. The tenth has also the first two clauses in a different order from that in Exodus, and adds "his field."

3. The above diversities shew that the *ipsissima verba* spoken by God cannot be in both, because both do not exactly agree.

4. It is possible, however, that the *ipsissima verba* may be in one or other. Accordingly the majority of expositors take the record in Exodus for the exact one, supposing that as Moses was speaking to the people in the latter case, he recited from memory not from the tables of stone, and therefore there is some variation of terms. A few however think that the record in Deuteronomy is the more exact, because when Moses recorded the words in Exodus he had *heard* the decalogue pronounced; whereas when he repeated it in Deuteronomy, it was in his hands, *inscribed* in permanent letters.

5. If the rigidly literal meaning of the phrase, "God spake these words," is not adhered to in the case of the one record, it need not in the case of the other. Or, if the cognate clause used in both books, "that God wrote them on two tables of stone," be not literally pressed in one case, there is no necessity for doing so in the other. It seems probable to us, that the record in Exodus is the more exact. That in Deuteronomy has an amplification corresponding to the style of the book.

6. We suppose that the record in Exodus is the older one. Yet it would be hazardous to assert that it is *the exact original*. It is very improbable that both proceeded from one and the same writer, because *on the principle of strict literality of language* he contradicts himself. Both are substantially the decalogue; but Moses did not write both. Indeed he could not have written either in its present form, because that in Exodus is Jehovistic, and older than the record in Deuteronomy. If we

have the decalogue in spirit and substance it is sufficient; as we certainly have it in both, without insisting on the literal and rigid interpretation which assumes that the articulate words were pronounced by Jehovah in the air and hearing of men; or that *He* wrote them with His finger on the tables of stone. As far as the language consists with the true nature of Deity, it may be said that commandments were communicated and written by Him, *i.e.*, through the mind of Moses his servant who was peculiarly suited for the work.

The ten words in their original form were very short. They were simply ten commands, uttered at first in a loud voice amid the rolling thunder and flashing lightnings. Moses carried the tables in his hand; hence they must have contained but a few words. He afterwards enlarged them by supplementary terms, in which form they were entered in his *covenant-book*.

VIII. First Institution of the Sabbath.—As the sabbath is spoken of at creation, some have supposed that it was first instituted at that time. But this appears to be incorrect—

First, Because we find in Nehemiah, where the favours conferred by Jehovah on the Israelites who had lately come out of Egypt are enumerated, "Thou camest down also upon mount Sinai, etc. . . . . and madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant" (ix. 13, 14). These words cannot properly be explained of *renewing* the law of the Sabbath, because *making known* does not apply to what has been already given and is consequently known before. The same conclusion follows from Ezek. xx. 10, 11, 12, "Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness. And I gave them my statutes, and shewed them my judgments, which if a man do he shall even live in them. Moreover also, I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them," etc., clearly shewing that ritual precepts and sabbaths were given together in the wilderness.

Secondly, The Israelites kept the first sabbath mentioned in Scripture, in the wilderness, on the twenty-second day of the second month (Ex. xvi.). The fifteenth of the same month was spent in murmuring and marching. If therefore they observed the sabbath before the twenty-second, they must have kept it on another day.

Thirdly, The Scripture never speaks of the sabbath having been kept before the time of Moses. This is exceedingly strange if such an institution, so sacred and important to the human race, had been appointed at the beginning of time. In all the journeys of the patriarchs recorded in Genesis, no cessation is hinted on account of the seventh day. Amid the frequent men-

tion of priests, offerings, altars, sacrifices, groves, prayers, giving of thanks, vows and such like, not a word about the sabbath occurs. The silence respecting it from Moses to the end of David's reign, which was no more than four hundred and forty years, is by no means analogous.

Fourthly, The testimony of the fathers is unanimous in favour of this view: Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Eusebius, might be quoted.

If the sabbath was a part of the Jewish law promulgated at mount Sinai, it follows that it was given to *the Israelites alone.* This is plainly declared in Exodus, especially in the thirty-first chapter and thirteenth verse, "Verily my sabbaths ye shall keep, for it is a sign *between me and you, throughout your generations,*" etc., compared with the seventeenth verse, "it is a sign *between me and the children of Israel* for ever." There is no proof that it was borrowed from the day of Saturn in ancient heathenism particularly that of Egypt.[1]

Some have tried to find an indication of the day in Gen. iv. 3, where the phrase מִקֵּץ יָמִים *at the end of days,* occurs; but the interpretation is erroneous. And the word, *remember,* in Ex. xx. 8, does not imply the previous existence of the institution; it is only designed to call attention to the day as one to be remembered.

When it is said, that the law of the sabbath, being placed among other moral laws, should itself be considered *moral,* and therefore of perpetual obligation; the argument is irrelevant becuuse very dissimilar laws are put together in the Pentateuch; and if the decalogue be a summary of the entire law, as some suppose, it must exhibit together precepts of different kinds, moral, judicial, and ceremonial. Even if it contain the moral law alone, as many theologians have supposed, we must yet assume that it has an unessential as well as essential, a permanent and a changeable element; that it has Jewish particulars and a Jewish form. But indeed the decalogue is merely a compendious statement of what is especially forbidden and what should be principally observed in a theocracy. It is neither a system of ethics nor an abstract of all commandments. The attempt to explain it spiritually by transferring the superior morality of the christian religion to the old law, is contrary to sound principles of interpretation. Yet this has been done by the Westminster divines and others, who discover all our duties to God and man abundantly in the brief abstract prescribed to Israel under the theocracy. Writers like Macdonald[2] boldly

[1] See Herzog's Encyklopaedie, vol. xiii. pp. 194, 195.
[2] Introduction to the Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 336, et seqq.

speak of *its perfections*, and hold that its morality is equal to that of the gospel; not perceiving that such praises of Judaism dishonour Christianity. All the commands of the first table are mainly directed against idolatry, with which the fourth commandment agrees; for the observance of the sabbath was an avowal of the Jewish belief in *creation*, contrary to the Gentile notion of the eternity of matter. We do not hold that the fourth commandment is *moral*. It was a positive institution, and has therefore disappeared with Judaism.[1]

It is almost superflous to say, that *the Lord's day*, or first day of the week observed by Christians in commemoration of Christ's resurrection, has nothing to do with the Jewish sabbath. The one was not changed for the other, nor has it come in place of the other. Each rests on its own basis. The seventh day was expressly commanded to be kept as a day of sacred rest by the Jews, with whose economy it has passed away. The first day of the week rests on no divine precept in the New Testament. Its observance depends on the authority of *the church*, or the general consent of Christians. Expediency alone is all that it has to commend it. The apostle Paul plainly teaches that all days to the Christian are alike sacred in themselves, because the only thing that hallows a day is the performance of one's appropriate duties. A day spent in the manner which Scripture and Providence direct, becomes sacred by that means. Destitute of holiness in itself, it is consecrated by the spirit brought to it.

IX. Division of the Ten Commandments.—With regard to the division of the ten commandments a good deal has been written, though the subject is of little importance. The tables are said to have been written on both sides (Ex. xxxii. 15); and the number of the commands is stated to be *ten* in Ex. xxxiv. 28, Deut. iv. 13, x. 4. The points in which diversity of opinion is entertained are the way of making up ten commandments, and the number contained in each table.

1. How the number ten is made up. Here there are three ways of arrangement.

(*a*) Following the authority of Augustine, the Romish and Lutheran churches make the first commandment embrace Ex. xx. 2–6. The ninth is, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house," and the tenth, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," etc. The others are as usual. Augustine himself, however,[2] following the text of Deuteronomy in preference to that of Exodus, takes the ninth to be, "thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," and the tenth, "thou shalt not covet thy

[1] See Hessey's Bampton Lecture on Sunday, pp. 1-128.
[2] Qeaest. in Exod. p. 71.

neighbour's house," etc. In this order of the ninth and tenth, but few have followed him. Sonntag[1] does so. In favour of this division the accentuation has been quoted. The text is furnished with a twofold accentuation, and the upper of the two comprehends all Ex. xx. 2–6, in one verse. But this accentuation seems to have been made for the purpose of *public reading*. The division into paraschs or sections has likewise been adduced for the Augustinian arrangement. But in relation to the Sethuma dividing the last commandment into two (Ex. xx. 14), many good MSS. and editions do not contain it. Different Jewish traditions probably led to these diversities in the apparatus of the Masoretic text.

(*b*) The modern Jews make the preface, "I am the Lord thy God," etc., the first commandment, and begin the second with the words, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." What are the ninth and tenth in the preceding arrangement make here the tenth only, viz., Ex. xx. 14. This view was adopted by Julian the Apostate; and is found in the Talmud (Gemara, Makkoth 24a), in the commentaries Mechilta and Pesikta, in the Targum of Jonathan; in Abenezra, Maimonides and others.

(*c*) The third view is that current in the Greek and Reformed churches as well as among the Socinians. According to it the second commandment begins, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," etc., the first being, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." The oldest testimony in favour of this is that of Philo[2] and Josephus.[3] The coincidence of these Jewish writers shews that they did not give their own private opinion merely, but the prevailing one of their nation. Origen[4] and Irenaeus[5] adopt the same. So too Greg. Nazianzen and Ambrose. The form of the second verse in Ex. xx., "I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," is against its being considered the first commandment. It is a simple assertion. The third and fourth verses are materially distinct, and relate to different things, viz., polytheism and image-worship. Hence the third verse must be taken as the second commandment. The last commandment naturally consists of the fourteenth verse, and cannot be separated into two. We can conceive of a division according to the Deuteronomic recension, viz., first the desire of impure gratification, and then that of lucre, thus making two commandments; but the Exodus recension is the original and better one.

[1] Studien und Kritiken for 1836, 1 Heft; and 1837, 2 Heft.
[2] Quis rerum div. haer. § 35. De decalog. § 12.
[3] Antiqq. v. 5.
[4] Homil. viii. in Exodus.
[5] Lib. ii. c. xlii.

In *the succession* of several commandments there is also some diversity. In favour of the Masoretic text are the LXX. on Deut. v., Josephus, and Matt. xix. 18. But in Ex. xx. the LXX. put the prohibition of adultery and stealing before that of murder. On the other hand Philo, Rom. xiii. 9, and Clement of Alexandria, arrange the three commandments, "thou shalt not commit adultery," "thou shalt not kill," "thou shalt not steal."

2. (*a*) In relation to the number of commandments in each table, the Philonian view is that there are five in each. The first refers to our love to God, the second to our love towards our neighbour. The duty to parents is put into the first because that commandment has also to do with love to God, our parents being God's earthly representatives to their children. It certainly forms a natural transition to the second table. The New Testament favours this opinion, for in Matth. v. 21 "thou shalt not kill" is introduced as if it made a new paragraph or the beginning of a new table. We do not look upon Ephs. vi. 2 either as a proof for the command respecting parents beginning the second table, or for its belonging to the first.

(*b*) Ambrosiaster makes the first table consist of four commandments, the second of six.[1] This view is adopted by Calvin[2] and by the Westminster Divines in their two Catechisms. The objection made by the Genevese Reformer to having the command respecting parents in the first table is that it confounds the distinction between religion and charity, and is opposed to the words of Matthew xix. 19.

(*c*) The Augustinian view followed by the Lutheran and Catholic Church is that the first table consists of three, the second of seven commandments. What influenced Augustine in favour of the three was the doctrine of the Trinity. This is absurd. The numbers three and seven are certainly sacred numbers in the Bible.

We have little hesitation in following the Philonian division, as best attested by ancient evidence, most accordant with the sense, and most favourable to symmetrical structure. Five commandments in each table is the most natural allotment. Geffken,[3] Oehler,[4] and Meier,[5] among others may be referred to as advocating the old Philo-Josephus view of the commandments. The Augustinian is defended, with great learning, by Sonntag and Kurtz.[6]

[1] Append. to Ambrosii Opera, p. 248 et seqq., ed. Paris. [2] Instit. II. 8, 12.
[3] Ueber die verschiedene Eintheilung des Dekalogus, u. s. w. Hamb. 1838.
[4] In Herzog's Encyklopædie, vol. iii. p. 319 et seqq.
[5] Die ursprungliche Form des Dekalogus, Mannheim, 1846.
[6] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 292.

X. WHAT IS MEANT BY GOD SPEAKING.—"God spake all these words" (Exodus xx. 1).—To understand the language of the Old Testament aright, it is necessary to recollect that it contains a *revelation* in the general sense of that word, or an uncovering of truth; the development of that truth by mind under the influence of God's Spirit. It is a record of the growth of human intelligence in relation to the Deity—of the revelation made by Spirit to spirit. When therefore God is described as *speaking* to man, he does so in the only way in which He who is a Spirit can speak to one encompassed with flesh and blood; not to the outward organs of sensation but to that intelligence which is kindred to Himself the great Fountain of knowledge. The feeble consciousness of God in man expresses itself in that form. Thus it is not to be supposed that the Eternal Being spake the Decalogue *audibly* in the air, in articulate sounds, simply because the writer says, "God *spake* all these words, saying" (Ex. xx. 1). In like manner, when He appeared to the patriarchs, called to them, addressed them by name, commanded them to do certain things; or when *His angel* appeared, which is only a different expression for *Himself*, we must resolve the thing into a strong manifestation of the spiritual consciousness in man. When the soul is powerfully impelled by a sense of the divine to give expression to its thoughts, one may enunciate the act of its doing so by making the Deity speak in an audible and external manner as though he were a man speaking to men. It is of some importance to understand the *visible appearances* and *spoken words* of Deity in the Old Testament books, especially the earliest ones, because they are frequently apprehended in a sense materially literal, from the rude conceptions of the writers having so described them. This is hardly compatible with the nature of the Divine Being. The only true, philosophical, view of all such manifestations as are related in the form of outward phenomena or sensible signs, is to consider them nothing more than *forms of expression* indicative of spiritual conceptions. God *spake to Abraham* is tantamount to saying, that the consciousness of God in Abraham was a strongly impelling motive. That patriarch was the first who became divinely impressed with the idea of a pure and holy God, and who determined to obey him. His *heart* and *conscience* spake within him of one God totally different from the gods of the nations; and he acted accordingly. All the communications of Jehovah to Moses must be explained in the same way. The divine intelligence in that distinguished lawgiver led him on from step to step. It was not by the audible voice and visible appearances of Deity that the leader of Israel from bondage was guided; but rather by his own mind and conscience

enlightened from on high. His reason and heart were spiritually exalted above his age. This principle of interpretation should be applied to the instances in which the Supreme Being is depicted as *talking with* him, or *appearing to* him in a visible form.

Our observations will commend themselves to him who perceives that the mode of revelation we have been speaking of relates to a mythic and traditional period described by later writers. The Jews were mainly influenced by outward things, especially in the earliest time of their history. The sensuous proceeds from the crude apprehension of a rude age. In the infancy of man's history abstract ideas are reached with difficulty. Anthropomorphism is common. The development of man's spiritual nature is presented in an outward and palpable form, not merely because the writers themselves did not penetrate beneath the letter, but because their contemporaries occupied a lower stand-point. Removed too from the period described, the sacred authors apprehended the old history of their nation as moulded and magnified by tradition. In the progress of oral transmission, the supernatural arises out of the natural in the record. The Deity is frequently introduced as holding immediate converse with his favoured servants. Heroes are invested with attributes of transcendant excellence. The *outward form*, therefore, of expressing the God-consciousness in man is the only natural one when that consciousness is feeble and imperfect. Thus the sacred authors are to be regarded as nothing more than representatives of the intelligence of their age in relation to the Deity. The consciousness of the divine to which the national mind had attained at the period is reflected in them. In the progressive development of truth among the Hebrews the writers mark its different stages. Not that the people generally had attained to *their* conceptions; but that such representatives stood at the head of the religious growth of humanity, and were therefore selected to carry it forward. While participating in many ideas of their contemporaries, they were often in advance of them. The great and eternal One *reveals* himself *through and by man*, in conformity with the gradual development of the human mind. The growth of man's apprehension of God marks the progress of revelation. The *divine* in man—that which allies him to the Omniscient—unfolds itself in harmony with the law of its nature, giving expression to itself in sensuous forms. God speaks to man, or man speaks of God, agreeably to the era described or the idiosyncracy of the writer. A knowledge of the Supreme *more or less imperfect* characterises such communications. The communications are *human;* but they are also *divine* as being the utter-

ances of the divine in man *at the time*. They are, in short, a *divine revelation*.

The truth of our observations is evident from the same writer saying in Exodus xxxiv. 1, "And the Lord said unto Moses, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first: and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest;" and in xxxiv. 28, "He (Moses) wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments." In the Jehovist's view it was a matter of indifference whether he said "*the Lord* wrote," or "*Moses* wrote." On comparing too the two copies of the decalogue in Exodus and Deuteronomy, it will be found that *the words spoken* by God are given in both—the same which are said to have been *written* by Him in both—though the words of the two copies are not identical, shewing that the *exact letter* and *form* of the record should not be urged but rather *the idea* conveyed in it, viz., that the decalogue was delivered to the Israelites by Moses under divine guidance. In that decalogue the ethics and monotheism of the distinguished Israelite are embodied, evincing an advanced stage of the divine consciousness in him. It does not follow therefore from the prefatory words, "the Lord spake unto Moses," that the law so introduced was *immediately dictated* to the Jewish leader by the Divine Mind. The arrangement was one of Moses himself. Thus we read in Num. xiii. 1, "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Send thou men that they may search the land of Canaan." The Deuteronomist writing at a later period, of the same arrangement, represents the people proposing the measure to Moses, who on consideration resolved to execute it, because it approved itself to his heart and conscience: "Ye came near unto me every one of you and said, We will send men before us, and they shall search us out the land; . . . . and the saying pleased me well, and I took twelve men of you, one of a tribe" (Deut. i. 22, 23). In the same manner, an important social arrangement is declared to have been made by Moses at the suggestion of Jethro his father-in-law, who says in proposing it, "if thou shalt do this thing, and *God command thee so*, then thou shalt be able," etc. (Ex. xviii. 23). But in Deut. i. 9, etc., Moses speaks of the same institution as his own, without any reference to Jethro, or the divine command of which Jethro spoke.

It will be seen from these examples that laws prefaced by such words as "the Lord said unto Moses, 'promulgate such and such,'" must not be supposed to have emanated *directly* from the divine mind. They were conceived in the mind of Moses himself—the judgment, sagacity, and wisdom which were in him being the gifts of God. Accordingly such laws were sometimes

qualified or repeated. Either Moses himself, subjected to a discipline which tended to his own improvement as well as the people's, saw fit to change or modify certain laws in the progress of time; or they were altered by the experience of a subsequent age. Their defects were supplied, or better measures devised. The progressive legislation of the Pentateuch proves that it did not come *directly* from God; since the Divine Being does not make himself wiser by experiment. It is true indeed, that his administration has regard to the condition and benefit of those whom it concerns, leading them on by successive arrangements from one step to another; but He knows the end from the beginning, and cannot be supposed *to dictate* to one age what is repealed in another. Progress in spiritual knowledge comes from him only *indirectly*, through men enlightened by his grace. The development is *human;* though there is no impropriety in representing it as *divine*, because the laws and institutions of the Israelites were the expression of the most enlightened men belonging to the period of their establishment. In His communications to the creatures, God adapts himself to their condition and benefit through the instrumentality of his intelligent creatures themselves. He teaches them the highest lessons by representatives selected from themselves, who, under a divine impulse, carry them onward in the career of progress, civilisation, and purity.

These remarks are confirmed by what is related in Ex. iii. 20–22 compared with xi. 1–3; xii. 35; where Jehovah is described as commanding the Israelites *to borrow* of the Egyptians gold and silver, jewels and raiment, and so *to spoil* the Egyptians. Whether the narrative admits of an explanation that clears the Israelites *in what they did* from the charge of robbery, is a point that need not now be investigated. If the words in Ex. iii. 20–22 be taken *literally* or *historically*, they represent Jehovah as commanding an immoral thing. Hence that method of interpretation must be abandoned. The writer, giving expression to his own moral consciousness, represents the Deity as directly enjoining the people to do a thing dishonest in itself. This shews the imperfect development of the divine to which the author's age had attained. To a transaction occurring in the history of the chosen people under divine providence he transfers *the divine intention*, and writes accordingly. It is even said that the Lord *gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians*, so that the latter *lent* the Israelites, and were *spoiled* by them. As God cannot command a thing immoral in itself, it is apparent that the language employed by the writer is the reflection of the God-consciousness within him—an imperfect consciousness. He wished to shew that the action of the

Israelites had the sanction of God, which it could not have had. We cannot see any fair way of clearing the Israelites from the charge of robbery and deceit. It makes no difference whether the verb translated *borrow* means to *ask* or *demand*. The representations made to the Egyptians by the Israelites when they *borrowed* or *asked* the jewels was, that they were going a three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to the Lord God. They conveyed the impression that they were about to return. Here were the deception and dishonesty, which cannot be justified by any ingenuity such as that of Josephus. Interpreters may *imagine* justifying circumstances on behalf of the Israelites; *the text itself* knows nothing of them.

If further confirmation were needed, we might also refer to 2 Sam. xxi. 1, etc., where it is related that there was a famine in the days of David during three years, and when he inquired of the Lord the cause of it, "*The Lord answered*, It is for Saul and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites." At this time, the legitimate sons of Saul were dead, and their children too, except Mephibosheth. The vengeance demanded fell therefore on Saul's daughter's sons, whose murder was to atone for the sins of their grandfather and stay the famine in the land. Surely Jehovah could not decree the slaughter of innocent grandchildren, nor even sanction such barbarous cruelty. His *answer* resolves itself into a priestly sentiment calling for vengeance. In this case the sentiment is both human and revolting, opposed to Ezekiel's utterance that the son should not bear the iniquity of the father. Passages like this are sufficient to make the reader of the Bible cautious in supposing that Jehovah spake audibly to men, because the language *literally* bears that meaning; or that where He is said to have spoken, the utterance is *directly* sanctioned by Him. What is attributed to Him is only the idea of the person or persons who assume to speak *in His name*. It must be judged by the standard of morality implanted in the breast of common humanity and not yet effaced. Its *absolute rectitude* cannot be determined otherwise than by the pure reason of mankind. No remark is necessary to shew the atrociousness of the priestly response relative to Saul's descendants, which is alike revolting to justice and benevolence.

The observations now made will prepare the reader for receiving the proposition that whatever is reported by the Hebrew writers to have been commanded or sanctioned by God is not necessarily right or just because they used the formula *God said*, or *God commanded*, or *God gave the Israelites favour in the sight of others*. Such formula indicates nothing more than the ideas of the narrator or actors at the time, which may, of

course, have imperfectly represented the eternal principles of justice and morality. Even the law respecting the water of jealousy (Num. v. 12, etc.) is prefaced with, "and the Lord spake unto Moses, saying," as if it were of divine origin; whereas it does not show even a just legislator; because the man escapes without any public disgrace, though he has falsely and publicly defamed a woman who undergoes the ordeal and is pronounced innocent. In like manner, we read in Josh. vii. 24, that Joshua took Achan and *his sons* and *daughters* and stoned them with stones, after which "the Lord turned from the fierceness of his anger," *i.e.*, Jehovah was well pleased with an action forbidden in Deut. xxiv. 16; and not only so, but *forbidden under his own direction and sanction.* A cruel and unjust thing, represented in Deuteronomy as prohibited by the Deity, is done by Joshua with His approval, and propitiates His favour!

It is of primary importance towards acquiring just ideas of the Supreme Being, that our statement should be admitted, otherwise the most holy, merciful, and loving Father of mankind will fail to be apprehended aright; and things will be attributed to His direct agency which are abhorrent to His nature. It will else be supposed that He required the sacrifice of bloody victims on His altar to propitiate His favour, and even enjoined the particular animals to be offered up; whereas all nations presented similar victims from a superstitious feeling. It will be believed that *God* would not lead the Israelites through the way of the land of the Philistines, lest seeing war they might repent and return to Egypt (Ex. xiii. 17). It will be believed that *Jehovah met* Moses on the way from Midian to Egypt, and sought to kill him. In short, it will be believed that the Almighty was continually interfering with the affairs of men even in trivial matters; that He commanded the destruction of His own creatures by the hands of others, contrary to the immutable law of moral equity implanted in the human mind *not to do to another what you would not have another do to you;* that He commanded or approved the preservation of thirty-two thousand Midianitish virgins for the use of the Israelite warriors (Numb. xxxi. 18, 21, 25, 31, 35); that He put *the plague of leprosy* in a house (a thing which shews the imperfect medical knowledge of the time, converting mouldiness in the wall of a damp house into a disease like leprosy) (Lev. xiv. 34); that He authorised Moses to enact such a law as that given in Deut. xxii. 13, etc., which, as physicians know, is based on evidence so fallacious as would often lead to the putting of innocent persons to death; that He sent out lying spirits among men (1 Kings xxii. 23), and commanded as a religious duty the cutting off of the foreskin—the taking away what He himself

had made, though He makes nothing in vain; and that he sanctioned the belief in witchcraft by enjoining a wizard to be put to death; whereas we know that such belief was a superstition (Lev xx. 27).

The application of what has been stated to the communications of the prophets is obvious. When it is said, *The word of the Lord came*, etc.; *Thus saith the Lord; Son of man, write thee the name of the day; Gird up thy loins and speak unto them all that I command thee;*—nothing more is meant than that inspired men gave expression to their inward consciousness. It is not intended that the Deity *really spoke* to their external organs of hearing, or that they received *a distinct commission* to write. They were moved by their own spiritual impulse to utter or write the extraordinary intuitions of truth which the Spirit had enabled them to reach. *The very words* were not dictated to them, nor need it be thought that they spake on every occasion because they received a *special* impulse from above to speak at that very time and in the very way recorded; nor that they *recorded* by the *special* command of God that which they *did* write; all that is fairly implied is that they possessed a consciousness of the divine which is represented according to the ideas of the age as coming to them directly from God, and were impelled to body it forth in a way resulting from the circumstances of their condition. They said that the Holy Ghost *spake* by them or *uttered such words*, when their inward prophetic consciousness was revealed to others. The phraseology in question refers to a subjective process in the prophets; not to objective phenomena acting upon them from without. It is the external reflexion of their spiritual intuitions. In short, God spake to them not by a miraculous communication foreign to human experience, but by the inward voice of spiritual consciousness which daily and hourly tells every one, if he will listen, what his work in this world is, and how he should do it. It is by human discourse, not a voice in the air, that the divinest presence of the Holy Spirit manifests itself. Well does Strachey say, "When it is taught and received for orthodox that God only revealed himself to men in former times by certain occasional and external miracles, and that our knowledge of Him is limited to what has been written down of such communications, we have reason to fear that we have too little sense that God is always actively present with us now, and to suspect that our belief is mechanical, and sceptical, and superstitious at once."[1]

Such as suppose *outward* and *audible* words spoken in the air by Jehovah to his servants, should consistently understand in a

[1] Hebrew Politics in the times of Sargon and Sennacherib, etc., p. 87.

literal sense the Lord's putting forth his hand and touching the mouth of Jeremiah (Jer. i. 9); or the sending of a hand to Ezekiel with the roll of a book in it (Ezek. ii. 9, iii. 1). Yet they admit here, that a material image is employed to express the inward experience of the prophets. Why then should they not allow the use of outward machinery in the other case for the same purpose?

In explaining these passages as we have done, it will appear that such of them at least as contain narratives of *facts of which Moses had personal experience* cannot be assigned to *the authorship* of Moses without supposing him to have had ruder conceptions of the Deity than we can reasonably believe. *He* would not have encouraged the belief that such and such *words directly* proceeded from God—words often trivial and mean, conveying no moral or religious sentiment, but tending rather to fix the mind on objects of superstition. Who can suppose, for example, that after all the solemn preparation described in the twenty-fourth chapter of Exodus where the elders of Israel are summoned into the visible presence of Deity see him and live; Jehovah spake to Moses outwardly in the air in this strain: "Tell the children of Israel to bring me an offering. From every one whose heart is willing to give, ye shall take my offering. And these are the offerings which ye shall take from them: gold and silver, and brass, and blue and purple, and scarlet and fine linen, and goats' hair, and rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood; oil for the light, spices for anointing oil, and for sweet incense, onyx stones, and stones to be set in the ephod, and in the breast-plate. And let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them. According to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it. And they shall make an ark of shittim wood: two cubits and a half shall be the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold, within and without shalt thou overlay it, and shalt make upon it a crown of gold round about. And thou shalt cast four rings of gold for it," etc. etc.? With such trifling directions no less than seven chapters are filled—directions which can neither have literally and directly proceeded from God himself, nor can have been supposed by Moses to have done so. The rude conceptions of an age later than his assigned them to the Deity in the way they are recorded and wrote them down agreeably to such belief.

The explanation now given might be viewed in connection with the Jewish conceptions of God and his operations. He is represented in the Old Testament as continually active in nature,

preserving and upholding it. Ordinary phenomena are *directly* coupled with his agency, as snow, hoar-frost, ice, cold, the melting of ice, etc. (Psalm cxlvii. 16-18), the drops of water forming rain, the spreading of the clouds, the noise of thunder, weaving for himself a garment of light, the winter storm and tempest of hail by which he carries on a war with the earth, etc. (Job. xxxvi. 26-33; xxxviii. 8, etc.). He is the God of thunder, which is called *His voice* (Psalm xxix; Job xxxvii. 2-5). He is the immediate author of physical evil, as plague, famine, pestilence, disease, etc. (Amos iii. 6; Ex. vii.-xii.; compare Psalm lxxviii. 44-51; cv. 29-36; 2 Sam. xxiv. 15; 2 Kings xix. 35; Joel i. and ii.; Jonah i. 4, etc.), which are sent for the punishment and amelioration of mankind. He teaches the fingers of the successful in battle to fight (Psalm cxliv. 1). Skilful artificers are filled with his Spirit (Ex. xxxi. 3). His will is considered as arbitrary, no general plan of government being ascribed to him; nor is it hinted that he rules by general laws established from the beginning. Hence the frequent introduction of wonders and miracles; his forsaking or neglecting and again shewing peculiar favour, to an individual (Psalm x. 1; xxii. 1; xliv. 23, 24; Ex. xxxiii. 19); his loving some and hating others (Mal. i. 2, 3). Even moral evil is ascribed to his agency, as the smiting of all the first-born in Egypt in one night (Ex. xii.); the prompting of David to number the people, which was a sinful thing (2 Sam. xxiv. 1); and the act of hardening Pharaoh's heart (Ex. iv. 21). Evil spirits come from him, causing melancholy and dark passions (1 Sam. xvi.). Lying spirits come forth from him to tempt men (1 Kings xxii. 23). The language of the Old Testament is imbued with this national and one-sided pragmatism, even where acts are not ascribed to Jehovah. Thus lofty mountains are *mountains of God;* very tall cedars are similarly described; mighty hunters are *hunters before God;* an immense city is one that is *great unto God* (Jonah iii. 3); a most powerful and strong one is one powerful and strong *unto the Lord* (Isaiah xxviii. 2); a most powerful flame is *a flame of Jah* (Cant. viii. 6); a very profound sleep is *a sleep of Jehovah* (1 Sam. xxvi. 12). Such is the genius of oriental temperaments and tongues, founded on so vivid an apprehension of the divine agency as to ascribe to it every earthly process. All important acts are associated *immediately* with the agency or name of Deity. The God of the Hebrews was constantly interfering with the actions of his creatures, as well as with the operations of nature. He hated whom he would, and had mercy upon whom he would have mercy. Ignorant as the Israelites were of western metaphysics, they did not scruple to connect interference on the part of the Supreme Being with things that we know to happen

according to the unchangeable principles of his moral law or the uniform agency in nature which he established at first. But the majestic laws of all-sufficient wisdom by which the universe is regulated, are inflexibly maintained for the good of boundless creation, without being altered in relation to the fancied fortunes of individuals. What are called "providential interpositions" imply an undignified idea of Him who knows the end from the beginning, and could wisely adapt nature beforehand to perform all the purposes of His will.

Respecting *theophanies, i.e.*, manifestations of God to man by actual appearance, they should be viewed as fiction, *embodying* that craving in the human heart for a *near, human* God as it were, which many pious men feel; or rather as giving outward and sensuous expression to the Supreme Being revealing him in the world. They have no literal objective truth. God did not appear under a corporeal vail to any of his creatures. *The consciousness of the divine* in the Old Testament writers repudiated belief in their reality. This is proved by the definite conviction clearly enunciated, that no man can see God (Ex. xxxiii. 20; comp. Judges vi. 22; xiii. 22; 1 Sam. vi. 19); by the arbitrariness of the fiction, both in the Pentateuch and the Prophets, especially in those symbolical transactions which are associated with theophanies by the prophets; and by the different usage observed in setting forth the theophanies. Thus while the Elohist has a few theophanies (Gen. xxxv. 9; xlviii. 3; Ex. vi. 3), they are simple and suitable. But the Jehovist introduces them very frequently; and descends below the dignity of the subject by attributing acts and language to the Deity which are *very human*. How differently Ezekiel and Jeremiah employ these theophanies is obvious to the reader. We conclude therefore that all the appearances of God *in corporeal form* are the fictitious dress or oriental drapery of legendary narratives and poetry, serving to set forth in vivid form the idea of a Divinity unveiling himself in the world of mind and matter over which he rules. In this manner only can the infinite Jehovah be worthily apprehended, by regarding him as pure spirit. Yet some Christian writers do not hesitate to say, that "whenever God visibly appeared to any of his people, it was under the human form" (Gen. xviii.); and "a sufficient vindication of the language in question (anthropomorphic and anthropopathic) is the distinct and correct conceptions which it conveys of the Great Being thus brought down to human apprehension."[1] From such "*correct conceptions*" of the Divine Being we hope to be preserved. They degrade his nature.

XI. EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES IN CONNEXION WITH EGYP-

[1] Macdonald on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. pp. 22, 23.

TIAN HISTORY.—The exodus of the Israelites has been connected with Egyptian history by means of a fragment of Manetho preserved in Josephus, which runs thus: Amenophis, a pious king, desirous of obtaining a vision of the gods such as his predecessor Horus had enjoyed, had been advised by his namesake Amenophis, an inspired man, to clear the land of all impure persons and those who laboured under any bodily defect. He accordingly collected them to the number of 80,000, and confined them in the quarries eastward of the Nile, along with the separated portion of the other Egyptians. It happened that among the leprous persons, who in virtue of the edict were confined to this region and condemned to labour, were some learned priests. The soothsayer who had given advice to the king to clear his land, was alarmed when he thought of the hostility which he should bring down on the part of the gods by the violence offered to their ministers, and put an end to his life, leaving behind him a written prediction that the impure persons would obtain auxiliaries, and be masters of Egypt for thirteen years. The king, moved by their sufferings, assigned them as an abode the Typhonian city of Abaris, which had once been occupied by the Shepherds but was then deserted. Here they chose for themselves a leader, Osarsiph, one of the priests of Heliopolis. He formed them into a confederacy, whose principle was hostility to the religion of Egypt and opposition to its laws and customs. Having fortified their city, they sent for aid to the Shepherds, who had been expelled by Tethmosis and then occupied Jerusalem, and invited them to invade Egypt by the promise of re-establishing them in the country from which they had been expelled. Two hundred thousand men obeyed the call, and Amenophis went to meet them with 300,000 men; but, thinking that he was acting in opposition to the divine will, withdrew with his forces into Ethiopia, leaving behind him his son Sethos, called also Ramesses from Rampses his father, a child of five years old, having first collected together the most honoured of the sacred animals, and warned the priests to bury their images. Here he remained during the fated period of thirteen years, while the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the impure men of Egypt committed all manner of outrages, plundering the temples, mutilating the images of the gods, and compelling the priests to kill and cook the sacred animals. The priest Osarsiph changed his name to Moses when he joined this race. At the end of the thirteen years, Amenophis returned with a great force; and with his son Rampses attacked the Shepherds and the impure persons, and pursued them to the borders of Syria.[1]

[1] Contra Apion. I. 26, 27.

Does this account really relate to the departure of the Jews? Manetho certainly gives it as such; whether he regarded it as authentic or not. It has been supposed that it merely exhibits the popular belief not his own, because he introduces the narrative with the remark that he is about to write "fabulous and traditionary" things concerning the Jews; and in speaking of Osarsiph altering his name into Moses uses the expression "it is said." This scrutiny is too minute to subject his words to. If Manetho does not *expressly* state his own assent to the popular belief, he speaks, at least, as if he did not reject it. It is in favour of Manetho's own belief in the authenticity of the narrative, that Chaeremon, whose relation is extracted from Manetho, identifies the expelled lepers with the Jews; with the exception of the fact that he makes Moses and *Joseph* whose Egyptian names he mentions, to be their leaders.

Josephus rejects the tale as undeserving of credit. But it is not necessary to follow his judgment, which was so often at fault. And the fact of his thinking it worth while to give the story at all, may be supposed to shew that he did not really think as lightly of it as he pretends. It appears to us an original historical tradition, perverted and disguised by length of time and national feelings of hostility to the Jews. It shews the religious aversion of the Jews and Egyptians. The record in Exodus gives the entire number that went forth from Egypt 600,000 men, besides women and children. This agrees pretty well with Chaeremon's numbers, viz., 250,000 Israelites and 380,000 Hyksos. There can be little doubt, we think, that Chaeremon understood the 380,000 as the Hyksos; while both he and Manetho suppose them to have united with the Israelites. And this agrees with the statement in Exodus, that "a mixed multitude" went up with the Israelites; who may well have been a remnant of the Hyksos population that was left in the country east of the delta, because the expulsion of the Hyksos had not been complete. The exodus of the Israelites was accompanied with disaster to the Egyptians; as both accounts relate. Still it must be admitted, that the two narratives differ in a great number of particulars. Knobel specifies the following circumstances as unknown to the Hebrew tradition.[1]

1. That the Hebrews had an admixture of unclean Egyptians, or abounded only in unclean persons.

2. That they dwelt in the whole land, and were brought together into the province east of the Nile.

3. That they were expelled from Egypt for the sake of purifying the country.

[1] Exegetisches Handbuch on Exodus and Leviticus, pp. 116. 117.

4. That they were obliged to work in the eastern stone-quarries.

5. That they were led to Avaris (Pelusium), which they fortified and defended.

6. That they chose there a Heliopolitan priest for their leader.

7. That they entered into a confederacy against the Egyptians, and invited the Palestinians to join them, which they did.

8. That in union with these they made war upon Egypt, compelled the king of that country to flee with his army into Ethiopia, and exercised a fearful dominion over it for thirteen years.

9. That they and the Palestinians were overcome in battle by the Egyptians, expelled by force from Egypt, and pursued to the borders of Syria.

Notwithstanding this striking dissimilarity we cannot doubt that the same historical event, viz., the exodus of the Israelites, forms the basis of the Scripture and Manethonian narratives. If it be considered that all circumstances connected with the departure from Egypt are not related by the Jewish historian; that national hatred and contempt are strongly expressed in the Egyptian account; and that the Hebrew tradition itself may have been altered in some respects from what it was at first, in the course of oral transmission, less reason will appear for dissevering the two records. Thus it is by no means improbable that many of the Hebrews were leprous, as numerous precautions against that disease are incorporated in the law; though the real motive for leaving Egypt was not their impure state. Nor is it unlikely that a considerable remnant of the Hyksos race was left behind (their expulsion not having been complete), who united with the Israelites and contributed to swell their numbers to such an extent as to alarm the native kings. But it cannot be thought probable, that *Palestinian* Hyksos were summoned to the aid of the Israelites to enable the latter to effect their deliverance. The name of Amenophis creates a difficulty, if he be regarded as the last of the eighteenth dynasty; but he may have been introduced into the story, as Kenrick conjectures,[1] without regard to chronology; or rather, Manetho put him too late while endeavouring to incorporate the popular tradition with the history taken from the sacred writings. Knobel adduces several reasons for supposing that the narrative of Manetho contains the Egyptian tradition of the exodus of *the Philistines;* but the difficulty of Amenophis the last king of the eighteenth dynasty being the person, according to Manetho, under whom that event took place presses upon his hypothesis;

[1] Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs, vol. ii., p. 322.

so that he is obliged to assume an interchange of that king with Amenophis the third of the same dynasty.[1] It is better to consider the Manethonian account as the Egyptian tradition of the exodus of the Hebrews, disfigured by national hatred as well as by lapse of time.

There is another passage in Manetho, which has also been preserved by Josephus, relative to the Shepherd kings. It is this: "We had once a king called Timaeus, under whom, from some cause unknown to me, the Deity was unfavorable to us, and there came unexpectedly from the eastern parts a race of men of obscure extraction, who boldly invaded the country and easily got possession of it by force, without a battle. Having subdued the princes of it, they savagely proceeded to burn the cities, and rased the temples of the gods, inhumanly treating all the natives, murdering some of them, and carrying the wives and children of others into slavery. In the end they established as king one of themselves whose name was Salatis, and he resided at Memphis, exacting tribute from both the upper and the lower country, and putting garrisons in the most suitable places. With especial care did he strengthen the parts towards the east, foreseeing that on the part of the Assyrians who were then powerful, there would be a desire to invade their kingdom. Finding therefore in the Saitic (Sathroite according to Syncellus) name a city very conveniently placed, lying east of the Bubastic river, and called in some old theological account Auaris, he built it up and strengthened it greatly with walls, putting there a large number of heavy-armed soldiers, to the amount of 24,000 men for a guard. Hither he came every year about the time of harvest, partly to distribute the rations of corn and pay the troops, partly to exercise them carefully by musterings and reviews in order to terrify foreign nations. He died after a reign of nineteen years. After him another king called Beon reigned forty-four years; after him another, Apachnas thirty-six years and seven months, then Apophis sixty-one years, and Jannas fifty years and one month. Last of all Assis forty-nine years and two months. These were their first six rulers, always carrying on war and desiring rather to extirpate the Egyptians. Their whole nation was called Hyksos, *i.e.* Shepherd kings; for *Hyk* in the sacred language signifies king, and *sos* is a shepherd in the common dialect. By putting both together we get Hyksos. But some look upon them as Arabians." Josephus himself then says, "In another copy I have found that Hyk denotes not shepherd but captive Shepherds, for Hyk or Hak with the aspirate distinctly means captives; and this appears to me more credible and accordant

[1] Exegetisches Handbuch on Exodus and Leviticus, p. 119.

with ancient history." Manetho continues: "These Shepherd kings and their descendants were masters of Egypt for five hundred and eleven years. After this the kings of the Thebaid and the rest of Egypt rose up against the Shepherds, and a great and prolonged war was carried on against them. Under a king whose name was Misphragmuthosis, the Shepherds were expelled by him from the rest of Egypt after a defeat, and shut up in a place having a circuit of 10,000 acres. This place was called Auaris." Manetho says farther that "the Shepherds surrounded it entirely with a large and strong wall, that they might have a secure place of deposit for all their possessions and all their plunder. Thuthmosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis, endeavoured to take the place by siege, attacking the walls with 480,000 men. Despairing of taking it by siege, he made a treaty with them that they should leave Egypt and withdraw, without injury, whithersoever they pleased; in virtue of which agreement they withdrew from Egypt with all their families and possessions, to the number of not fewer than 240,000 men, and traversed the desert into Syria. But because they feared the power of the Assyrians who were at that time masters of Asia, they built a city in that which is now called Judea, which should suffice for so many myriads of men, and called it Jerusalem."

In another book of his, Egyptiaca, Manetho says, that this nation who are called Shepherds are described as captives in their sacred books. Josephus adds that this account is the truth; "for the keeping of sheep was the ancient habit of our forefathers, and they were not unnaturally described as captives by the Egyptians, since our forefather Joseph declares himself to the king of the Egyptians to be a captive, and afterwards at the command of the king sent for his brethren into Egypt. Into these things however I will hereafter inquire more accurately."

Such is Manetho's account of the invasion, reign, and expulsion of the Shepherd kings. Does it identify the Hyksos with the Israelites? It does not. Rather does it identify them with the builders of Jerusalem, *i.e.*, the Jebusites. Josephus, however, interprets Manetho as though he *did* identify the two; in which he has been followed by Theophilus of Antioch and Tatian. Yet it is an erroneous assumption, to which the whole narrative of Manetho is opposed. There is no point of similarity between the ancient Hebrews who went into Egypt and the Shepherds, except their Palestinian descent and their retreat into Palestine. We shall not enumerate the reasons adduced by those modern critics who coincide substantially with Josephus in identifying the Hyksos with the Israelites. The arguments advanced for that purpose by

Hofmann, Hengstenberg, and Delitzsch are effectually disposed of by Kurtz.[1] Of course those who look upon both as the same, regard the two narratives of Manetho as different forms of one and the same tradition; since the second evidently implies that the expelled lepers were the Israelites. But the two accounts are so different that the latter presupposes the former, and clearly distinguishes the Hyksos from the lepers by representing the Hyksos as called in to the aid of the Israelites and uniting with them. We are unable to recognise a common historical basis in the two narratives; or to identify the Hyksos and Israelites. Certainly Manetho separated the two peoples, however Josephus may confound them.

But though we look upon the Hyksos and Israelites as distinct, we believe them to have belonged to the same Semitic race: perhaps the Hyksos belonged to the earliest inhabitants of Palestine who had been driven away by the incoming Canaanite race; for though the immigration of the Canaanites into Palestine seems to have been peaceable at first, it is easy to suppose that they would soon begin to encroach upon the old inhabitants, and compel them by oppression to abandon their country. All the similarity between the Hyksos and Israelites seems to have been that both belonged to the same Semitic family, but remotely, not in the close connection assumed by Josephus.

We are now prepared to take up the question of relationship between the Hyksos and the Hebrews who went down into Egypt with Jacob. The friendly reception which the Israelites met with, and the readiness with which the district of Goshen was assigned them, agree best with the supposition of the Hyksos race being on the throne. That Joseph would have been raised to the rank of vizir, that the king would have so kindly welcomed the family to which he belonged and promised them the best of the land, is scarcely compatible with the existence of a native dynasty reigning at the time. Neither is Jacob's blessing the Egyptian king consonant with the haughty aversion which a native monarch must have felt and expressed towards the despised shepherd-chief. At the death of the old man too, the whole court and all the nobles go into mourning, and accompany the funeral procession out of Egypt, thus conveying in solemn state the body of one who must have been looked upon as unclean by a native dynasty. According to 1 Chron. iv. 18, Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh married Mered an Israelite, which shews some friendly feeling for the Shepherd race of Palestine, on the part of the reigning family. It has been said indeed on the other hand, that everything about

[1] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 180 et seqq.

the court in the time of Joseph and Jacob was the national-Egyptian. An interpreter was necessary for communication between the Israelites and Egyptians. A repugnance of tastes existed between them. The language, manners, usages, ceremonials, and worship were proper Egyptian. But if the Hyksos had been established two or more centuries in Egypt when the Israelites immigrated, they would have adopted the language and manners of the conquered people, as we know to have been the case in other countries, like the Tartars in China. We admit with Lepsius[1] that the occupations of the people, the court ceremonial, and other phenomena, shew regular and peaceful times, not the tyrannical sway of foreigners who plundered the country and burnt the temples; but the description given by Manetho of the ravages committed by the Hyksos, applies only to the first six kings, and seems strongly tinged with national hatred of the foreigners. The process of subjugation lasted for a considerable time, during which barbarities were practised. But when the storm subsided, and the native dynasty was forced to submit, becoming tributary to the new rulers of the land, the state of society settled into regularity and calmness, and the conquerors gradually adopted the customs of the conquered.

The dominion of the Hyksos lasted for six and a half centuries, and belongs to the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeeth dynasties of Egypt. Or to speak more precisely, the Hyksos period extended to five hundred and eleven years; and with the one hundred and fifty-one years of the Thebaid kings, six hundred and sixty-two years. It had therefore begun before Abraham. It is remarkable that the Shepherds left so few traces of themselves in the country; but this may be accounted for in a great measure from their rule having been a military one, and from separate kingdoms existing throughout the time of their dominion both at Thebes and Xois. The probability is, that the descent of the Israelites belongs to the seventeenth dynasty, which continued, according to Manetho and Syncellus, five hundred and eleven years.

A new dynasty is implied in the language "a new king arose who knew not Joseph." Native sovereigns had reascended the throne, and in less than a century succeeded in expelling the Hyksos; after which they looked coldly upon the Israelites who had been connected with the banished race; endeavoured to check their increase; and oppressed them with intolerable burdens. According to many, Amosis the first king of the eighteenth dynasty drove the Shepherd kings forth from the

[1] In Herzog's Encyklopaedie, vol. i. p. 146.

country. But Bunsen makes the event fall in that of Tuthmosis III., the fifth of the dynasty. It has been asked, Why were not the Israelites, the friends of the Hyksos, driven out of the country along with their protectors? To this no satisfactory answer can be given, from the absence of contemporaneous details. It would seem, however, both from the second Manethonian narrative and the language of Ex. xii. 38, that the expulsion of the Shepherds was not complete; but that many had been left behind, with whom the Israelites would readily unite. Accordingly Moses led forth a *composite people*, not merely the posterity of Jacob, towards Canaan.

It is impossible to fix with certainty the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Manetho gives Amenophis. But who was *he?* Apparently the fourth king of the nineteenth dynasty, the same as Menepthah. We doubt whether this be the same Menepthah or Menophres, in whose reign the commencement of a Sothiac cycle took place, *i.e.*, a cycle embracing the time between the heliacal rising of the brilliant Sirius (called Sothis by the Egyptians), and its similar rising again, equivalent to 1461 Julian years. More probably the cycle in question begins with the Menepthah or Amenophis, who was the fourth king in the twenty-first dynasty; though Lepsius and Bunsen take the other view, and make him Menepthah, 1320 B.C., *i.e.*, Menepthah of the nineteenth dynasty. Lepsius agrees with Manetho, identifying Amenophis with Menepthah, which is very easy, since Africanus has Amenepthes instead of Amenophis, *A* being prefixed. But he calculates *generations*, neglecting dates between Moses and Solomon, and so brings out the interval 318 years, which, added to 1000 B.C. for the age of Solomon, certainly gives 1318 B.C. for that of Moses. Bunsen too follows Manetho in making Menepthah the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Others think that Thothmes III. expelled the Hebrews, and allege that his history agrees better with the assumption than with that of any other monarch He was more connected with brickmaking than any king; and on a tomb at Thebes belonging to the superintendent of the great buildings in his reign, the operation of brick-making is represented, men being compulsorily employed in it who are not Egyptians but foreigners with a Jewish physiognomy. These considerations only shew, that Thothmes III. oppressed the Israelites. The arguments of Lepsius who thinks that the descent of Jacob falls within the eighteenth dynasty, long after the expulsion of the Hyksos, have been answered by anticipation in the preceding remarks. The narrative in the Bible does not necessarily shew that a native dynasty was then on the throne, as he supposes. His shortening the Israelites' residence in Egypt to ninety years

appears to us singularly improbable; especially as it involves the supposition that the son, or at most the grandson of the king in whose favour Joseph stood so high, should have no knowledge of a vizir who rendered such signal services to the nation. It is much better to calculate by centuries than by generations of thirty years each; though we admit the difficulty in the language of the promise to Abraham, "thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred *years*. But in the *fourth generation* they shall come hither again" (Gen. xv. 13–16). No better explanation can be got than by taking the term *generation* in the sense of *century*.

With Lepsius and Bunsen we follow Manetho in identifying Amenophis with Menepthah, who reigned twenty years. Moses was thus born under Ramesses II. or Miamun, whose reign lasted sixty-six years, and who was the father of Menepthah under whom the exodus took place.

It is needless to refer to the hypothesis of Saalschütz, viz., that the new king who began to oppress the Israelites (Ex. i. 8) was the first Hyksos king; and that the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea coincides with the downfal of the Shepherd dynasty. According to this a native dynasty was on the throne at the descent into Egypt. The hypothesis is encumbered with many difficulties; and his view of the Hyksos is wholly improbable. But why was every shepherd an abomination to the Egyptians, if the Shepherd kings had not previously inflicted sufferings on the people of the land, which they well remembered? Does not this language imply the recent expulsion of the Hyksos? Not necessarily, though Wilkinson thinks so,[1] because it is the remark of the historian, not of Joseph himself. The suggestion of Joseph to his family that they should call themselves *Shepherds* that the land of Goshen might be assigned to them, is supplemented by the narrator's remark, "for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians." Why? Because though the Hyksos must have adapted themselves in part to the manners and customs of the Egyptian people, they could not essentially alter the prevailing modes of thought. Though they tried to make their yoke tolerable every nomadic shepherd was abominated by a cultivated and settled people like the Egyptians, both from association and prejudice. The feeling seems to have been a religious one; shepherds being accustomed to kill the sacred animals. It could not have *originated* with the Hyksos, because among the Egyptian people themselves shepherds constituted a large and indispensable class.

[1] Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii. chap. iv. p. 16.

XII. Doctrine of Immortality in the Pentateuch.—The words of Ex. iii. 6, "Moreover he said, I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," viewed in relation to Matt. xxii. 32, suggest the inquiry, whether the Pentateuch promulgates the doctrine of immortality. It is probable that Moses knew the doctrine, having learned it from the Egyptians; and that he developed it better than they by virtue of the Spirit of God in him. But it must be admitted that if he had the same sentiments as they, he could not have entertained an exalted opinion of the nature of the soul. The *kind* of immortality held by the Egyptians was not an elevated one, since they supposed that unless the soul remained in union with the body by some secret method it could not continue alone but must pass from body to body, performing its circuit in three thousand years. In this way it is not an independent entity but subjected to body. However Moses may have purified this doctrine of immortality in his own cogitations and brought it to the true ideal, he could not introduce it into his religion because it could not be promulgated apart from mythology,—a thing which he keeps remote from his system—and because it might give occasion to the worship of the dead. Nor was it agreeable to the design of the Mosaic code as a system of state legislation to propose motives derived from a future state. It may also be true, as Warburton argues,[1] that Moses being assured of his divine mission had not the same necessity with other teachers, for using threatenings drawn from a future world. The Hebrew people were prone to idolatry. They were carnally minded, occupying a low position in the scale of intelligence and civilisation. Bodily wants and appetites enslaved them; so that they lusted after the flesh-pots of Egypt even after deliverance from slavery. Their leader out of the house of bondage found them contumacious and refractory. The idea of a just and holy God whose power might be *visibly displayed* was what they needed; not One whose rewards and punishments were afar off. Hence the tendency of the Mosaic discipline was to fill their minds with the fear and love of a present Deity, that they might have experimental proof of a present avenger of His holy law, and a present protector of the pious. Accordingly Mosaism places the happiness of the pious upon earth. Terrestrial felicity is promised to the righteous. The fruits of the earth in abundance; victory over enemies; long life and good health; a numerous offspring, and such like, are set before those who should diligently keep the divine laws. All this is associated with the presence and communion of God.

[1] Divine Legation of Moses, Book ii. s. 1—v. s. 5.

In the same manner punishments in the present life are threatened to the wicked—the absence of terrestrial good; premature death, etc. The patriarchs, like weary travellers full of years and satiated with the earthly blessings they had, looked upon death with calmness as the resting-point of their pilgrimage; without any belief in the happiness of continued existence. Yet the Hebrews did not think that the soul was material and perished with the body. Their psychology it is true was very imperfect, for they connected the soul with the blood through which it gives life to the body, and with the breath; yet they thought of it nevertheless as an emanation from God (Gen. ii. 7), and susceptible of the divine spirit. It was also supposed to continue after death: but here their ideas vere vague and indistinct. Hence the phrase *to be gathered to his people* (Gen. xxv. 8, xxxv. 29; Numb. xx. 24, etc.) implying a union of the dead; and the word שְׁאוֹל *sheol* denoting a large subterranean abode into which the spirits of the dead were received (Gen. xxxvii. 35; xlii. 38; xliv. 29; Numb. xvi. 30, 33). An obscure intimation of a blessed life with God is contained in the myth respecting Enoch, which finds its parallel in that of Elijah. It is said that *God took him.* But neither the wish of Balaam, "let me die the death of the righteous;" nor the words of dying Jacob, "I have waited for thy salvation O Lord;" nor the laws of Moses against necromancy prove a general belief in the immortality of the soul in the time of the divine lawgiver. Such a doctrine is foreign to the religion he promulgated. All that can be affirmed with truth is, that the germ of the doctrine is in Mosaism—a germ out of which a definite knowledge of future reward and punishment might afterwards be developed. This is warranted by the reasoning of Christ in opposition to the Sadducees, from Ex. iii. 6. If God call Himself the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob long after their death, those patriarchs were still living with Him. It cannot be said that because the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews deduces the patriarchs' expectation of a life after death from such texts as Gen. xlvii. 9, they themselves believed in immortality. We sum up our observations by repeating, that the doctrine of immortality is not promulgated in the Mosaic books; though the lawgiver himself probably held it. It is consistent with the belief of Macdonald to hold, that "the doctrines of a future state and a *resurrection* are taught in the Pentateuch and were believed from the earliest times." No true critic, however, will ever agree with him, or conclude that his proof is aught but the weakest. It is enough to say that he makes the cherubim teach Adam a higher life than any thing of which the first man could have had a concep-

tion before. The death of Abel is invested with similar power.[1] Some vague, indirect intimations of the doctrine may be traced. A few Hebrews before and at Moses's time may have had a dim foreshadow of it; especially as the human mind reflecting on man's destiny longs for immortality, in order to make higher advances in that moral and spiritual life where the attainments of the best are here so poor. The craving is a natural one, and would scarcely have been implanted not to be gratified. But the notion of immortality could not have risen, even in these few exceptions, to a *definite belief*. It was vague and obscure; like the twinkling of a little star hardly perceptible from its remoteness.

XIII. The Golden Calf.—The manner in which the golden calf was reduced to powder has been the subject of many speculations. Commentators have looked to men of science, who have examined it in the light of modern advancement, assumed that knowledge possessed by the Israelites has been lost, and have offered elaborate explanations of the process supposed to have been employed. None of the expositions advanced accords with the description given by the writer or writers of what Moses did; or with the known simplicity of the operations of workers in metals in those remote times. The true and obvious meaning has been obscured by scientific elaboration. It has been sought for in the processes of modern chemistry; whereas it is to be found on the surface of antique science. The refinements of chemical science are altogether inapplicable; since the operators could only be acquainted with the simplest processes of metallurgy.

Two passages describe the action performed by Moses, viz., Ex. xxxii. 20 and Deut. ix. 21. An attentive consideration of these would have suggested the correct explanation to any intelligent person acquainted with the common processes of separating metals from the quartz and other matters in which they are found in nature.

In preparing ores of gold and silver for the smelter, it is necessary to employ *stamps* or massive beams shod with iron, which sometimes weigh as much as eight hundred each. These are lifted by machinery, and allowed to fall on the ore contained in iron troughs. The process of *stamping* is one requiring great vigilance and judgment; because if continued too long, the metal is stamped too small, and is technically said to be "stamped dead," or reduced to such infinitesimally small particles that they float away with the water and cannot be recovered by any known device. Metals are liable to loss from

[1] Introduction to the Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 97 et seqq.

this cause in proportion to their malleability. And as gold possesses that property in a much higher degree than any other metal, it is more liable to be wasted by *overstamping*. The gold of which the calf made by the Israelites was composed was designedly and indignantly *overstamped*. "I burned it with fire," *i.e.*, smelted it, "and stamped it and ground it very small." Being cast upon the water in this state, it would unavoidably float away; and it is certain that the Israelites knew no way of recovering it.

Gold in a state of such minute division, suspended in water might be drunk with the water without producing any injury to health. No taste would be imparted to the water; so that the ingenious supposition of the soluble gold rendering the water peculiarly nauseous and offensive, is wholly gratuitous.

THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS.

I. CONTENTS.—The book of Leviticus may be thus divided:—

1. The general law of offerings, chaps. i.–vii.

2. A historical section describing the consecration of Aaron and his sons, their first offerings, with the death of Nadab and Abihu, chaps. viii.–x.

3. Ordinances respecting uncleanness and its removal, chaps. xi.–xvi.

4. Injunctions about purity in the people and priests, chaps. xvii.–xxii.

5. Miscellaneous laws relating particularly to holy seasons or festivals, with an appendix referring to vows, chaps. xxiii.–xxvii.

In the first chapter voluntary regulations are given respecting animal offerings. If of a quadruped, the victim was to be a male without blemish of the herd or of the flock, *i.e.*, a bullock, he-goat, or ram; if of birds, the victims were to be turtle-doves or young pigeons. The next chapter treats of vegetables or unbloody offerings termed *meat-offerings*. These consisted either of fine flour, with oil and frankincense poured upon it; or bread prepared in three different ways; or corn unground. Salt was to be mixed with meat-offerings in all cases, and oil in all but two. Leaven and honey were forbidden. Peace-offerings are next noticed. Here the victim might be an ox, a sheep, or a goat, male or female. The offerer having laid his hand on the animal's head, as in the case of the holocaust; it was slaughtered at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation; the blood sprinkled on the altar, and a small part of the animal consumed. The fourth chapter treats of sin-offerings, for the priest and for the congregation, on behalf of which a young bullock was to be presented in either case; for a ruler, who was to offer a kid; and for a common citizen, a kid, a female without blemish. The trespass-offerings are next described. These relate to persons who sin in concealing their knowledge of swearing, in touching unclean things, or in making an oath, and consist of a female lamb or kid; but if the parties are too poor to afford one

of these, two turtle-doves or two young pigeons are prescribed; and if not equal to so much as this, the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour. The trespass-offering in sacrilege was to be a ram without blemish; in sins of ignorance, and those done wittingly, the same. This is followed by a description of the ceremonies to be observed in the holocaust or burnt-offering, the meat-offering, and in the offering at the consecration of a priest. In like manner, the rites connected with the sin-offering, the trespass-offering, and the peace-offering are detailed. Fat and blood are forbidden to be eaten. The priest's portion in the peace-offering is afterwards described. The wave-breast and heave-shoulder are assigned to him. The eighth chapter describes the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood, in presence of the elders and principal men of the congregation who represented all the tribes. The solemnities and forms of the sacrificial ritual performed by Moses on this occasion, and continued throughout a week, are described in the twenty-ninth and fortieth chapters of Exodus. On the eighth day, the first after the consecration of Aaron and his sons, Moses calls on Aaron to execute his pontifical functions in the presence of the elders and a large body of the people. Accordingly the latter, under Moses's direction, offered a young calf and a ram as a sin-offering and burnt-offering respectively, for himself. On behalf of the people, he brought a sin-offering of a goat, a burnt-offering of a yearling calf and lamb, a bullock and ram for peace-offerings, and a meat-offering mingled with oil. After all had been done in the manner already prescribed, Moses and Aaron blessed the people; and a miraculous fire sent forth from the divine presence consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat. The tenth chapter relates the tragical fate of Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's two eldest sons. It is said that they offered strange fire before the Lord, and were therefore miraculously consumed. Instead of filling their censers with coals from the altar where a supernatural fire had been kindled and was continually kept burning, they filled their vessels with common fire. Such was the crime laid to their charge. It has also been supposed, with some probability, that they were in a state of intoxication, because a prohibition to the priests of the use of wine or strong drink when engaged in the functions of their office is immediately subjoined, in the ninth and tenth verses. It may be also that they encroached upon the functions of the high priest; for some think that the expression "offered before the Lord" means that they advanced into the most holy place, and presumed to present incense before the Shechinah, thus invading Aaron's prerogative. The severity of the punishment was called for, both because of the persons and the time. The ceremonial was

commencing. If therefore any of its regulations might be violated, and that too by the ministry, its sanctity would disappear in the eyes of the people. The system needed to be protected at the present juncture from desecration and dishonour. Aaron and his sons are forbidden to adopt the usual signs of mourning, ; after which follows the prohibition of wine to the priests while engaged in their sacerdotal functions. And as the goat of the sin-offering, instead of being partly consumed and partly reserved for use, had been entirely consumed, Moses remonstrated with Eleazar and Ithamar on the neglect. But Aaron makes his affliction his excuse for not feasting, and Moses is content. The eleventh chapter treats of the distinction of animals into *clean* and *unclean*. All that is meant by these epithets can hardly be reduced to *usual* and *not usual for food*, as if we ourselves made a similar distinction in using the flesh of some animals and rejecting that of others, though not expressing it in the same words. The design of the enactments relating to different beasts as proper for food or not, falls under a general head which we shall consider hereafter. At present, without stating the fundamental idea at the basis of all the regulations respecting cleanness, it is apparent that *the effect* of these enactments respecting different beasts as proper for food or otherwise, must have been to keep the Hebrews apart from other nations; that as a distinct people they might be preserved from idolatry. If certain articles of food common among other races were interdicted, the effect would be to break up social intercourse between them; by which means the Jews would not be in so much danger of learning their barbarous customs and falling into their superstitions. Thus the separation of meats into clean and unclean was most salutary to a monotheistic people, set apart as the chosen depositaries of the knowledge of God, and exposed on every side to polytheistic tribes.

Whether Moses was influenced by dietetical considerations is uncertain, though not wholly improbable. Some kinds of flesh have a tendency to produce certain diseases; and therefore a regard to health prompts to their rejection. Michaelis[1] remarks, that we should not seek for a dietetical reason in all the prohibitions since some of the unclean animals were wholesome.

Intellectual and typical reasons for these laws must be rejected. Some ascribe to the eating of certain animals a peculiar influence on the disposition. Thus the flesh of the swine is supposed to promote sensuality and grossness of temperament. But if there be such an influence, of which the proof is by no means sufficient, it is so slight as to be no just cause of

[1] Commentaries on the laws of Moses translated by Smith, vol. iii. pp. 230, 231.

prohibiting certain kinds of animal food. The typical considerations adduced by Bush are fanciful. According to him the unclean beasts symbolised the depraved Gentiles; the clean ones the upright and obedient Israelites.[1]

From impurities of food the writer passes to impurities of person. Accordingly the twelfth chapter is occupied with laws respecting the purification of women after child-birth. Such an one was unclean forty days, if she had borne a son, and eighty days if a daughter; immediately after which she had to present at the tabernacle a burnt-offering and a sin-offering. The thirteenth chapter treats of the leprosy; for distinguishing which minute rules are given. If a person had any mark in his skin which resembled the incipient symptoms of leprosy, he was required to present himself before the priest for inspection. Should the priest think that there was ground for apprehension, the individual was to be shut up seven days to afford time for a more accurate judgment, and then to be re-examined. If the priest saw no change in the symptoms, the period of separation was prolonged over seven days; and if at the expiration of that time no material alteration had occurred, he was to be pronounced clean. But if after all the leprosy lurked in the system, the scab spreading in the skin, the priest was to give his verdict of unclean. The leper pronounced unclean was to dwell alone without the camp, to wear tattered clothes, go abroad with his head bare, with a covering on the upper lip and cry, "Unclean, unclean." The chapter concludes with the leprosy of clothes. What is meant by that term applied to garments is now generally understood to be unsoundness in the materials, shewing itself much in the same way as leprosy in the skin. The law of the purification of the leper follows. The priest was to go forth to him at the borders of the camp; and if the leper were healed, he was to take two healthy clean birds, with cedar wood, scarlet, and hyssop; one of them was to be killed over an earthen vessel filled with fresh water; whereas the living bird with the cedar wood, scarlet, and hyssop were to be dipped in the bloody water, which was to be sprinkled seven times over the leper. After having shaved off all his hair and washed, he was allowed to come into the camp, the living bird being at the same time let loose. But he was not permitted to go into his own tent for seven days; at the end of which time the recovered leper was to present various offerings and perform different ceremonies, in order that his purification might be complete. In the case of poor lepers, the offerings were less costly and abundant. The number and

[1] Notes on Leviticus, page 96.

complexity of the ceremonies relating to leprosy shew a wise precaution to guard as much as possible against a disease so pestilential, and to allay the uneasiness of the people. But in addition to sanitary considerations, it was doubtless intended to symbolise the pollution of sin.

We have next the laws relating to the detection and cleansing of *leprosy* in houses, an expression which should be figuratively explained as in the case of garments. It is a saline efflorescence which corrodes and consumes the walls of houses, and is called salt-petre by the Germans. The stones on which it appears give a damp and unhealthy taint to the atmosphere of the apartment, and require to be entirely removed. The symptoms are declared to be green or red spots. When any appearance of this sort took place, the owner of the house was commanded to report the case to the priest, who, in the first place, required that all the furniture should be removed, that nothing might impede a right examination. Having inspected the house, the priest closed it for a week; and if on the seventh day he found that the leprous infection had spread in the walls, he was to order the removal of the affected stones, and to cause the whole house to be scraped and plastered afresh. Should no other stones have the mural incrustation, the house was pronounced clean, and the same ceremony performed which made part of the ritual in the case of the leper. But if notwithstanding all the precautions taken, the taint of leprosy still manifested itself, the building was to be thrown down, and the materials cast away into an unclean place. Any one going into the house under these circumstances incurred defilement during the rest of the day. He that ventured to eat or lodge in it was required to wash his clothes. The utility of these regulations respecting the cleanliness and soundness of houses is obvious. They would contribute not only to the health of the inmates, but to the stability of the dwellings themselves in consequence of a careful selection of materials, and ultimately to the saving of labour and expense. The fifteenth chapter treats of various personal uncleannesses and their purifications. Gonorrhœa is mentioned as rendering a man unclean; and then the rites are prescribed by which he is purified. The impurities of women in certain states are also described, with the cleansing of them. The sixteenth chapter is properly a continuation of the tenth, the intervening five chapters having interrupted the narrative. It refers to the annual day of atonement, and is therefore supplementary to Ex. xxx. 10. On the tenth day of the seventh month, the high priest having bathed and put on the holy garments, was to offer for himself a bullock for a sin-offering. He then went to the

two kids of the goats intended for the congregation, cast lots for them, and offered that on which the one lot fell as a sacrifice for the people, while the other was let loose into the wilderness after the high priest had laid his hand upon its head and confessed over it the sins of the people. Having laid aside his white vestments and assumed his splendid robes, he offered a ram for himself and another for the people. The day was regarded as a solemn sabbath wholly devoted to religious services of the strictest kind. It was *the only legla fast.* The seventeenth chapter contains four enactments, the first two relating to the killing of animals for food at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, where they were to be dealt with as peace-offerings, the blood and fat being applied as in such sacrifices, and the rest being eaten by the offerer. The third refers to abstinence from blood; and the fourth to abstinence from the flesh of animals dying of themselves or torn. The eighteenth chapter treats of chastity and its violations; warning the Israelites against the incestuous and vile practices in which neighbouring nations indulged. The general law of incest is announced in the sixth verse; and then incest is forbidden with one's own mother, with a step-mother, with a sister, with a grand-daughter, with a half sister by the father's side, with a paternal aunt, a maternal aunt, with a paternal uncle's wife, with a brother's wife, with a step-daughter or a grand-daughter, with a wife's sister during the life of the wife. Other forms of sexual commerce and sodomy are forbidden, followed by general dissuasives. The nineteenth chapter contains various laws which had been given before, besides some new ones. Some are moral, as reverence of parents, the prohibition of idolatry, stealing, lying, false swearing, and defrauding, perversion of justice, tale bearing, hatred, uncharitableness, revenge, the enjoining of just measures, weights, and balances, the prohibiting of prostitution at idol temples, a generous liberal spirit towards the poor in leaving gleanings for them, abstinence from intercourse with a bondmaid betrothed; others are ceremonial, such as peace-offerings, the sabbath, the eating of blood, and various superstitious observances; others are judicial, as against mixtures in cattle, seed, and garments, relative to the fruit of trees, etc. Spencer has shewn[1] that several of these enactments refer to heathen practices and customs, such as cutting the flesh and tattooing (verse 28); linsey-woolsey garments, which were the dress of the Zabian priests at their devotions, etc.

The twentieth chapter specifies the punishments annexed to transgression of the laws contained in the two preceding

[1] De Legibus Hebraeorum, vol. i. p. 530, ed. Lipsiae, 1705.

chapters. Here the punishment of death is denounced against such as should offer their children to Moloch; who consulted wizards and soothsayers; who cursed parents; and who violated the laws of chastity in various methods.

The twenty-first and twenty-second chapters relate to the persons and ministrations of the priests, specifying a variety of things which would operate as impediments in the discharge of their functions. They were not to contract defilement and so disqualify themselves for the service of God by touching a dead body, by coming into a tent or house where a dead body lay, by touching the grave or bearing the dead. Certain near relatives are excepted. The priest is to avoid practices common on such occasions among the idolatrous nations. But in the case of the high priest no exception is made. He is not to observe the ceremonies of mourning though his father or mother should die. The priest is prohibited from marrying an unchaste, profane, or divorced woman; and should his daughter become impure she is to be stoned to death. The high priest must marry a virgin, not a widow or any impure woman. Directions respecting personal blemishes in relation to the priestly office follow. If the priest attempt to officiate, or to eat of the holy offerings while he is ceremonially unclean he must be cut off. Strangers, sojourners, and hired servants are interdicted from eating the holy things; and if a priest's daughter marry out of the sacerdotal line, she loses her right to a share of the Levitical maintenance while at home in her father's house. But when she is left a widow, or has been divorced without children, she is permitted to return and become a member of her father's family as before, partaking of the offerings which supply his table. Should one eat of the holy things unintentionally the offender is obliged to pay the value affixed to what is eaten, by the priest, as well as a fifth part of the value in addition, to inspire the utmost caution in respect to holy things. All sacrifices made by way of present or free-will offering to God must be perfect, without blemish. Animals are not to be sacrificed before the eighth day; nor are the mother and her young offspring to be both slaughtered on the same day. The chapter closes with repeating a rule already given respecting thank-offerings.

The twenty-third chapter contains a republication of certain statutes. Those relating to the annual feast, the feast of trumpets, and the three great annual festivals, are brought together along with the law of the sabbath, with additions to the ceremonies before described scattered throughout. After mentioning the sabbath, the passover is spoken of with the feast of unleavened bread. The second day of unleavened bread

was to be distinguished by the offering of a barley sheaf accompanied by a particular sacrifice, as soon as the Israelites came into Canaan. The mode of determining the time of the feast of pentecost is then explained, and the manner in which it should be kept. The feast of trumpets is then instituted; which was intended to sanctify the beginning of the civil year, and on which a holocaust was offered. The details connected with the day of atonement are briefly given, and then the feast of tabernacles is described at length. On the third week of the month Tisri, the Israelites were to dwell in booths made of branches of different sorts of trees. Every day of the seven, sacrifices were to be offered; and on the eighth day was a holy convocation. This feast was celebrated with more outward rejoicing than any other.

The twenty-fourth chapter treats of various details in the daily service of the sanctuary. It commences with directions respecting the lamp of the tabernacle and the shew-bread. Twelve loaves were put on a "pure table," *i.e.*, one overlaid with pure gold. After this is inserted a historical narration respecting the son of an Israelitish woman (but his father was an Egyptian), who blasphemed the name of Jehovah and cursed. Accordingly he was put in custody till the will of God should be known respecting his punishment. He was brought forth without the camp and stoned. The present transaction gave rise to a law on the subject. Why this historical piece should be inserted here in the midst of ceremonial laws, it is impossible to explain. It is then intimated that both native Israelites and sojourning proselytes were to be subject to the same penal laws; which leads to a statement of some of the penalties for transgressors.

The twenty-fifth chapter contains the law of the sabbatical year. On the seventh year the land was to rest. In it the Hebrew was not to sow his field or prune his vineyard. All agricultural operations were to be suspended; for the produce of every sixth year was promised to be such as would support the inhabitants till the harvest of the ninth year. The sixth year was by a particular providence to bring forth food for three years. Michaelis thinks[1] that this was an economical arrangement to prevent want or scarcity recurring at intervals of time. By economising the abundance of their harvests they would be protected against famine. It has also been thought, that the soil enjoying a rest would be made more productive, and so fitted to sustain the people dependent upon its crops, notwithstanding the imperfect state of agriculture in those days. Its fertility

[1] Commentaries on the laws of Moses by Smith, vol. i., p. 392.

would be enhanced. Besides, religious life would be promoted by the leisure thus afforded; for the people would be strongly reminded of the goodness of God, and have more leisure to attend to spiritual exercises, while released from many outward occupations. Hence at the feast of tabernacles in this year the law was publicly read in the hearing of all the people. It must not be supposed, however, that the year was a time of idleness. Many things would necessarily be done now, which would otherwise be neglected; especially the repairing and manufacturing of buildings, furniture, and clothes. All indoor occupations would be prosecuted in connection with the social and salutary pursuits that tended to improve the mind and cement the ties of brotherhood. We have next the institution of the year of jubilee. This began on the first day of the month Tisri, or the civil new year's day; and was celebrated every fiftieth year, but proclaimed on the forty-ninth. As in the sabbatical year so in this, all agricultural labours were suspended. All land that had been sold by one proprietor to another now reverted to its original owner. It would appear from the twenty-fourth and twenty-sixth verses (chapter twenty-fifth), that the land might be redeemed at any time before the jubilee, by the proprietor's receiving a proper compensation; but at this time the patrimonial estate necessarily reverted to its original owner or his posterity. Thus landed property could not be alienated from the Jewish citizen. He had always a stake in the commonwealth—a permanent provision of which he could not be deprived. All houses in the country which had been sold were likewise returned at that time, or could be redeemed sooner; but dwelling-houses in walled cities, unless redeemed within a year, belonged to the possessor in perpetuity, except in the case of the Levites' houses which came under the jurisdiction of the general law. All slaves had their liberty restored at the beginning of the jubilee year, and returned to their families and paternal possessions. All poor Israelites who had sold their services to proselytes might be redeemed at any time, but were infallibly set at liberty at the jubilee.

The twenty-sixth chapter contains a general enforcement of all the precepts in the Levitical code by promises of reward in case of obedience, and threatenings of punishment in case of disobedience. The blessings promised are fertility of the land, peace, freedom from foreign invasion, power; the threatenings denounced against disobedience are barrenness of soil, scarcity, subjugation, captivity and divers diseases, disunion and desolation. Gracious assurances of returning favour are given, upon humble and sincere repentance.

The twenty-seventh chapter relates to vows. Under the influ-

ence of religious impulses individuals sometimes consecrated themselves their children or estate to God. In certain cases such vows might be remitted; peculiar circumstances having occurred to render their performance inconvenient or impossible. Here therefore provision is made for the redemption of the persons or things so dedicated. When one devoted himself or his child to the service of the sanctuary, he might commute that service by paying a certain equivalent varying according to sex and age. But if he who made the vow were not able to pay the estimated value, the priest was to fix it according to the ability of payment. Beasts vowed, provided they were suitable for sacrifice, could not be redeemed. If one attempted to substitute any other beast in its stead, he was to be mulcted in both. If an unclean beast were devoted, it was at the man's option to leave it with the priest, or pay him the price at which he had valued it, viz., a fifth more than was declared to be its proper value. In the same way a devoted house or field might be redeemed. Firstlings were not to be vowed because they already belonged to God by virtue of a law; but if the firstling was of an unclean animal it might be redeemed as before. One kind of consecration by vow admitted of no remission. This consecration is called *Cherem*. In this way a person devoted an ox, a cow, a field or some person belonging to him, imprecating a curse on himself if he withheld what he vowed or ever reclaimed it. Either a child or a slave might be consecrated in this way. Israelitish parents or masters had thus the power of devoting their children or slaves to death. The law of tithes is then introduced, because it admitted of similar commutations, except in the case of animals suitable for sacrifice.

II. SIN AND TRESPASS-OFFERINGS.—CHAPTER V.—The distinction between *sin* and *trespass-offerings* has perhaps not been satisfactorily ascertained in all respects; though many attempts have been made to find it. It is needless to enumerate the very numerous opinions which have been entertained regarding it. The most probable are the following:

1. Michaelis supposes that sin-offerings were presented for offences of commission, and trespass-offerings for those of omission. This is opposed to Levit. v. 17, where a trespass-offering is enjoined on one who has committed a positive violation of law. The critic felt the force of this passage so much, that he assumed the reading to be incorrect.

2. Outram thinks that trespass-offerings were presented by such as were in doubt about the sin they committed; or because it inflicted injury on their neighbour. This approaches the right view.

3. Carpzov thinks, that the difference depended on the mere will of the legislator. Gesenius has the same opinion.

4. Palfrey imagines, that it was discretionary with the priest, having looked at the aggravating or mitigating circumstances of an offence, and perhaps too at the personal circumstances of the perpetrator, to class it with sins or trespasses. This resembles Rinck's view.

5. De Wette conjectures, that the true reason of the distinction which at first existed between the sin and trespass-offerings passed into oblivion at a later period and was neglected; without the distinction itself being abolished.

6. Bähr supposes, that the trespass-offering was a subordinate kind of sin-offering, referring to more special theocratic transgressions, and occasioned by the self-confession of the guilty party. Ewald's opinion is nearly the same.

7. As the trespass-offering is always spoken of separately from the sin-offering, though often named along with it, we must assume a decided distinction between them. While both were ultimately committed against God, the offences to which the word *trespass-offering* אָשָׁם is applied always involved some violation of the rights of one's neighbour, and rested upon an indemnification of him who had suffered harm. Trespass-offerings were always presented for particular persons, and were the same for all. But sin-offerings had respect to the whole congregation, and varied according to the theocratic position of the offender. In the former, the guilty party was viewed principally in his civil and social capacity; in the latter, as a member of the theocracy. As therefore the person for whom a trespass-offering was prescribed sinned chiefly against his neighbour, from some mistake or infirmity, his life was not looked upon as forfeited, nor was his blood to be shed. Accordingly the sacrificial victim, *always a sheep*, was not reckoned a substitute for the life of the party; as in the case of the sin-offering. The blood was not to be poured out or brought before God; but merely *sprinkled* round about the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering. The sin-offering consisted of all kinds of animals fit for sacrifice, without being restricted to the sheep as the trespass-offering was. If the offender was poor, he was allowed to bring two turtle-doves or a meat-offering; so that it varied with his means. On the contrary the victim in the trespass-offering was always the same. In the case of the sin-offering, the blood was brought to the tabernacle of the congregation, *i.e. before the Lord*, in which respect it differed from all other sacrifices. The flesh of the trespass-offering always belonged to the priest; but in the more important sin-offerings, it was also burnt.

Whoever wishes to ascertain the points of difference between these two classes of offerings must carefully read Lev. v. 14–26, and vii. 1–10 relating to the trespass-offering; and v. 1–13, vi. 17–23 which refer to the sin-offering. He should particularly guard against the mistake of referring v. 5, 6 to the trespass-offering; since it relates to *the sin-offering* alone. The passage says, that if one be guilty in any of the things mentioned in v. 1–4, he shall confess that he has sinned and bring his אֲשָׁמוֹ *his debt, his due compensation*, or simply *his offering*. The word has the same sense in v. 15; Num. v. 7. Nothing can be more incorrect, than to affirm with Kitto, that the same offerings are called interchangeably sin-offerings and trespass-offerings in Lev. v. 6–9.[1] The word אָשָׁם has three meanings, viz., *guilt* as in Gen. xxvi. 10; *debt*, or *what is due* for contracting guilt; and sacrifice for certain sins, *i.e. sin-offering*. Thus the term אָשָׁם is not appropriated to *trespass-offerings* wherever it occurs; but is of wider significance. The occasions on which the two classes of offerings were made cannot with truth be pronounced the same; nor were the ceremonies nearly alike; though these assertions have been made. The occasions and ceremonies of both were different. Many other conjectures respecting the difference between these two classes of offerings may be seen in Knobel.[2] We believe that the view adopted by that critic is the correct one. It agrees substantially with the sentiments of Brentius and Osiander.

III. The word Azazel, rendered Scape-goat in the English Version.—The word *Azazel* in Lev. xvi., translated *scape-goat* in our version, is difficult of explanation. The chief opinions respecting it are four.

1. Some understand by it the name of the goat itself which was sent away into the desert. This is supposed to be favoured by the words of the eighth verse, which are paraphrased, "Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats, one lot for the goat to be sacrificed to the Lord, and the other lot for the goat which was to be sent away into the wilderness." The sense assigned is thought to be corroborated by etymology, as if the word were compounded of עֵז a goat and עָזַל to go away; *a goat sent away*. The ancient versions coincide. Thus Symmachus has τράγος ἀπερχόμενος; Aquila τράγος ἀπολυόμενος; Theodotion τράγος ἀφιέμενος; the Vulgate *caper emissarius*. With this agree Luther and the English version. The Septuagint rendering is also interpreted by Theodoret and Cyril of Alexandria as equivalent, ὁ ἀποπομπαῖος=ὁ ἀποπεμπόμενος; but this is a mistake. It is

[1] See note in Pictorial Bible, second edition.

[2] On Levit. p. 394 et seqq.

strange that such a compound should be formed, consisting of two appellatives, when there are two common terms in the language which would have been far more intelligible. And in the tenth and twenty-sixth verses the לְ prefixed to Azazel clearly shews that the goat is distinguished from Azazel. It can only mean *for* or *to*, in relation either to place or person; the latter, as determined by the antithesis. Jehovah the first party is a person; and as the expression is the same in regard to the other, in the 8th verse, it is most natural to consider Azazel also as a person. Hence we look upon the proposed sense of the word as entirely indefensible. The objection of Bochart and others that עֵז is a she-goat, not a he-goat, is valid, because the word is not masculine according to usage, neither is it epicene. There are other terms for a he-goat; whereas this one is not so employed.

2. Some think it the name of the place to which the goat was sent. So the pseudo-Jonathan in his Targum appears to have understood it, for he renders in verse 10, "to send him away to death in a rough and rocky place in the desert of Tsûk." The Arabic versions translate "to the rough mountain;" and Abenezra explains it as if the word were compounded of אֵל and עזאז, *i.e.*, rough place of God, as in Psalm xxxvi. 7, *mountains of God* mean *high mountains*. Rashi is of the same opinion. More recently Bochart has espoused this view, supposing the word to be an Arabic *pluralis fractus*, denoting *separations, withdrawments, separated* or *remote places*, عزازل from عزل *to separate* or *remove*.[1] But there is no trace of the *pluralis fractus* in the Hebrew language. Deyling, Reland, Carpzov, Dathe, and others adopt this view. That the word cannot mean a place is clearly shewn by the tenth and twenty-first verses, where a distinction is made between it and the place. *To the wilderness*, הַמִּדְבָּרָה and אֶל־אֶרֶץ גְּזֵרָה *into a deserted land*, both specify place in connection with Azazel, of which they cannot be exegetical. And the antithesis in the eighth verse, *to Jehovah*, demands a *personal* sense. Hence we cannot refer it to place, whether a definite rugged mountain not far from Sinai, or lonely wilderness generally.

3. According to Tholuck it is a *pealpal* form from עָזַל *to remove*, and means "for complete removal."[2] Thus an analogy appears between the rite and that of the purification-offering in Lev. xiv. 4, etc., where a bird let loose symbolises the deliverance of the leper from his uncleanness. This view is adopted

[1] Hierozoicon I., p. 745, et seqq.
[2] Das alte Testament in neuem Testament, p. 93, third edition.

by Winer and Philippson, and defended by Bähr. But Hengstenberg and Kurtz object to it on philological grounds; though we believe that it is justifiable in that respect. The context, however, is adverse, as the former has well shewn. In the eighth verse, "a lot for Jehovah and a lot for complete removal," presents an incongruity. The lot is not to be carried away. If it be translated "a lot for the animal devoted to God, and a lot for the animal destined for removal," that will not suit the tenth verse; for "the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel" cannot mean, "for the animal destined for removal." It can only signify "for complete removal," as also in the last clause of the same verse. And if the prefix ל in both instances in the tenth verse can only be interpreted *for* (denoting purpose), it is improper to translate it in the eighth verse *for* (denoting possession). The antithesis in the 8th verse requires that Azazel be understood as a *person*. Thus we cannot adopt the opinion that the noun is an abstract, although the LXX., inconsistent with themselves as they often are, translate in the latter clause of xvi. 10, *εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπὴν*, and in xvi. 26, *εἰς ἄφεσιν*.

4. The most probable explanation is that which refers the word to an evil demon or goblin. The following considerations render this view probable.

(*a*) The antithesis in the eighth verse requires that Azazel denote a person; if so, only a demon can be intended.

(*b*) The circumstance that lots are cast implies that Jehovah is made the antagonist of a being with respect to whom the unlimited power of Jehovah is exalted, so as to exclude all equality of such being with him. Thus there is no reason for the lots that were cast, if a demon be not meant by Azazel.

(*c*) Being a word of infrequent occurrence, Azazel is best fitted for a designation of some demon. In every other explanation the question remains unanswered, Why is the word formed for this occasion, and why is it never found except here?

(*d*) The popular belief of the Jews was, that deserts and desolate places were the dwelling-place of foul fiends. Malignant spirits were supposed to haunt burial places and solitudes. And those deities were generally thought of as having the shape of goats, rough shaggy creatures, corresponding to the satyrs of the Greek and Roman mythology. Accordingly the prophet Isaiah, speaking of the destruction of Babylon, says, "wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there," where the noun שְׂעִירִים is equivalent to he-goats,

satyrs, wood-demons; because these demons were supposed to resemble goats and live in deserts. The same word is used in Lev. xvii. 7, "and they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils (goats)," etc. Compare also Isaiah xxxiv. 13, 14; Baruch iv. 35; Tobit viii. 3; and Matt. xii. 43, where the unclean spirit having left a man is represented as walking through dry and desert places, Rev. xviii. 2.

(*e*) Whether the rite had an Egyptian reference is not very clear. It indicates a pre-Mosaic belief; but whether that was borrowed from the Egyptians is uncertain.

In Egypt, as in most other countries, dualism was current. Every bad influence or power of nature was there personified under the name Typhon. The desert was assigned to him as his residence, whence he made destructive inroads into the consecrated land. In opposition therefore to the Egyptian view which implied the necessity of yielding respect even to bad beings, if men would be protected against them, this rite was intended to shew Israel that forgiveness of sin can only be obtained from God; and when this is done, the bad spirit can do them no harm. As the Egyptian idol-worship still lingered among the Israelites, this reference to the rite is not improbable.

The sense of *evil demon* is confirmed by the LXX. who translate *κλῆρον ἕνα τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ*, one lot *to the sender away* or *averruncus* (verse 8), and perhaps even in verse 10, *εἰς τὴν ἀποπομπήν*, *for the averting* (of evils). The Greek word *ἀποπομπαῖος* is properly of *active* signification, as Bochart has proved; not *passive* as some have supposed, referring to the goat itself. Josephus confirms this sense attributed to the LXX., "the goat is sent away alive into the remote desert, as an averter of ills (*ἀποτροπιασμός*), and a satisfaction for the sins of the whole people."[1] Origen also writes, "He who is called in Leviticus *ἀποπομπαῖος*, and whom the Hebrew Scriptures call *Azazel*, was no other than the devil."[2] The same conclusion was drawn by Julian, whom Cyril endeavoured to refute. Among the Rabbins, Menahem makes Azazel one of the four principal demons; and in Pirke Eliezer it is related that Azazel, to whom a goat is sent on the day of atonement, is the same demon as Sammael. In the book of Enoch, Azazel is one of the chief demons, by whose teaching and instigation the earth was corrupted. Among the Gnostics the same name signified either Satan or another demon. From the Hebrews and Christians the name passed to the Arabians; and therefore in the more recent magical books, Azazel and Azaël are ranked among the demons who preside over the elements. And with

[1] Antiqq. iii. 10, 3.

[2] Contra Cels. Lib. viii. 399.

this agrees the most suitable etymology, viz., עזאזל, for עזלזל from עָזַל to *remove* or *separate*, equivalent to *averruncus*, ἀλεξίκακος, or the ἀπομπαῖος of the LXX., *i.e.*, *the averter*. All words formed in the same manner are *concrete* not abstract; as may be seen in Gesenius's Lehrgebäude and Ewald's Ausführliches Lehrbuch. The last two radicals are reduplicated; and then the final consonant of the root passes into a vowel to facilitate utterance.

The objections urged against this interpretation resolve themselves for the most part into *one* theological sentiment, viz., that it is contrary to the entire spirit of the Mosaic law, as well as the express precept in Lev. xvii. 7, that an offering should be made to any evil spirit. But such an offering to Azazel to appease him cannot be supposed, for the following reasons given by Hengstenberg:

1. Both goats are designated in the fifth verse as a sin-offering. Hence being taken together as one offering, it cannot be thought that one was offered to Jehovah and the other to Azazel; neither can an offering made to an evil being be a sin-offering.

2. Both the goats were placed at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord. Both therefore belong to Him. When one is afterwards sent away to Azazel; this takes place according to the will of Jehovah, and without destroying the original relation.

3. The casting of lots shews that both are considered as belonging to Jehovah. The lot is never employed in the Old Testament except to obtain the decision of Jehovah.

4. Before the goat assigned to Azazel is sent away, he is absolved, as stated in the tenth verse, where it should be, "to make an atonement *over* or *upon* him," the goat itself being the subject of atonement, because the nature which the dead goat possessed is in a manner transferred to the living one; and therefore the sins on the head of the living one which are considered its own, have to be atoned for before it is dismissed.

5. According to the twenty-first verse the already forgiven sins of Israel are laid on the head of the goat. Where there is forgiveness there is no more offering.

6. The goat is sent alive into the wilderness. But according to the Old Testament, no offering of an animal is made without shedding of blood.[1]

Thus though the one goat fell by lot to Jehovah, and the other to Azazel, it cannot be supposed that they belonged to both respectively in the same sense. Indeed the very difference

[1] Egypt and the books of Moses, translated by Robbins, p. 173 et seqq.

of treatment is intended to indicate that the evil spirit is wholly different from the true God. The Egyptian view was, that the evil principle being equally powerful with the good should be propitiated in the same way; whereas it is shewn that they are dissimilar. The Egyptian worship is therefore not *continued*, but *altered*. Why the second goat is in a manner consigned or devoted to the evil demon, whereby the Egyptian belief of a demon dwelling in the desert is recognised, it is not easy to determine. The leading idea conveyed by the ceremony is the putting away of sin—sending it away from the people to an evil demon, to whose sphere and person it is appropriate. The Hebrews having brought with them out of Egypt the superstitious reverence of Typhon, would naturally think of him as the personification of the evil principle, but they would not think of offering an animal to appease him; for the second goat was not sacrificed. On the contrary they must have conceived of the evil spirit as unclean and sinful, since the unclean goat was sent away to be his companion. Hengstenberg and others err in identifying Azazel with Satan, who does not appear in the Pentateuch nor in any of the old canonical Hebrew Scriptures; and was not supposed to inhabit the wilderness. Hence though Origen long ago, and in modern times Spencer, George, Reinke, Baumgarten, Vaihinger, etc., have held this view, it must be rejected. The two passages of Scripture which Spencer adduces to shew that the desert was reckoned the devil's dwelling-place, in the age of Moses, viz., Lev. xvii. 5, 6, 7, and xvi. 19, 21, 26, are inconclusive for that purpose.[1] Azazel is an evil demon of the pre-Mosaic religion, as Von Coelln, Gesenius, Ewald, Meier, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Maurer, Bleek, and Knobel rightly believe.

It is scarcely worth while to refer to objections to the view of Azazel here given derived from modern modes of thinking, such as the offensiveness of bringing an evil spirit into prominence in a religious rite, and even putting him in juxtaposition with Jehovah. The manner in which the evil spirit is introduced is by no means honourable or flattering. Demon-worship is discountenanced by it; though discountenanced in a way which would lead the Israelites gently from it. The new word which seems to have been made for the occasion and is appropriated to it, favours the idea of a person or personification. An unusual term was adopted to convey the idea of *a spirit* to whom the writer pointed in a very obscure manner.

IV. Marriage Prohibitions in Chapter xviii.—In Lev. xviii. 6–18 are a number of specific prohibitions which have

[1] De Legibus Hebræorum, etc., Libr. iii. Dissertat. 8, p. 1440, ed Lipsiae, 1705.

given rise to much discussion: "None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am the Lord. The nakedness of thy father, or the nakedness of thy mother, shalt thou not uncover: she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. The nakedness of thy father's wife shalt thou not uncover: it is thy father's nakedness. The nakedness of thy sister, the daughter of thy father, or daughter of thy mother, whether she be born at home, or born abroad, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover. The nakedness of thy son's daughter, or of thy daughter's daughter, even their nakedness thou shalt not uncover: for their's is thine own nakedness. The nakedness of thy father's wife's daughter, begotten of thy father, she is thy sister, thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's sister: she is thy father's near kinswoman. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy mother's sister: for she is thy mother's near kinswoman. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy father's brother, thou shalt not approach to his wife: she is thine aunt. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy daughter-in-law: she is thy son's wife; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness. Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of a woman and her daughter, neither shalt thou take her son's daughter, or her daughter's daughter, to uncover her nakedness; for they are her near kinswomen: it is wickedness. Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister, to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other in her life time." Let us consider the passage in its chief points of difficulty.

The words of the sixth verse are, "None of you shall approach to any that is near of kin to him, to uncover their nakedness: I am the Lord." A question has arisen whether the phrase "to uncover the nakedness" means nothing more than that illicit connection to which the terms *fornication* and *adultery* are applied; or whether the sexual intercourse included in the idea of *marriage* be not also conveyed. If the former, then the passage has nothing to do with incestuous marriages, but relates entirely to such extra nuptial-pollutions as had prevailed among the heathen—to incestuous fornication and adultery. If the latter, the sense will be more general, including the conjugal intercourse of married parties as well as the illicit commerce commonly designated *fornication* and *adultery*. We think that the language should not be restricted. The import of the terms, the general scope of the passage, and the circumstances under which the law was promulgated, favour the most general sense. Connubial intercourse is not excluded; while it is not the sole

thing intended to be prohibited. The prohibitions *do* relate to marriage: though we do not believe that they relate *exclusively* to it.

Of more importance is the phrase "near of kin," שְׁאֵר בְּשָׂרוֹ literally, *flesh of his flesh*, that is, *blood-kin*. But while it cannot be denied that the expression means *blood-kin*, it has been asked if it also include *affinity* or relation by marriage. Is it restricted to *consanguinity* or not? Let us consider the term שְׁאֵר. It also occurs in the twelfth and thirteenth verses, where *blood-kindred* alone is meant. It bears the same allusion in Lev. xx. 19; xxi. 2; Num. xxvii. 11. Inheritance went only by blood not by affinity. It passed over near relatives by affinity to go to blood-relations belonging to the same division of a tribe as the deceased proprietor, however remote. The noun שְׁאֵר therefore in this instance, especially as it has along with it בְּשָׂרוֹ *of his flesh, kin of his flesh* must mean *blood-relation*. There is no place where the same phrase as that here used includes a more extensive relationship. Nor is there anything in the context which indicates a wider sense. Hence it must be restricted to blood-relationship, in the verse under consideration. What then is the relation of the sixth verse to the following? It may contain a general principle, of which the following specifications are only specimens given for the purpose of illustration; or it may state the general principle, the specifications that follow defining accurately and precisely the cases to which it should be applied, so that no case is included in the law which is not specified; or the verses following may contain such amplification and application of this general rule as is necessary to remove doubt in all cases where doubt could possibly exist. We apprehend that the last is the true view.

The first cannot be right, because, according to it, an element is introduced into the verses immediately succeeding, viz., affinity through a man's personal marriage, which does not lie in the sixth verse. We have seen that the latter refers to blood-relationship alone; and if affinity by one's own marriage be forthwith introduced, something of another kind is brought in, *which is of wide extent;* for the implied cases are more numerous than the specified. Besides, specific cases of incest are referred to in sixteen instances, in subsequent parts of the Bible, and yet there is not one among them which is not distinctly specified in Lev. xviii. 6–17. Surely this is strange when the implied cases are many. It is also observable, that the cases supposed to be left to inference are for the most part *the very* cases in which marriage is most likely to be contracted. Generally speaking, the cases forbidden are those of the nearest relatives; whereas

those left to implication are more remote relatives of the wife, where the law would be most probably broken. The barrier is weakest where strength is most needed. Besides, if parallels by affinity are included in the specified blood-relations, and equally prohibited with them, what is the meaning of the specific prohibition of marriage with a *wife's mother* in the seventeenth verse, after the prohibition of marriage with a mother in the seventh verse; because the parallel by affinity to the latter is the *wife's mother*. Why this immediate repetition of the same thing? In like manner, why prohibit marriage with a wife's sister, which lies, as those who argue for the inclusion of affinity by marriage in affinity by blood affirm, in the eighteenth verse, after marriage with a sister is prohibited in the ninth verse; for here the parallel by affinity is the wife's sister? Such repetitions are useless, if a system of inferences be intended. For these and other reasons, the first view of the relation between the sixth and succeeding verses cannot be sustained.

The second view, though ably advocated by Sturtevant[1] cannot be safely followed, because a man is not forbidden to marry his daughter. The specifications therefore are not absolutely complete. They do not make up a full system by themselves. In reply to this, it is said by Sturtevant, that a man cannot marry his daughter without transgressing the letter of the seventeenth verse; but that is a mistake. The *wife's* daughter is there prohibited, not a man's *own* daughter. There is also no specific prohibition to marry one's grandmother. When it is said of this case that it is left to the law of nature and not to implication, the whole view is virtually abandoned.

The third view alone remains, which is exposed to no serious objection. According to it, the specifications of the sixth verse which follow it are *the chief ones* required. Those cases in which any doubt might reasonably exist in the mind of a Jew are thus rendered indisputable. All needful explanation of the sixth verse is *given*.

In the seventh verse a man is forbidden to marry his mother.

The eighth prohibits marriage with a step-mother.

The ninth forbids marriage with a sister.

The tenth verse prohibits it with a grand-daughter.

The eleventh with a half-sister.

The twelfth with a father's sister or paternal aunt.

The thirteenth verse forbids marriage with a mother's sister or maternal aunt.

The fourteenth prohibits it with a paternal uncle's wife.

The fifteenth with a son's wife, or daughter-in-law.

[1] Biblical Repository and Observer for 1842, vol. viii. p. 423 et seqq.

The sixteenth with a brother's wife.

The seventeeth with a wife's mother, daughter, or grand-daughter.

The eighteenth allows of marriage with a wife's sister, except during the life-time of the wife. But this verse has been much canvassed, and very different senses are assigned to it.

Leaving out of view the disputed eighteenth verse, we find six degrees of blood-relationship prohibited, viz., mother, sister, half-sister, grand-daughter, paternal aunt, maternal aunt. Four degrees of affinity by blood, *i.e.* arising from the marriage of blood-relatives, are also forbidden, viz., step-mother, paternal uncle's wife, son's wife, and brother's wife. There are also three degrees of affinity by marriage forbidden, viz., wife's mother, daughter, and grand-daughter. The specification of these three and no more, is an argument against the application of all the preceding prohibitions to the like degrees of the wife's kindred, because there *could not* have been the least doubt respecting *them*. The three nearest of the blood of the wife's body are separately forbidden, while the more remote and doubtful cases are passed over, though *they* most needed distinct prohibition. The degrees of blood and blood affinity are prohibited. Three or at the most four prohibitions relate to affinity by marriage. "And when now we regard the uncertain and depressed condition of the Hebrew wife, and the high account made of blood-kindred in all the civil and social relations of the Hebrew people, these considerations and this inequality seem sufficient to render the position at least doubtful, that *affinity as well as consanguinity is included in the general prohibition.*"[1] The eighteenth verse proceeds to speak of the wife's sister as a fourth of the wife's relatives. With her the probability of a marriage is greater than that of the others mentioned; and therefore she too is introduced. All that is stated respecting her is, that a man should not marry her during the life of her sister; whence the natural inference is, that he might marry her after the death of his wife. But the verse has been understood thus: "Thou shalt not take one wife to another to vex her during her life-time." Viewed in this light it simply prohibits polygamy. Against such a sense may be urged the following objections:

1. Why did not polygamy cease after this direct prohibition? Surely the passage was not understood as prohibiting that practice, else many pious men such as David, Solomon, Joash the king, and others, must have lived in open violation of it. But it is not to be conceived that pious Hebrews lived in

[1] Bibliotheca Sacra for 1843, p. 292.

habitual transgression of the precept; and therefore it could not have been interpreted by them as prohibiting polygamy.

2. Instead of a direct prohibition of polygamy, the Mosaic law tolerates and regulates it. The practice was restricted and limited so as to lead to its gradual extinction. The divine legislation not only recognised its existence, but provided against its abuse. In Deut. xxi. 15–17 and Ex. xxi. 10, it may be seen how the practice is *regulated*, not *forbidden*.

3. If polygamy be forbidden here, it is a sin whose penalty is death; for after completing the series, it is written, "whosoever shall commit any of these abominations, even the souls that commit them shall be cut off from among the people." "Now suppose the crime thus threatened to have been that of marrying two wives. Then we have the absurdity of an express law against bigamy, declaring that bigamists shall be punished with death, and then afterwards a law requiring all bigamists to make a fair disposal of their estates among the children of their two wives. For in Deut. xxi. 15 we read, 'if a man have two wives, one beloved and the other hated, and they have born him children, both the beloved and the hated, and if the first-born be hers that was hated, then it shall be when he maketh his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the son of the beloved first-born before the son of the hated.' Now this is a strange law to come in after a law that had denounced death on any one that had two wives. For if the first law was executed, the second would be superfluous."[1]

4. The phrase "a wife to her sister," אִשָּׁה אֶל אֲחֹתָהּ and the corresponding, "a man to his brother," אִישׁ אֶל אָחִיו cannot be understood in this place of "one to another," according to a Hebrew idiom. The former occurs nine times, viz., Ex. xxvi. 3 *bis*, 5, 6, 17; Ezek. i. 9, 11, 23; and the present place; and in all except this the rendering is "one to another," or some phraseology equivalent. So in the twenty-five instances of the corresponding masculine form, the rendering of our translators is uniform, "one to another." Hence the question arises, whether the literal version in this place is warranted, because it involves a departure from common usage. There are no less than thirty-four cases in which the phrase occurs in an idiomatic sense. Does not this overwhelming majority decide the point in dispute here? *It does not*, for in the other nine cases where "one to another" feminine occurs, the things added to one another are inanimate objects of *the feminine* gender; and the subject of discourse is first mentioned, governing the import of the phrase. Besides, in every

[1] Bush's Note on xviii. 18, pp. 195, 196.

other case the expression has a reciprocal import; *a number of things* (contained in a plural nominative followed by a plural verb) are said to be added one to another. But here there is no trace of reciprocal action or relation. One object is taken in addition to another, and that is all. The suffixes too attached in the singular to the subsequent words, viz., *her* nakedness, beside *her*, in *her* lifetime, limit them to two specific individuals, who have no mutual reciprocal action one upon the other. Add to all this, the terms here translated *wife* and *sister* are the same which are so translated in the preceding verses, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

5. All the ancient versions give the interpretation, "a wife to her sister." So the Targum of Onkelos, the Samaritan, Syriac, and Arabic versions. The Septuagint also has, γυναῖκα ἐπ ἀδελφῇ οὐ λήψῃ, *thou shalt not take a woman to her sister;* though in other places it renders the phrase by *one to another.*

For these reasons, the argument drawn from the supposed Hebrew idiom in the verse must be abandoned, and the literal rendering, *a wife to her sister*, allowed to remain. But there are some, who while admitting the received version will not allow that the verse merely *regulates* the marriage of a wife's sister without prohibiting it except in the life-time of the wife. They construe the words thus: "Thou shalt not take a wife to her sister to vex her *as long as she lives.*" According to this, the word בְּחַיֶּיהָ is referred to the nearer verb *vex*, and not to the remote one *take.* The nearest verb, however, is to *uncover*, etc. Why then not refer *her life-time* to that? It is a curious thing to refer *her life-time* to the *middle* verb of three successive ones, rather than the first or last. The arbitrariness of doing so is apparent. Besides, the Septuagint is against this construction, for it translates, ἔτι ζώσης αὐτῆς, *while she is yet alive.* We cannot allow of the sense according to which polygamy is merely *restricted* not *prohibited.* The meaning of the verse must be something else than "You are not to take a step which will be sure to embitter the lot of the first wife during the whole period of her life. The consequence of your rashness or indiscretion, or malevolence will be, that she will know peace no more as long as she lives." The phrase *in her life-time*, to a plain reader, certainly appears to legitimate, after the death of the one sister, a marriage which was forbidden before. To say with Bush that such implication is a gross *non-sequitur* or *wholly gratuitous*, is to use language contrary to the obvious meaning. According to him and others who adopt the sense *to vex her all her life*, the passage was designed to discountenance the practice of taking two sisters simultaneously to wife, as one apt to engender rivalries, jealousies, and feuds. We admit this to be the reason of the prohibition of the marriage

for a time. But where the one sister is married only after the death of the other, the reason does not exist. Hence if the prohibition was made to counteract a particular evil, it does not apply where the evil has no existence. Consequently, a man is at liberty to marry one sister after the decease of another. Our conclusion from the verse is, that it presents no barrier to a man's marrying the sister of a deceased wife, but rather *allows* and *provides* for it.

The main points of the Biblical argument are thus enunciated most clearly and correctly by Robinson:

1. "The tenure of marriage among the Hebrews was uncertain and precarious; and the Hebrew wife was little more than the servant of her husband.

2. "That hence there was among the Hebrews a strong distinction between consanguinity and affinity by marriage; the former being permanent and sacred, the latter comparatively temporary and vague.

3. "That therefore laws prohibiting marriage with a female relative by blood, did not necessarily and *per se* prohibit marriage with the wife's relatives of the like degree.

4. "That consequently, in respect to affinity by marriage, the Hebrew was bound only so far as there were specific prohibitions, viz., in the case of the mother, daughter and granddaughter, of his wife.

5. "That there was no such prohibition in the case of a wife's sister, except during the life-time of the wife." [1]

Rejecting the rule which has been applied to the passage before us, viz., that a man is as near of kin to his wife's blood-relatives as he is to his own; we must also reject another rule as still more gratuitous and unauthorised by Leviticus, viz., that when a man is forbidden to marry any relative in a generation *prior* to his own, he is by implication forbidden to marry one of the same nearness of blood, in a generation *following* his own. Any table of the prohibited degrees in marriage, built upon one or other of these rules, or both together, we regard as falsely constructed out of the Old Testament.

We do not believe that the Levitical law of marriage is of perpetual obligation, and therefore binding on *Christians*. It was evidently intended for the Jewish state, in which the woman was very subordinate to the man. It is inadequate to the necessities and unsuited to the circumstances of modern Christian society. The genius of Christianity rejects specific enactments on the subject of marriage, relying on sound ethical principles to preserve the purity of society. And it is because

[1] Bibliotheca Sacra for 1843, p. 298.

writers have carried their notions from a Christian state of society to a Jewish, putting the woman on an equality with the man, to which Christianity alone has raised her, that they have drawn inferences from the passage which are entirely gratuitous. These precepts respecting certain marriages, occurring in the midst of enactments confessedly Levitical, were abrogated by Christ along with the ceremonial law. They are not now obligatory *because* they are here. When it is said, "if they are not now obligatory then it follows that we have nothing in the compass of the whole Bible regulating the subject of marriage-alliances—nothing to forbid a man marrying his own mother, sister, or daughter!" the reasoning is fallacious. There *is* something in the New Testament which regulates the subject, viz., the enlightened and comprehensive morality of the gospel. That morality, according with the voice of nature within, and seeing the injurious tendency of certain practices, effectually discountenances several marriages which are distinctly prohibited in the Levitical code of the Jews. Certain marriages are unlawful now, not because they are prohibited in the Mosaic code, but because they are repelled alike by the moral instincts of men and the enlightened spirit of the Christian religion. Those who live under the Christian system will have little difficulty in deciding what marriages are proper or improper, without specific divine enactments.

V. THINGS CLEAN AND UNCLEAN IN THE LAW, CHAPTERS XI.–XV.—Purification among the Hebrews was a ritual by which the members of the congregation and things connected with them passed out of a state of uncleanness that rendered them unfit for Jehovah's presence, into a condition for belonging again to His communion. In certain circumstances, persons and objects became unclean, and rites were prescribed for their purifying.

It is not our intention to classify and discuss the numerous degrees of uncleanness spoken of in the Pentateuch. Books of Hebrew antiquities may be consulted on the subject. What we now wish to notice is *the idea* lying at the basis of theocratic impurity.

There are three kinds of impurity:

First. Uncleanness of nature, which is found in animals and makes them unfit for food.

Second. Uncleanness of impermanent phenomena, which are peculiar to persons, their bodies, clothing, houses, etc.

Third. Uncleanness of death, which is common both to animals and men.

On what principle did the distinction between clean and unclean in the Mosaic legislation rest? Whence did the laws

regarding uncleanness arise? Here we find great diversity of opinion.

1. Some account for uncleannesses by a reference to a kind of natural horror or general aversion to certain things. This is the view of Ewald and Scholl; as also of De Wette and Winer in part.

2. Others find the origin and significancy of purifications in educational objects. They think that the distinctions of clean and unclean were meant to implant in the people a distaste for disgusting things, and so imbue them with a finer taste, to cherish feelings of honour, chastity, morality, to promote marriage and fruitfulness, to make polygamy more difficult, and to keep alive reverence for Jehovah and His sanctuary. Such was the opinion of Maimonides.

3. Some explain them on political and hierarchical grounds, believing that they were made either for the purpose of separating the people from other nations, or increasing the influence of the priests. The former is held by Hess in part; the latter by Gramberg.

4. Others think they proceeded from motives of a dietetic or sanitary purport. This is the opinion of Michaelis, Schmidt, and Saalschütz. It must be observed, that *various objects* are combined by several writers, so that their views cannot be strictly classified. A full enumeration of them would require the separate mention of each one's opinion. This is exemplified in Spencer, who adopts various aims in the laws before us; both the Rabbinical one of Maimonides, and others. The same is true of Hess and De Wette; of the latter in his Archaeology at least. Nor is such an idea improbable in the case of some regulations, as those of clean and unclean animals, leprous houses, etc., where dietetic and sanitary considerations may have been in the legislator's mind, in addition to a higher aim. Still there was a *fundamental object* that formed the real and primitive basis of all.

5. Others refer the distinction of clean and unclean to *dualism*. The people addicted to dualism ascribed one class of animals to Ahriman, the other to Ormuzd. Bleek, who holds this view, thinks that the idea of a whole class of animals having been produced by an evil principle may have *originally* prevailed among the Hebrews as elsewhere. Von Bohlen perceiving the inconsistency of this with the first chapter of Genesis where the whole creation is declared *good*, attributes the distinction to the influence of Persian ideas on the Hebrew writer. But the distinction is met with where a dualistic basis did not exist, viz., in Manu's law book. There it is most developed in its resemblance to the Old Testament form of it. The explanation in

question is too narrow. It refers to *animals* merely, and fails to account for other uncleannesses. Even in relation to them, it does not solve the question. Probably some fundamental feeling in the human mind lay at the basis of the distinction between clean and unclean animals, which was modified by the relations of different systems. The Indians, Persians, Egyptians, and other ancient nations, did not borrow in the matter from one another.

6. Bähr supposes that finite being, as such, is viewed in contrast with absolute Being, or the corporeal nature as such in contrast with spirit of which it is the defiling principle. The unclean refers to birth and death, the beginning and end of finite being, which is set over against the infinite being *ethically*, as also sinful and impure.[1]

7. Sommer reduces all to the idea of death and corruption. The image of death and corruption in the living man is on one hand the leprosy, on the other, certain conditions of the sexes, in which, without the persons' co-operation or knowledge, proceed issues from the interior bearing the qualities of dissolution and impurity. Now death is the standing memorial of sin. Hence the legislator intended to represent death, the wages of sin, as a thing to be avoided and abhorred by persons in communion with Jehovah and his holy people.[2] "All the adverse, horrible, and repulsive," says Kurtz, "which sin has upon and in itself, culminates in death and images itself in it, uncovered and in full development. But in death, even the sensible appearance is congruous with the ethical contents; the ethically repugnant and terrible becomes the physically repulsive and horrible; physical uncleanness turns into a bodily one; the savour of death, foulness, mould, and dissolution are the sum of all that is earthly and unclean."[3]

It is difficult, if not impossible, to reduce all the particulars contained in the clean and unclean to a common principle. Some explanations suit one class of phenomena best; others, another class. All that is common and characteristic in the conditions pronounced unclean as well as in the rites prescribed for their removal, can hardly be reduced to one source wide enough to embrace it. Care should be taken neither to propose too complex a principle, nor one alien to the genius of the Hebrew theocracy. Israelite doctrines and views must be regarded in any solution that is offered. Nor is it necessary that it should embrace every single case of uncleanness and mode of removing it. It is sufficient that it account for the majority in a simple and natural way.

[1] Symbolik, vol. ii. p. 459 et seqq.
[2] Biblische Abhandlungen, vol. i. p. 183 et seqq.
[3] In the Theol. Studien und Kritiken, 1846, p. 696.

The *essential, characteristic* peculiarities are all that need to be explained. Had the ritual proceeded from Moses in its present state, we should then have been more anxious for a principle comprehensive enough to include all phenomena. But it is in part a growth; various portions being of later origin than the great legislator. The Levitical ritual does not lie before us in a compact system; and we should beware of introducing our modern philosophising into it.

The views of Bähr and Sommer must be rejected because of their complexity. Indeed the latter has refuted the explanation given by his predecessor. His own is more plausible, and far more ingeniously supported. Though adopted and recommended by Kurtz, Leyrer, and Keil, we cannot assent to it. Its main support is the view taken of death, which, however just on the ground of philosophy and the New Testament, is not warranted by the spirit of Hebraism. The proposed view of death and corruption does not enter into Hebraism in connection with sin. And it is difficult to see why *all* the excretions of the human body ejected as foreign to the living organism, and not merely some of them, come under the conditions of uncleanness. If traces of decomposition and putrefaction are found in some human issues specified by the law, they are in others omitted by the law.

By recollecting that distinctions of things clean and unclean existed before Moses we may perhaps arrive at a simpler view of the subject. The human mind has a natural aversion to some things. Persons avoid their presence and touch, because they have a tendency to excite disgust. It is well known also that acrid animal humours coming into contact with the skin readily generate diseases in the hot climates of the East. Now Moses, building upon these natural feelings respecting pollution, and the distinctions they had given rise to among very ancient nations, brought them under a new aspect. His prescriptions respecting them had a religious purpose. He incorporated them with the theocracy as ethical symbols. This could be done the more easily because ideas of purity and holiness are allied. The transition from outward cleanness to inward purity was natural and facile. Accordingly the wise legislator connected them. His object was to lead the mind from external to inward cleanness—to suggest the one by the other, and keep it before the mind as a remembrancer of what a member of the congregation should be. So far the Levitical ritual was an admonitory institution—a symbolical exhortation to moral purity. In one sense it was educational, and adapted to impress upon the mind of the Israelite an aversion to uncleanness, and lead him to self-purification. Instinctive disgust to certain impurities was employed

as the means of implanting an analogous aversion to moral defilement. In this view of the ritual, its coincidence with the age, the people, and the design of God to prepare the world for a better dispensation, is apparent. It assumes a didactic character, harmonising with the genius of Old Testament times.

That part of the purifications relating to the red heifer and sacrifices of cleansing must have proceeded from Moses himself. They were not retained from a former time.

VI. On Sacrifice.—The question of sacrifice has been discussed by theologians of different schools. The chief points of interest about it are, Was it of divine or human origin—expressly commanded by God himself, or the fruit of the mind's spontaneous promptings? Again, Was it expiatory? In relation to the former, it is usually stated in the way we have put it, with the two sides *essentially different*. We believe, however, that they ought not to be separated with so much sharpness. Those who take a right view of what constitutes a *revelation* from God to man, cannot sanction that method of statement; for *the divine* comes through *the human*, from which it cannot be strictly divided. They are too closely interwoven for that. The influence of the great God on His rational creatures operates through, and by means of, the reason He has given them. He does not *dictate* or *enjoin* certain things otherwise than through the God-consciousness which is in men; asleep though it be in the vast majority. When such consciousness becomes active, the Deity, in Scripture phraseology, *commands* or *prescribes* the thing to which it impels. If this be correct, we see the inconclusiveness of the argument which has been adduced from Hallett[1] down to Pye Smith[2] and Faber,[3] viz., that because Abel's sacrifice was acceptable to God it must have been of divine institution, else it would have been an act of *will-worship*, which is condemned in the eternal maxim of all true religion, "In vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." It is only when modes of worship are devised by the human mind *under certain conditions*, that they come under the appellation of *will-worship*. To affirm that *all kinds* of religious homage not *expressly appointed* by God in a way external to man's senses and intellect are presumptuous, is a baseless assumption.[4] We admit that *every* mode of honouring Him which He has not himself warranted is vain. But we deny that His warranty should be of the nature which many

[1] Continuation of Peirce on the Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 12.

[2] Four Discourses on the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ, p. 231 et seqq., second edition.

[3] On Primitive Sacrifices, p. 183.

[4] See Davison's Inquiry into the origin and intent of primitive sacrifice, Remains, p. 84 et seqq.

require, that is, *an explicit prescription.* This *anthropomorphising* of the Divine Being by making Him speak audibly in the air, or kindle fire on an altar, or assume a bodily appearance on earth, or do something that strikes the organs of sense, is derogatory to His attributes. An *explicit prescription* other than what comes through man's pure reason under divine influence, is a fiction; as is evident from the old hypothesis of fire from heaven sent to shew respect to Abel's offering by kindling the faggots on the altar.

In intimating our opinion of the origin of sacrifice, we do not allow that the two phases of the question which have been set over against one another are intrinsically different. If offerings to the Divine Being proceeded at first from the best feelings of the human heart, their source may be termed *divine,* in one sense, because it lies in the πνεῦμα or *spirit*—the pure reason allied to the divine, and acted upon by spiritual influence. But if they were *expressly commanded* by Jehovah, we can perceive no rational method of His doing so in harmony with His nature. How did he enjoin their observance at first? Was it by an audible voice, by extraordinary signs, by miracles, or unusual phenomena in the air? None of these suppositions consists with the recognised method of communicating His will to mankind. The honour of God is not maintained by representing the appointment of sacrifice to have been made otherwise than through the consciousness of the divine in man. Rather is it injured by ill-judging advocates imposing upon Him a procedure of their own invention.

No express divine command for sacrifice is on record. Scripture is silent on the subject. The offerings of Cain and Abel are spoken of without a word respecting their divine appointment and authority. Nor can we logically infer from God's acceptance of Abel's offering a divine command for such worship. The silence of the Bible on so weighty a point becomes a strong presumption against the divine origin of sacrifice, when it is observed that the divine sanctification of the sabbath is expressly stated. The mention of the sabbath joined with the omission regarding sacrifice is decisive against the divine appointment of the latter, as Warburton has conclusively shewn.[1] When it is argued that the animals whose skins were given for clothing to our first parents must have been slain in sacrifice, and that their slaying was commanded, an inference is drawn for which there is no foundation. All that could be deduced from the fact would be simply this, as Davison argues;[2] since the skins of the living creatures were granted for raiment, their lives might be lawfully taken for sacrifice.

[1] Divine Legation of Moses, Book ix. chap. 2.

[2] Remains, p. 23.

Much profitless discussion has arisen about *the cause* of Abel's sacrifice being acceptable to God, while Cain's was rejected. It lies in the nature of the myth, whose purport was to exalt *nomadic* above *agricultural* life. We need not, therefore, proceed to examine what are thought *the first instances* of sacrifice; since the question whether the Deity originally commanded such offerings cannot well be debated on unhistorical ground. Even if the record were historical, the attempt made by Magee[1] to find proof in the text for an actual command to Cain to offer piacular sacrifice, is singularly unsuccessful. When Cain took it amiss that Abel's offering was accepted and his own refused, God said to him, "Why art thou wroth, and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well is there not serenity in that? But if thou doest not well sin lurks at the door, like an animal watching for its prey, directing its greedy desire towards thee. And wilt thou overcome it?" It is proposed to render the last clause, *a sin-offering coucheth at the door, i.e.*, an animal fit for a sin-offering is there, which thou mayest present in sacrifice and be accepted like Abel. The context is inconsistent with this interpretation, "and unto thee is its desire. And wilt thou overcome it?" Sin being personified as a power lying opposite man, ready to make him his prey, God here warns Cain against the movement of passion. He exhorts him to beat it down and overcome it at once, lest it entirely master him. What is *very near* is said to be *at the door*, ready to seize upon one. Kamphausen's rendering in Bunsen's Bibelwerk and in Studien and Kritiken for 1861 (p. 116 et seqq.), we cannot adopt.

At a very early period sacrifices were the most important part of divine worship among the Hebrews, as they were among all nations. The feeling out of which they sprung was one of gratitude. To express their thankfulness for favours received, or to procure their good will, peoples brought gifts to their deities. Such oblations consisted at first of things eatable or consumable; because a sensuous age did not distinguish between the spiritual and material. The productions of the earth, plants and vegetables, seem to have been the primitive offerings. They were probably accompanied by honey and milk. Animals were a later oblation.

In describing the antediluvian and patriarchal times, the Jehovist living long after the Levitical system had been established, transfers it to the earliest period. There is an anachronism here, the knowledge of which would have saved Davison the labour of attempting to prove that the evidence for atoning

[1] Discourses on the Atonement, vol. i. p. 48 et seqq. and Dissertations lxvi. lxvii.

oblations is wanting in the primitive and patriarchal religions, and of ejecting from Abel's sacrifice the virtue ascribed to it by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews.[1]

It has been thought, with considerable probability, that all sacrifices prior to the institution of the law were *holocausts* or *whole burnt-offerings*. Whether they were *expiatory* is a difficult point to determine, because the accounts of them proceed from a subsequent writer, who transfers Mosaic rites to the earliest times. Even with the belief that all is chronologically accurate, Davison undertakes to shew that the primitive and patriarchal offerings were *not* expiatory. He makes out his case, however, with doubtful success. One thing is unquestionable, viz., that *some* sacrifices *under the law* were really piacular—those offered for such transgressions as were not punished by the laws of the state, or which were only known to the conscience of the individual—in other words, *sin and trespass offerings*. What then was the idea which the people connected with the slaying of animals appropriated to these cases? What notion prompted the act of their presentation? We answer that they were regarded as possessing an atoning, expiatory power—that they were *substituted in place of* the sinner who brought them, bearing the punishment of his transgression and so procuring its pardon from God. By their means sins were *taken away* and *covered*. The Deity was appeased. This view is supported by Lev. xvii. 11: "For the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul." Here it is stated that the life of the animal, which was in the blood, was given for the life of the offerer. The נֶפֶשׁ of the former was in place of the נַפְשׁוֹת of the latter. The same opinion is confirmed by the fact of the blood being *sprinkled;* signifying that the life was scattered and annihilated. Something more therefore *was intended* than the mere slaying of the animals, as in the case of other bloody sacrifices. The act of sprinkling was *symbolical*, implying that the person who offered the sacrifice had forfeited his life; and that the life of the animal was forfeited instead. Another argument is founded on *the analogy of various other sacrifices*. Thus in the covenant-sacrifice, a heifer was divided into two pieces between which the contracting parties passed; signifying that if they were guilty of perjury, the same fate as the victim's might befal them (Jer. xxxiv. 18, etc., Gen. xv. 17). Thus the penalty that would overtake the offending party was represented by the death of the victim. There is *another rite* which shews the

[1] Remains, p. 63 et seqq.

same idea. A murder whose perpetrator was unknown was expiated by the elders and judges of the nearest city washing their hands over a slain heifer, and asserting that they had not shed the blood of the murdered man. Their guilt was thus supposed to be washed away and transferred to the victim. "Be merciful, O Lord, unto thy people Israel whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto thy people Israel's charge: and the blood shall be forgiven them" (Deut. xxi. 8). The substitution of the innocent for the guilty is also implied *in* the *ceremony of the scape-goat*, where the sins of the whole people were transferred to the head of the goat let loose, that it might carry them away. Thus the idea that one creature might take the place of another, and endure the punishment supposed to be due, is not foreign to the Old Testament. Vicarious satisfaction appears more or less plainly in various parts of the Bible. We see it in 2 Sam. xii. 14, 15, where the child born to David was punished with death for the sin of the father; and also in the same book, where his crime in numbering the people was expiated by three days' pestilence (xxiv. 10, etc.) It is likewise contained in Isaiah liii. 4, etc., where the suffering nation atones by its sorrows for the sins that had been committed; satisfaction being clearly intimated. In like manner, the substitution of piacular victims in place of sinners is supported by the use of the term חִטֵּא in Gen. xxxi. 39, where it means, with the accusative, *to atone for*, literally *to make good the loss of a thing*, implying *substitution* and *compensation*. The notion of *reparation* which it here conveys presupposes that of *substitution*. The word is used of *expiation* or *atonement*, in the book of Leviticus. So the term כֹּפֶר denoting the price of expiation, ransom, *an equivalent* to another thing; as appears from Isaiah xliii. 3, "I gave Egypt *for thy ransom*." The noun comes from the verb כִּפֶּר *to expiate*, primarily *to cover, i.e.*, to *remove* or *forgive* sin; and seems to shew that the idea *of substitution* is involved in the verb as applied to atonement.[1]

Traces of the same idea of atonement are found in other nations of antiquity. By means of piacular victims, it was thought that the anger of the gods and impending punishment were averted, because the slain animals suffered the penalty due to the offender, in his stead. Thus Herodotus relates, that among the Egyptians, imprecations were uttered over the heads of the victims in these words: "Should any evil be impending over us sacrificing, or over all Egypt, let it be turned upon this head." The historian adds, that the custom prevailed throughout the land.[2] To the same effect Cæsar writes of the Gauls, "the whole

[1] See De Wette, Opuscula, p. 20 et seqq.

[2] Lib. ii. cap. 39.

nation is exceedingly addicted to superstitious rites; on which account those who are visited with severer diseases, as well as persons amid battles and dangers, either immolate men for victims, or vow that they will immolate them, and use the Druids as instruments in such sacrifices, because they think that the immortal gods cannot be appeased otherwise than by giving up the life of a man for a man, etc."[1] The Romans had the same sentiments, as appears from Ovid:

> "Spare; a small victim dies for a small person,
> Take, I pray you, a heart for a heart, entrails for entrails;
> We give you this life for a better one."[2]

The author of the distichs bearing the name of Cato has the like idea.[3] The thing is aptly illustrated by a passage in Porphyry: "At first nothing with life was sacrificed to the gods; there was not even a law respecting it, because it was forbidden by the law of nature. But at certain times the story is that they first offer a victim, requiring a life for a life."[4] The Jewish doctors have the same view, viz., that a victim was offered up in place of him who brought it—an animal for a soul.[5]

Many objections have been made to this idea of sacrifice by Sykes, Sueskind, Steudel, Klaiber, Bähr, and others. Yet it appears to us the most natural, as it is most in harmony with the notions of the ancient Hebrews. Bähr's peculiar and artificial theory of symbolical substitution has been rightly rejected by Kurtz,[6] De Wette,[7] and Winer.[8]

Though the idea of expiation was not connected with the earliest sacrifices, we cannot deny the existence of piacular burnt-offerings before the law. We admit that it was not the primitive conception, or that which prompted the first offerings. Fruits of the earth were the oldest; and along with them such things as milk, honey, etc. Hence *the original* idea was that of gratitude for benefits received. As they were in use among the most ancient peoples, Abraham must have been accustomed to see them at Ur whence he emigrated. Because the gods were supposed to have bodily appetites like men, flesh was presented to them as an acceptable thing, either in a raw state or prepared in the way they liked best. This is a gross notion, but not improbable on that account. Sometimes the deity was gratified with the pleasant savour, when it was supposed he did not partake of the flesh. Abraham continued the practice of sacrifice. But

[1] De bello Gallico, Lib. vi. cap. 15.
[2] Fasti, Lib. vi. 160.
[3] See Grotius de Satisfactione, cap. 10.
[4] De abstinentia, Lib. iv. cap. 15.
[5] See chap. iii. of the book *Reschith Chochma;* and *Sepher Minhagim*, fol. 45, chap. ii.
[6] Mosaisches Opfer, p. 32, et seqq.
[7] Archaeologie, p. 267.
[8] Realwörterbuch, art. Sühnopfer, vol. ii., p. 544, third edition.

the God-consciousness that brought him forth from the surrounding idolatries, could not retain the heathen notion of sacrifice. In offering holocausts, he thought of the one true God, in whose immediate presence he lived and acted. The desire to preserve the favour of Jehovah, as well as gratitude for kindnesses already received, prompted him to present his offerings. Whether his mind was wholly free from the anthropomorphism of the heathen may be questioned; especially as we find a much later person, and one too who represented a national tradition not the oldest, employing the language, "the Lord smelled a sweet savour, and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more," etc. (Gen. viii. 21. See also Lev. i. 9, 13; Num. xv. 7.)

It is difficult to determine whether the idea of expiation which belonged to certain sacrifices under the law commonly termed *piacular*, originated with Moses himself, or was a later conception. Perhaps *sin and trespass-offerings* were not instituted by so wise a legislator *with that intent;* as if sins could in reality be expiated or blotted out by such means. We incline to the belief that, though he did not so appoint them, a later age viewed them in that light; for they are worded to imply it. They present in consequence a phase of deterioration. Burnt-offerings generally, or holocausts, to which a kind of piacular virtue had been long attached, were retained by Moses, who introduced the additional ceremony of imposition of hands, giving them increased significancy. It is well known that though the essential parts of the ritual in the Pentateuch proceeded from Moses himself, the composition and various portions did not. The Mosaic elements were in a high sense *divine*, because the legislator had the Spirit of God in large measure. The idea of *the theocracy* was a revelation to him. His consciousness of the divine was remarkably pure. So far forth his legal appointments may be called *divine*. Of course he did not believe that the blood of animals could in itself take away sin. Slain beasts were no more, in his view, than ethical signs intended to stimulate the conscience and keep alive a sense of sin. *Whether* and *how far* Moses and the Jews throughout the period covered by the Old Testament writings connected the death of Christ with the expiatory sacrifices of the law, we need not stop to inquire. The proof that he distinctly did so appears to us defective, at least in the canonical Jewish Scriptures. Indeed a suffering Messiah is not seen there; as all recent critics allow who have examined the subject without prejudice. Yet this fact is not inconsistent with the hypothesis, that when Moses instituted sacrifice with a symbolical intent out of the high sphere of God-consciousness, he may have perceived their ulti-

mate object. His consciousness, clear though it was up to a certain extent, may have been moved, without his personal knowledge towards the ordination of offerings of far-reaching import. It is because many think that the expiatory sacrifices of the law were *originally* designed as types of the Redeemer's atonement before the eyes of the Jews, that they assert a *direct* divine command for their institution. But it is unphilosophical, as well as unscriptural, to separate the divine and human by an irreconcilable gulf, as though the latter could not be harmoniously blended with the former. Instead of saying therefore that the rite of piacular sacrifice was a symbolical action *at its commencement*, we prefer calling it an *ethical symbol*, designed by Moses to influence the conscience. Awakened conscience prompted it. Moses perceived its natural operation on the hearts of a sinful people. It was to be a standing memorial of what the sinner deserved. There is no foundation in the Old Testament for asserting that the great legislator of the Jews *intended* it as a representation of the sufferings and death of Messiah, or a declaration of the doctrine included in that future fact. The latter part of Isaiah, rightly interpreted, does not justify that hypothesis; much less any psalm, or part of Daniel's prophecies.

Having thus considered the *sin and trespass-offerings in relation to their piacular power* we may observe, that burnt-offerings generally, or holocausts, (עֹלוֹת), the most common of all sacrifices, must be classed with the former so far as some idea of propitiation was associated with them. They were older than the sin and trespass-oblations, which arose indeed out of them, as a species referring to specific transgressions. They were a general symbolical expression of pious devotion to God, presented to him to gain his favour. But we cannot exclude from them some notion of expiation, though it was neither definite nor distinct, as in the case of *trespass and sin-offerings*. We have thus arrived at an answer to the question whether the sacrifices offered prior to Moses were *expiatory*. Being holocausts, they were so; though the notion of expiation attached to them was vague and indefinite. It was of a floating nature, not having reached clearness or definiteness. In retaining them, Moses had *ethical symbols* in view. But his design was imperfectly apprehended by a sensuous people, since we find that a specific power or efficacy to take away sin was afterwards attributed to them. Here was a return to the idea of ages prior to Moses, with the additional circumstance of giving it a fixity which it had not before. The ethical significancy was obscured in proportion as the offerings were supposed to have virtue in themselves of making satisfaction for sin.

But although constrained to reject the view, that "the ancient sacrifices were originally designed as symbols, emblems, and representations of the great work, for the effecting of which the Messiah was promised to fallen man,"[1] we believe that the feelings of the human mind which prompted them at first belonged to the high region of consciousness which is akin to the divine, the image of God being in it. That region of the mind has unconscious, as well as conscious, aspirations. It gropes after unseen and future realities. In this case, as in others, it *felt after* the great fact that purity of conscience is needed in man to bring him up to his true position. Such purity could not be attained by himself as he is. It could only be realised in loving communion of spirit with God. The power of Jehovah appearing in humanity could alone effect it fully. Hence the manifestation of Christ in his life and death was its ultimate accomplishment. The life and death of the Son of God in our own nature, becoming a motive power to raise men to be heirs of God, realised all the anticipations that lay beneath men's superstitious notions of sacrifice, cleansing the worshipper's conscience from dead works and creating him a new man, with the life of God active within him. The manifestation of Messiah to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself, was the very thing in which the undefined longings of the human heart, wandering and wayward, could repose with entire satisfaction. Their perfect consummation lay in that great fact.

[1] Pye Smith on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ, p. 19, second edition.

THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

I. CONTENTS.—The book of Numbers may be divided into the following sections:—

1. The numbering of the people by Moses, with Levitical regulations inserted, chapters i.–x. 10.

2. Description of their march from Sinai to Kadesh, with the occurrences at Kadesh and mount Hor, chapters x. 11–xxi. 3.

3. Breaking up of the encampment at Hor, with the march to Zared, and the conquest of Sihon or the country east of Jordan; journey to Bashan, and Balaam's utterances, chapters xxi. 4–xxiv.

4. Their settlement in the east-Jordan country, and second numbering of the people, with the law of inheritance, chapters xxv.–xxvii.

5. An additional section relating to offerings and vows, chapters xxviii.–xxx.

6. This division consists of various appendixes relating to the spoiling of the Midianites, the division of the prey, a list of the Israelite encampments, boundaries of the promised land, free cities, and a law about the inheritance of daughters, chapters xxxi.–xxxvi.

God commands Moses to take a census of the people. After mentioning the princes of the tribes, the number of every tribe is given. The census was made on the first day of the second month of the year; and included all the males from twenty years old and upward who were fit for war, except those of the tribe of Levi. The whole number was found to be 603,550, *i.e.*, Reuben, 46,500; Simeon, 59,300; Gad, 45,650; Judah, 74,600; Issachar, 54,400; Zebulun, 57,400; Ephraim, 40,500; Manasseh, 32,200; Benjamin, 35,400; Dan, 62,700; Asher, 41,500; Naphtali, 53,400. The tribe of Judah was the most powerful and numerous; that of Manasseh the least so. The reason why the Levites were exempted was, because they had to attend to the service of the Lord. After this, the position of each tribe in the camp is determined. On every one of the four sides of the

tabernacle three tribes were to pitch their tents, each tribe under its own general, and each division composed of the three tribes with one exception commanded by the general of the most numerous of the three. The camp of Judah, in the east or front of the tabernacle, embraced the tribe of Judah with those of Issachar and Zebulun. The western camp, *i.e.*, the camp of Ephraim, embraced the three tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin. The camp of Reuben on the south embraced the three tribes of Reuben, Simeon, and Gad. The fourth camp on the north, that of Dan, embraced that of Dan, Asher, and Naphtali. The Levites are now numbered; that tribe having been set apart to the service of the Lord in place of the first-born of all the tribes. It now consisted of three families descended from Levi's three sons Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. The entire number of them, including all the males above a month old, was 22,300, according to verses 22, 28, 34; but 22,000 according to the thirty-ninth verse, which latter is followed in the context; as we see from the forty-third and forty-sixth verses. Various hypotheses have been resorted to for the purpose of removing the contradiction. Thus Kennicott conjectures that instead of ר in the twenty-second verse, equivalent to 200, a copyist wrote by mistake ך final, *i.e.*, 500, which reconciles the numbers. But it is not likely that the final letters were so ancient. Houbigant and Michaelis account for the discrepancy by supposing the accidental omission of the letter ל in שלשׁ (verse 28), whence the word became שׁשׁ six. It is more usual to regard 300 as the number of the first-born, which is deducted from the gross amount of the Levitical family. But this solution, as Kurtz remarks,[1] is untenable, because if the first-born are not numbered among the Levites, the point must have been regarded in the partial sums as well as the sum total. Besides, the small number of the first-born, 300, is ill-proportioned to that of the whole people, being in relation to 22,300 only one to seventy-four. Here, however, it has been said without authority, that when the first child was a female, no first-born was reckoned in a family; and that first-born sons who were themselves heads of families did not come into the census. Equally unauthorised is Palfrey's assertion that two, three, and four generations composed one family; and that in each domestic establishment there was reckoned only one first-born, who was the head of the family after the common ancestor.[2]

Each of the three Levitical families under the direction of its own chief had a peculiar charge, to be executed by its males of

[1] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 336.
[2] Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures, etc., vol. i. p. 317, note

an age from thirty to fifty years old. The number of the first-born males belonging to all the tribes being ascertained as 273 more than that of the males of the Levitical family for whom they had been exchanged, each one of the 273 was allowed to be redeemed at the price of five shekels; and was thus exempted from the priestly service.

The fourth chapter contains a particular account of what the Levitical families had to do respectively; with the entire number of each. The Kohathites, 2750 in number, were to have charge of the furniture of the sanctuary when on the march; removing and replacing it when the camp was broken up and formed. The Gershonites, 2630 in number, were to take care of the curtains, coverings, and hangings of the tabernacle. The Merarites, 3200 in number, had charge of the boards, bars, pillars, sockets, pins, cords, etc., of the sacred edifice; all the solid parts. The last two parties were under the direction of Ithamar, Aaron's son; and all three under Eleazar. In the camp, the Kohathites were to pitch on the south side of the tabernacle, the Gershonites on the west side, and the Merarites on the north side; whereas the tents of Moses and the priests were to be on the east, before the tabernacle.

The direction respecting the exclusion from the camp of lepers and others affected with ceremonial uncleanness, was already given in the book of Leviticus (compare Lev. xiii. 46, xi. 39, 40, xv. 1–13). Why it is repeated here cannot be easily seen. Nothing is ordained respecting the leper in this place that had not been said before. It has been thought by Palfrey,[1] that the law respecting lepers is repeated in order to be extended to the other cases of uncleanness, which, though before treated, had been subject to a less rigid regulation. Not very different is the opinion of Ranke,[2] who, in endeavouring to shew the propriety of the position occupied by the verses v. 1–4, supposes that there is a farther development of the rule in Leviticus, to which reference is had, and which is shewn to be seriously meant as well as more rigorously enforced. But where is the evidence that the regulation here given is later than the corresponding one in Leviticus? The truth seems to be, that the two betray different writers originally, though they are now in the Elohist. This is followed by a law respecting restitution in the case of trespasses. In Lev. vi. 6, 7, it had been enacted, that the guilty person, besides the trespass-offering, should make restitution to the aggrieved party by giving a fifth part of the price at which the injury done was rated. To this it is here annexed, that should the injured party

[1] Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures, etc., vol. i. pp. 323, 324.
[2] Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, ii. p. 140.

have died and left no legal representative, the faulty person should still pay to the priest the due amount of restitution. A more appropriate place for this additional point, would have been Lev. v. 19, etc., to which it is an appendix. Ranke[1] fails to justify its present place. It is added that it should be at the option of the offerer to give the oblation to whatever priest he pleased; to whom it should afterward belong. The rest of the chapter is occupied with the law of jealousies—an ordeal by which the innocence or guilt of a suspected wife might be established beyond question. We agree with those who think that the custom was more ancient than Moses, and that it is not now enjoined for the first time by divine authority, as if it were a new process, but is merely divested of its atrocities and placed under the supervision of the priests. An old test is retained in deference to the popular superstitions which it would not have been wise to resist altogether. Doubtless the ordeal prescribed would tend to prevent the crime of adultery, operating as a salutary check. The jealousy of the Orientals has led most of them to resort to similar expedients, of which we find numerous traces.

The sixth chapter contains the law of the Nazarites, *i.e.*, persons who voluntarily took upon them vows of peculiar sanctity. It is enacted that they should abstain from the use of wine and strong drink, from every natural or manufactured product of the vine, allow their hair to grow long, refrain from mourning for nearest relatives, and not approach any dead body. Should they happen to be polluted by the sight of a dead body, they were to be purified seven days in the usual way prescribed. On the eighth day they were to begin again the series of consecrated days; and when the term specified in the vow had expired, they were appointed to come to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation and offer sacrifices of all the different kinds. It is probable that this was an Egyptian custom, not a new institution. The Egyptians and other ancient nations were accustomed to allow their hair to grow in honour of particular deities. The Hebrew legislator, however, exercising a prudence suited to the circumstances, did not suddenly abrogate the custom, though he manifestly disapproved of it; but merely regulated it, prescribing such accompaniments as would make it inconvenient, costly, troublesome, and infrequent. In this manner it would gradually fall into disuse. When practised it was performed with reference to the true God, and not in honour of idols. The manner in which the Nazarite vow is introduced favours the view of its having been an existing usage: "When

[1] Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, ii. p. 113 et seqq.

either man or woman shall separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves," etc. This is followed by the form of benediction which Aaron and the priests were directed to pronounce upon the people.

The seventh chapter enumerates the offerings presented by the princes of the several tribes for the sanctuary. These were made, from Judah to Naphtali, in the order in which the respective tribes were arranged round the tabernacle. Each brought an ox; and every two a wagon for transporting the tabernacle at the breaking up of the camp. Each besides contributed a silver charger worth 130 shekels, and a silver bowl of 70 shekels, both full of fine flour mixed with oil for a meat-offering; one golden spoon, ten shekels in weight, full of incense; one young bullock, one ram, one lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering, one kid of the goats for a sin-offering, two oxen, five rams, five he-goats, and five lambs of the first year for a sacrifice of peace-offerings. Each prince brought his gifts and offerings on one day; Nahshon prince of Judah commencing the series. All these were free-will gifts, by which the princes manifested their zeal for the earthly habitation of Jehovah. The oxen and wagons were distributed among the Levites. The last verse of the chapter has a fragmentary aspect, as if it had belonged to a larger section and had been inserted in the present place without regard to the order or connection. "When Moses was gone into the tabernacle of the congregation to speak *with him*" (אִתּוֹ). Nothing appears in the context to which אִתּוֹ alludes. Ranke refers to the parallel instance of Psalm civ. 2, where a pronoun stands abruptly in the same way.[1] But the parallel scarcely justifies the pronoun without an antecedent, because Psalm civ. was either a part of the preceding one at first; or the name of God is designedly suppressed that the questions in the fifth and sixth verses might appear more natural and striking. Besides, poetry uses a license which prose cannot employ. If the pronoun's reference be left for the reader to gather from the whole chapter, and from Ex. xxv. 22 more especially, this could scarcely be attributed to a writer like Moses, because it would shew loose inaccuracy. Houbigant refers the pronoun to the eleventh verse of the chapter, where the Lord is represented as speaking to Moses; and supposes that the relation in the eighty-ninth verse is a continuation of the eleventh. But this is not natural. Rosenmüller[2] again takes the verse as introductory to the eighth chapter. But in that case there is an unnecessary repetition, viz., verse 89, "and he spake unto him" immediately followed

[1] Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, ii. p. 160 et seqq. [2] Scholia ad. vers.

by viii. 1, "and the Lord spake unto Moses," etc. The verse in question seems to us a detached fragment originally belonging to a larger paragraph, which the redactor put here without respect to order or connection, as Vater[1] long ago thought; and Ranke, with all his laboured wordiness, has not succeeded in justifying the propriety of the place it now occupies. Knobel merely contents himself with saying that it is loosely attached to the preceding context.[2]

It has been thought by some that the seventh chapter occupies a wrong place. It should, as they suppose, be after Ex. xl. 16, where the erection and anointing of the tabernacle are described. Appeal is made to the expression בְּיוֹם *in the day*, in the first verse, *the day of dedication;* and also to the tenth verse. It is evident, however, that no stress can be laid on the word בְּיוֹם here; for the literal sense of it is contradicted by the fact that the presentation occupied twelve days. We are unable to see the alleged unsuitableness of the position occupied by the chapter. There is no reason for believing that these donations were made immediately after the dedication of the tabernacle. This appears from the sixth and seventh verses, where the gifts of wagons and oxen are mentioned, and these were not needed till after the separate services of the Levites had been assigned, not long before the breaking up of the camp which suggested them. The arrangement of the respective tribes round about the tabernacle made at the beginning of the second month is also presupposed; inasmuch as the donations of the princes are presented in the same order. And it is not difficult to observe an increase in the liberality of the people. When the tabernacle with its furniture was erected, the congregation of Israel had contributed most liberally, but they had done so at the request of Moses and the command of Jehovah (Ex. xxv. 2, xxxv. 5). While therefore there was nothing compulsory in their contributions, they were suggested from without. After such gracious manifestations of God, it might have been expected that the gratitude of the people would give expression to itself in perfectly spontaneous offerings, of which the preceding were only a foretaste; and this takes place accordingly. The free effusion of thankful hearts is exhibited in the donations specified in the chapter. Hence the liberality of the congregation had advanced to a higher stage.

The eighth chapter commences with directions respecting the lighting of the lamps; after which the ceremonies for consecrating the Levites are given. The term of their service is then stated, somewhat differently from its mention before.

[1] Commentar ueber den Pentateuch, iii. p. 89. [2] Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 34.

In the first fourteen verses of the ninth chapter, the passover was commanded to be kept on the fourteenth day of the first month of the second year after the exodus, and it was observed accordingly. A question arose respecting its observance, which had now to be settled. Certain men who had been defiled by a dead body could not keep the passover on the day appointed, and consulted Moses about their duty. On asking the Lord, he received the direction that whoever was hindered by uncleanness or unavoidable absence from keeping the passover on the proper day, should observe it on the same day of the second month. This paragraph is followed by a statement of the signal by which the encampment and marches were regulated. When the cloud was lifted up from the tabernacle, the Israelites journeyed; when it rested upon it, they abode in their tents.

In addition to the *visible* signal of the fiery cloud, *audible* signals were appointed. Two silver trumpets were to be blown by the priests for various purposes, civil, ecclesiastical, and military.

On the 20th day of the second month, in the second year, the Israelites took their departure from the wilderness of Sinai where they had been encamped for the space of eleven months, and rested in Paran. The order of their march is minutely given. Moses earnestly requests Hobab to remain with him as his guide. This appears to indicate that the pillar of cloud and fire did not supersede the necessity of human prudence and precaution. It could not have served as a complete guide for every purpose, else the urgent request of Moses to Hobab would be unmeaning. The stopping and marching could only have been indicated by it in a general way, leaving considerable latitude for human judgment. The few words which Moses used when the ark removed and rested, are supposed by Palfrey,[1] with great probability, to have been the first verses of hymns employed on these occasions.

The eleventh chapter commences with the relation of a fire which consumed persons that were in the uttermost parts of the camp. It is said to have arisen because the people complained. Different explanations of the fire have been adopted. Some think that the camp was struck by lightning, and that this set fire to the dry shrubbery among which the Israelites had pitched their camp. Le Clerc and Faber refer it to the simoom, a fiery pestilential wind. Drusius, followed by Palfrey, refers it to the divine displeasure. According to this, there is a concise statement in the first three verses of the pestilence afterwards related. The Israelites thought that the deadly disease was inflicted upon

[1] Academical Lectures, vol. i. p. 340.

them by God as a punishment for their murmuring. But we prefer the view which looks upon the camp as struck with lightning; an occurrence which the Israelites, in common with all rude peoples, attributed to the displeasure of God. The manner in which the fourth verse is introduced is not very natural, on the supposition that the three preceding verses furnish a concise statement of the more detailed narrative commencing with it. The place was called *Taberah*, because of the fire. At Moses's intercession the fire was quenched. Scarcely, however, had it been extinguished, when the spirit of discontent, which had been smothered, but not wholly suppressed, appeared again in reckless complaint. The "mixed multitude," or in other words, those who had accompanied the Israelites from Egypt, broke out into mutinous language on account of their limited supply of food, so different from the abundant variety they had enjoyed in Egypt. The discontent soon spread among the Israelites. Under such circumstances Moses complains of the heavy responsibility resting on his shoulders. In answer to the twofold complaint of his servant, Jehovah provides a twofold consolation and help. He is directed to choose seventy men who should divide the burden with him; and is commissioned to promise the people a miraculous provision for a whole month. Accordingly flocks of quails are driven by the wind, and spread round about the camp. But while the unwholesome food is yet between their teeth, a pestilence breaks out, to which numbers fall victims.

When it is said that the quails were "two cubits high upon the face of the earth," the meaning is not that they lay in heaps of that height round about the camp, but that they flew at that distance above the ground. The latter is given by the Vulgate, Jonathan, Philo, and others. But the Psalmist (in Ps. lxxviii. 26, etc.) appears to have understood the passage in the former sense, when he says, "He caused an east wind to blow in the heaven; and by his power he brought in the south wind. He rained flesh also upon them as dust, and feathered fowls like as the sand of the sea; and he let it fall in the midst of their camp, round about their habitations." It is not necessary, however, to press this sense, as if it implied that the quails lay piled up in heaps of two cubits high to the distance of a day's journey on every side of the camp. The prefix כ in כְּאַמֹּתַיִם, as Kurtz remarks,[1] appears to forbid that interpretation. Nor is it meant that there were heaps of such height scattered here and there with empty spaces between, through which the people could go when gathering them; as Rosenmüller after Bochart

[1] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 379.

imagines. In consequence of the great mortality among the Israelites from eating too many quails, the name of the place was called Kibroth-hattaavah. Thence they journeyed to Hazeroth.

The twelfth chapter relates the jealousy and disaffection of Miriam and Aaron against Moses. The cause is said to have been his having married an Ethiopian or rather Cushite woman, while his relatives intimate that Jehovah spake by *them* as well as by *him*. Miriam and Aaron were called out to the tabernacle of the congregation; and Jehovah, descending in the pillar of cloud, announced from it that his servant Moses was entrusted with all his house, and that there was none equal to him among all the prophets. Miriam was smitten with leprosy. Aaron was spared, perhaps on account of his immediate repentance; and besought Moses to intercede for his sister. At his prayer accordingly she was healed, but was shut out of the camp, as unclean, for the space of seven days, at the end of which time the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched their camp in Paran.

It has been questioned whether the Cushite woman whom Moses married be identical with Zipporah. Against their identity it has been said that Zipporah was a *Midianite*, not a *Cushite*. Bochart[1] has laboured to shew that the Midianites and the Cushites are the same people, which hardly agrees with Gen. x. 6. The name *Cush* as a geographical designation is of wide significance, comprehending a large and undefined extent of territory. It is possible that Miriam and Aaron might have used the name in a limited sense, and with a contemptuous reference to Zipporah as a Cushite or Hamite. It appears to us, however, that the additional clause in the first verse of the twelfth chapter, "for he had married an Ethiopian (Cushite) woman," is adverse to any other acceptation of the appellation than the usual and proper one. Nor is it likely that Miriam and Aaron would have become ill-affected against their brother *now*, on account of a woman whom he had married forty years before. The case is scarcely met by the remark or assumption that as Moses was now raised to so peculiar an authority over his countrymen, his alliance with a foreigner might be seized on as a ground of complaint, and his obligation to divorce her be urged. Although therefore this marriage is never spoken of in any other place, it is more probable that another than Zipporah is meant. We must suppose either that Moses had married the Cushite woman before his flight from Egypt; or that he had espoused her shortly before in the wilderness. According to the latter, Zipporah was dead; for the Mosaic law, though

[1] Phaleg. iv. 2.

tolerating, did not sanction polygamy. Cushites may have been found among the mixed people who had accompanied the Israelites out of Egypt; or a Cushite tribe may have been in the desert with which Moses came in contact.

At the command of God Moses sends out twelve men, one from each tribe, to explore the land of Canaan and report what kind of people and cities it possessed. They traversed the whole country from north to south, and returned after forty days to the camp at Kadesh, bringing with them from a valley in the vicinity of Hebron, called Eshcol, a cluster of grapes, with specimens of pomegranates and figs, in attestation of the fertility of the land. They related, however, that its inhabitants were so powerful and so well secured in their fenced cities, that it would be idle to attempt to dispossess them. Thus they brought back an evil report. But Joshua and Caleb were of a different opinion, and endeavoured to animate the people, assuring them that with proper energy, and confidence in the promises of God, they might at once make a successful inroad and conquer the land. This news led the people to murmur against Moses and Aaron, and to express a strong wish to return to Egypt under the leadership of a new captain. Though Joshua and Caleb endeavoured to still them, the people were only the more excited, and had almost stoned them. God threatens to smite them with the pestilence; but Moses intercedes for them, and obtains pardon. They are told that theyshould not enter into the land, except Joshua and Caleb; but that their children should be brought into it. The ten men who had returned with the evil report are suddenly cut off. Ashamed of their late fears, and deeply grieving for their misconduct, the people now persist in attacking a party of the inhabitants of the country contrary to Moses's remonstrances, but are defeated with great slaughter, and driven back to Hormah.

The fifteenth chapter contains some new Levitical regulations. Additions were to be made to the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, when the people should have come into possession of Canaan. The same law is also prescribed for the stranger or transient sojourner in the country. It is enacted besides, that a loaf made from the first gatherings of all kinds of grain should be brought to the priests by each householder. This of course was additional to the two loaves already prescribed, and was only to take effect after the establishment in Canaan. Whoever violated these laws regarding offerings, ignorantly, was to manifest his repentance by presenting a sin-offering; but whoever transgressed them *presumptuously* was to be cut off from the people. We have next an incident related of a sabbath-breaker, who was detected in the act of gathering sticks on the seventh day.

After Moses had sought divine direction as to the manner in which execution should take place, the culprit is stoned. This is given as an example of the sins of presumption just mentioned, and the punishment there threatened. The chapter concludes with a brief regulation respecting fringes and blue ribands on the national dress, as a sort of livery or badge, to remind the people that they were a kingdom of priests, a holy nation.

While the Israelites were still at Kadesh a new rebellion broke out. The Levite Korah formed a conspiracy with the Reubenites, Dathan, Abiram, and On, to overthrow the new arrangements. Alleging that the entire congregation was holy, they thought that Moses and Aaron had no right to raise themselves above others. The intention was to place Korah at the head of a priesthood chosen out of the different tribes by the voice of the people, and to re-instate the tribe of Reuben in the lost privileges of birth-right. Two hundred and fifty leading men had been gained over by the conspirators. Moses separated the people from the tents occupied by the rebels. An earthquake "swallowed up all the men that appertained unto Korah, and their houses, and all their goods;" while on the following day, a sudden plague cut off many thousands for their discontent, until Aaron presented himself with incense on behalf of the people, and the plague was stayed.

The seventeenth chapter relates how every one of the twelve tribes brought his staff marked with the name of the prince of the tribe to the tabernacle, and awaited the divine decision respecting the precedence of one of their number, to be given in a miraculous form. When examined on the following day, Aaron's rod was found to have budded, blossomed, and yielded almonds; while the other eleven remained in the state they had been, as deposited in the tabernacle before the Lord. Accordingly the former was laid up in the holy of holies before the ark of the covenant, as a standing memorial against the rebels. Such is the miraculous testimony given in Aaron's favour. Probably the object of it was not to establish his priesthood, since that seems to have been already done by the divine judgment on the rebels; but rather to shew the heads of the tribes that he was superior to them all.

The eighteenth chapter contains a repetition of provisions already given, with several additional ones, respecting the revenues of the sacerdotal order. The tithes are now appropriated to the Levites, who are enjoined to give a tenth part of *their* tithes to the priests. The priests are to have no inheritance among the children of Israel, but are to be dispersed throughout the tribes.

The nineteenth chapter prescribes a new ceremony for the cleansing of such as had been defiled by coming in contact with the dead. The ashes of a red heifer, slain without the camp with certain formalities, are to be thrown into water, and that water kept for the purpose of sprinkling any person or thing that may have been defiled by a dead body or a grave. When sprinkling by a clean person took place on the third day after defilement, and also on the seventh, it was removed. Spencer has endeavoured to shew, with great learning,[1] that the ceremonies respecting the red heifer were directed against the superstitious worship of the Egyptians; but there is much uncertainty respecting the allusion.

The twentieth chapter commences with the arrival of the Israelites at Kadesh, apparently on the first month of the fortieth year after the exodus. If they were at Kadesh before, towards the end of the second year, they come to it again after an interval of more than thirty-seven years. Thus there would be a large chasm in the history, between the last verse of the nineteenth chapter and the first of the twentieth. All the generation of grown men who came out of Egypt had died in the meantime, with a few exceptions. Miriam now dies. Distressed by want of water the people murmur against Moses and Aaron. Upon this the two leaders are commanded to take the rod and speak to the rock, to bring forth water from it. On account of the offence the brothers committed in this transaction, particularly Moses, they are told that they should not witness the entrance into the promised land. The sin committed has been variously explained. In the twelfth verse we read, "Because ye believed me not to sanctify me in the eyes of the children of Israel," etc., but this does not specify the fault. Some suppose that Moses erred in smiting the rock with his stick when he was commanded to *speak* to it. This however is improbable, because he was commanded to take his rod; which would have been unnecessary had words alone been sufficient. Others think that the act of smiting the rock twice instead of once, indicated a mind impatient of delay and hesitating. Others again conceive, that Moses and Aaron claimed for themselves the power to perform the miracle, instead of giving all the glory to God: "Hear now, ye rebels, must *we* fetch you water out of this rock?" It appears that Moses was excited by the unbelieving obstinacy of the people, and lost at the moment that calm, thoughtful confidence in God which became his position and character. Impatient and petulant he addressed the people in a harsh tone, striking the rock *twice* as if he doubted

[1] De legibus Hebræorum, Lib. ii. cap xiv.

whether the first sign should succeed or not. His general air, manner, and language, betrayed feelings not right in the sight of God. The Psalmist says, that "Moses spake unadvisedly with his lips" (cvi. 33) so that he *spake* and acted rashly. He forgot his official position as mediator between Jehovah and the Israelites. The place was called Meribah, on account of the transactions which took place there. It is likely, that since the former unsuccessful attempt to enter Canaan from the south, the plan of invading it on that side had been abandoned. The course now proposed was to penetrate into it from the east, over the Jordan. The nearest way to this end led through the territory of the Edomites. Hence Moses sent messengers to the king of Edom to ask an unobstructed passage along the king's high-way or great road. But the request was refused; and therefore he directed the march of the people round the mountainous district they could not pass through. On its way the host arrived at mount Hor, where Aaron died after transferring his office with its insignia to his eldest son Eleazar. The people mourned for him thirty days.

The twenty-first chapter commences with an account of the attack made upon the Israelites by the king of Arad, a district on the southern slope of the Canaanite high land, inhabited by an Amorite race. When he heard of the approach of the people by the way of Atarim, he fell upon them unawares, and took some of them prisoners. In consequence of this, the Israelites vowed that if the cities of this king were delivered into their hands they would utterly destroy them. The proposed undertaking was successful, for several cities were plundered and destroyed. Hence the place was called Hormah, *i.e., anathema* or utter destruction. After leaving mount Hor and passing by the head of the Red Sea they gained the unoccupied territory to the east of Idumea. Here being discouraged because of the way, they broke out into murmurings. Hence they were plagued with venemous serpents having a fiery bite. Moses interceding for the cure of those who had been stung, was commanded to make the brazen image of a serpent, by looking at which they should be healed. After marching northward, the host arrived at Ije-abarim on the south-eastern border of Moab. Having crossed the Arnon and arrived in the territory of the Amorites, they sent a friendly message to Sihon the king, asking a free passage through his territory to the Jordan. The Amorite king not only refused their request, but marched out against them with an armed force. The Israelites were victorious and took possession of all the Amorite country. Og, king of Bashan, seeing his country in danger, prepared to attack the Israelites, as Sihon had done. But he met with the

same fate, at Edrei. Having taken possession of Bashan, the Israelites encamped in the plains of Moab, in sight of the Jordan, over against Jericho.

Balak, king of Moab, alarmed on account of the victories of the Israelites, now proceeded to take measures for securing himself against invasion. With this view he entered into a league with the neighbouring Midianites. Not trusting however entirely to the power of the sword, and wishing to deprive the Israelites of the protection of their God and to convert the blessing they enjoyed into a curse, he resolved to summon to his aid a magician who lived in the distant east, Balaam, son of Beor, whose fame for supernatural powers was extensively spread. Accordingly Balak sent messengers to Pethor in Mesopotamia, with large gifts, inviting Balaam to come and lay the Israelites under a curse which would paralyse their strength. But the diviner did not venture to promise without having first consulted God and received his answer. This was unfavourable, and therefore he refused to accompany the messengers on their return. Balak, however, sent a second deputation consisting of more honourable men, prepared to make still more liberal promises. The magician refused to go beyond the word of Jehovah. But instead of sending them away forthwith, he tried once more to obtain God's consent. Accordingly he was told by night to go with the messengers, but to do only what he should be divinely enjoined. Upon this he eagerly availed himself of the permission, and departed with the messengers. By the way, an occurrence happened which was well adapted to convince him of his perverse purpose. The anger of the Lord was kindled; and an angel met him on the way with drawn sword, as though he would oppose his progress. But the seer's eye was blinded by the lust of earthly possessions; so that he was unaware of the threatening danger. The ass he rode saw the angel of the Lord, and turned aside out of the way into a field. After the terrified ass had been repeatedly smitten by Balaam, the Lord opened her mouth, and she expostulated with him on the harsh treatment. The magician's eyes were now opened, and he saw the angel with drawn sword standing in the way. He then confessed his sin, and with half-hearted submission to the divine will offered to return. But Jehovah would not allow that; and Balaam continued his journey with the messengers. Arrived at Balak's camp he was received with great distinction by the king; whose joy however must have been damped by the declaration of the seer that he was come to say nothing but what Jehovah should put into his mouth. On the morrow Balak took Balaam to the heights of Baal, whence the seer could survey the whole Israelitish camp. There

seven altars were erected, on each of which not only Balaam himself, but Balak also, sacrificed a bullock and a ram to procure Jehovah's favour. On this the seer withdrew, repairing to a hill to prepare himself, after the manner of heathen soothsayers, for prophetic utterances. Returning thence, he announced the words which Jehovah had put into his mouth. Displeased with the oracular utterance, which brought blessing instead of cursing to his enemies, Balak consoled himself with the hope that the place chosen was unfavourable. Hence he took the magician to the field of watchmen, to the top of Pisgah, where but a small part of the camp could be seen. Here the same formalities were gone through as on the heights of Baal; and Balaam took up his parable. When the second attempt had miscarried, Balak seemed inclined to have nothing more to do with Balaam, who had so grievously disappointed his expectations. Yet he resolved upon a third experiment, and took him to another place. This time he conducted him to the top of mount Peor, whence he had a full survey of the entire camp of Israel. There altars were erected, and victims offered as before; but the seer omitted the seeking of enchantments. When he lifted up his eyes and saw Israel encamped according to their tribes, the Spirit of God came upon him and he prophesied. At last Balak's anger was kindled against the seer, and he drove him away from his presence. But before the latter took his departure, he was impelled by the Spirit to finish his discourse; and therefore he informed the king of Moab what glory should attend Israel, and what destruction should come upon the hostile heathen nations.

The twenty-fifth chapter relates how the Israelites were persuaded by the Midianites and Moabites to commit whoredom and idolatry at Shittim, by joining in the superstitious and impure rites of the god Baal-peor. Hence Moses ordered the judges of Israel to proceed with summary vengeance against the guilty. The anger of Jehovah also broke out in a plague, which cut off twenty-four thousand. In consequence of the zeal manifested by Phinehas in killing Zimri and Cozbi, he and his seed were rewarded with an everlasting priesthood. Upon this the Israelites were commanded to requite the hypocritical, cunning friendship of the Midianites wth open enmity. But before it could be carried into execution a new census must be taken. Accordingly the sum of all the people from twenty years old and upward, was added up by Moses and Eleazar. And since this enumeration was preparatory not merely to the equipment of an army against Midian, bnt also to the division of the promised land which was about to be conquered, the command to appoint Joshua as Moses's successor is appropriately

appended. When the daughters of Zelophehad understood that their father's family was to be excluded from a share in the territory of its tribe, for want of male representatives, they came to Moses sueing for an inheritance, who gave the law in all similar cases, viz., that if the possessor of land died without male children, his daughters were to inherit it; and in default of direct heirs in the female line, it was to go to his brothers; if he had no brothers, it was to go to his father's brothers; and then to his nearest collateral kinsman. The numerical statements respecting the present census, compared with the former one at Sinai forty years before, are remarkable in some respects. The sum of the whole is less by nearly 2,000, or exactly 603,550 — 601,730 = 1820. The differences in the tribes of Simeon and Manasseh are most remarkable. The former is reduced by 37,300, *i.e.*, 59,300 — 22,000 = 37,300. The latter is increased by 20,500, *i.e.*, 52,700 — 32,200 = 20,500. It has been supposed that the 24,000 who fell in the last plague belonged, for the most part, to Simeon; for Zimri, a prince of this tribe, may have led many others astray by his example. The increase of Manasseh, on the other hand, has been explained by the Lord's blessing upon the house of Joseph; although this is properly no explanation at all, unless a miracle be arbitrarily assumed.

The twenty-eighth chapter, as well as the twenty-ninth, contains particulars belonging to the Levitical legislation. Some things already prescribed are repeated, and new particulars added. Thus in relation to the continual burnt-offering it is enjoined for the first time, that the offerings on every Sabbath day should be tripled. The ritual for the celebration of the first day of every month is now specified to consist of a sin-offering of a goat, and a burnt offering consisting of two young bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with appropriate accompaniments of flour and oil. Additions are made to the ritual of the passover and pentecost. So too with regard to the feast of trumpets and the day of atonement. The feast of tabernacles now receives a new ritual.

The thirtieth chapter relates to vows, prescribing such regulations as should tend to diminish their frequency. The vows of men could not be broken. If a vow were made by an unmarried daughter, it was not binding unless the father knew of it and gave his consent. So too the vow of a wife was of no force unless the husband were acquainted with it and gave his assent. The vows of widows and divorced women could not be broken.

In the thirty-first chapter we are told that Moses was divinely commanded to take vengeance on the Midianites for their

recent treachery. Accordingly 12,000 armed men were sent forth to attack them. Their five kings and all the males were slain; Balaam among them. All the women had been taken captives and their little ones; but Moses was wroth at this, and commanded that they too should be put to death, except the females among the little ones, and the virgins. The division of the booty made by Moses and Eleazar is peculiar. The total consisting of 675,000 sheep, 72,000 beeves, 61,000 asses, 32,000 persons, was separated into two parts, of which one was given to those who had gone to the war; the other to such as had not been sent. A five-hundredth part of the warrior's portion is allowed to the priests; and a fiftieth part of the other half to the Levites. The officers also presented a voluntary offering at the sanctuary. This arrangement was to regulate in future the division of spoil obtained in military expeditions.

The tribes of Reuben and Gad, who were very rich in cattle, now present a request to Moses and Eleazar that the territory east of Jordan, which had been recently conquered and was well adapted for grazing, might be allotted to them as their inheritance. Moses reproved them, supposing that their designs were not good or honorable. But they satisfied him that they were willing to take their due share in the invasion of the land west of Jordan. Accordingly he no longer refused their proposal, though he introduced a modification, viz., that the half tribe of Manasseh, which had been very zealous in conquering the land, should also have its inheritance there. These two tribes and a half, therefore, divided the eastern territory among them; Reuben taking the most southern portion, Gad the middle, and Manasseh the northern part. Their next care was to rebuild and fortify a number of the destroyed cities, for the security of their families and flocks.

The thirty-third chapter contains a list of successive stages which the Israelites travelled, from the time they left their adode in Egypt till they were ready to invade the promised land. Forty-two stations are given, which cannot comprehend the names of all the places at which they halted during their wandering, but only the principal ones—those where they stayed the longest. This is followed by an injunction given by Moses to the Israelites, that they should drive out the Canaanites from Palestine as soon as possession of it was taken, and destroy the monuments of their idolatry. All the country was to be divided by lot.

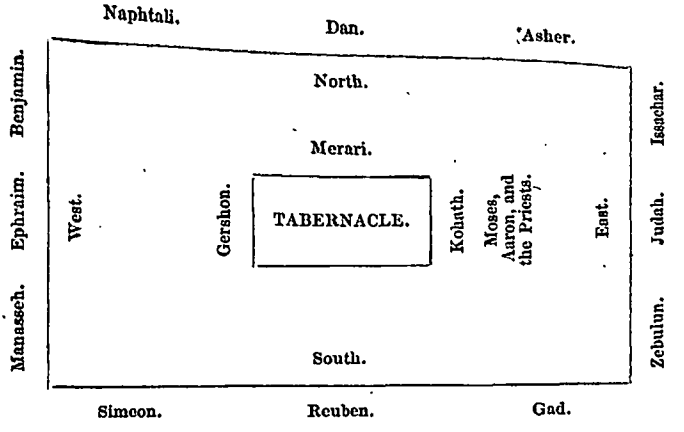
In the thirty-fourth chapter there is a statement of the boundaries of the promised land. The southern boundary is represented by a line along the great desert of Sin to the Medi-

terranean. But the description of the boundaries is obscure, and perplexed with many difficulties. Twelve men, a prince from each tribe, are appointed to superintend the division of Canaan.

When the distribution of territory should be made, Moses ordains that forty-eight cities with their suburbs, shall be assigned to the Levites, each tribe to give according to its inheritance. Six of them are to be appropriated as cities of refuge from the avenger of blood. The object of this wise regulation was to guard against the abuses of an existing practice which still continues among the barbarous nations of the East. It is a point of honour for the nearest relative of one who had been slain to pursue the slayer, and not rest till he is destroyed. The institution of an asylum did not exempt the wilful murderer from deserved punishment. It secured a legal investigation of the crime. If guilty, he was delivered up to the avenger. If he had only committed manslaughter he was not to be put to death, but enjoyed a safe abode in the asylum where he was to remain during the life of the high priest, as the condition of his security.

The thirty-sixth chapter contains a regulation which was made on account of a preceding one. In the case of Zelophehad's daughters it had been appointed that daughters might succeed to their father's inheritance in default of sons. The heads of the tribe to which those females belonged represented to Moses the inconvenience resulting from the previous law; for if the daughters married into another tribe, the land would pass over with them into the adopted tribe, and so be alienated from its rightful possessors. The difficulty is removed by the rule that heiresses should not marry out of their own tribe.

II. Disposition of the Camp, Chapter ii.—The camp was formed in a quadrangle, having three tribes on each side under one common standard. The tabernacle was in the centre, the interval between it and the camp being occupied by the small camps of the Levites who had charge of the tabernacle. The tents of Moses, Aaron, and the priests, fronted the entrance to the tabernacle, *i.e.*, the east side of it. Jewish writers affirm that the circumference of the whole encampment was twelve miles. The following diagram will give a tolerably accurate idea of the camp:



It will be seen that the leading tribe occupied the centre, and the two others on each side. We do not suppose with some, that the principal tribe extended along the entire outer line, and that the two others pitched beside each other within.

III. THE CENSUS IN CHAPTER I. COMPARED WITH THAT IN EXODUS XXXVIII.—A question has been raised respecting *the identity of the census* described in the first chapter of Numbers with that stated in Ex. xxxviii. It certainly favours the supposition of identity that the amount given in both instances is the same; which could hardly have been the case even in the interval of a few months, had the enumerations been different. In case of their difference it has been pronounced exceedingly improbable that a second should succeed the first so soon. If they were identical, the mention of the census in Exodus must be anticipative, or retrospective in the first chapter of Numbers. But a careful examination of both chapters leads us to doubt the sameness of the censuses. They were made for different purposes, the former having been made for raising a poll-tax to meet the expense of building the tabernacle; the latter to ascertain the military strength of the people. In regard to the identity of the sum total it may be remarked, that in Numbers the sum of each tribe is given in even hundreds, with one exception, viz., Gad, where there is an even half hundred. Hence the enumeration seems to have been by tens, omitting units; and complete exactness was not sought. The similarity between two enumerations made at times so near to one another is not surprising, especially as it is probable that the one served as the basis of the other. It need not be thought that the latter was undertaken and conducted quite independently of the other; as this implies useless labour. We conclude, therefore, that they were distinct censuses as to

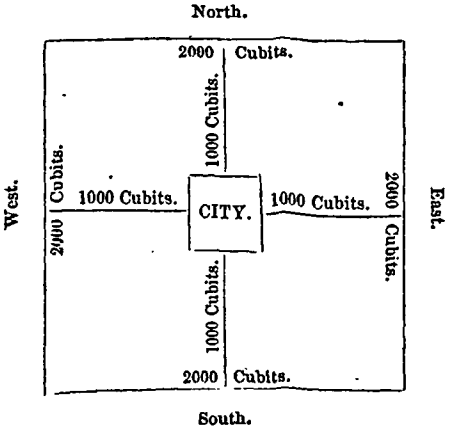
purpose; but that the one was made use of in completing the other.

IV. Discrepancy in Chapter xxxv. 4, 5.—In Num. xxxv. 4, 5, we read: "And the suburbs of the cities, which ye shall give unto the Levites shall reach from the wall of the city and outward a thousand cubits round about. And ye shall measure from without the city on the east side two thousand cubits, and on the south side two thousand cubits, and on the west side two thousand cubits, and on the north side two thousand cubits; and the city shall be in the midst: this shall be to them the suburbs of the cities."

Here then is an obvious discrepancy, which the Septuagint translators have removed by reading in the fourth verse διοχιλίους πήχεις *two thousand* cubits, as in the fifth. But the Samaritan text and all the other versions agree with the Hebrew. Josephus and Philo follow the LXX. The text should not be disturbed.

Among the numerous methods of conciliation proposed, two are the most probable.

1. That of Rosenmüller, which takes a thousand cubits to be the length from the walls of the city, and two thousand the length of every side, so as to make eight thousand for all four sides. This is shewn in the following figure.

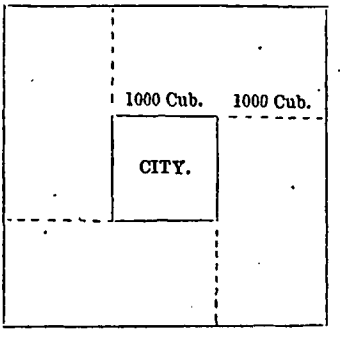


The objection to this solution is, that the dimensions of the city itself are reduced to a mathematical point, whereas they ought to form a small square.

2. Another method of harmonising the numbers has been proposed by Palfrey, who renders the words מִדֹּתָם מִחוּץ לָעִיר

ye shall measure outward for the city, i.e., outward from a central point. From this central point there would then be a measurement of two thousand cubits each way for a square, including both city and suburbs; while the interior square would have suburbs of the dimension described in the fourth verse.

3. A third solution, which we adopt, is that of J. D. Michaelis. It takes the measurement from the wall of the city and outward to be a thousand cubits round about, or on each side. From any point in the city walls to the outside boundary of the enclosed space, was a thousand cubits. But by measuring the city wall itself, and the space in continuation of it on one side, there would be two thousand cubits, thus:



V. ROUTE OF THE ISRAELITES FROM EGYPT TO MOAB.—The entire journey of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan may be distributed into three portions. 1. From Egypt to Sinai. 2. From Sinai to Kadesh. 3. From Kadesh to the plains of Moab. Let us illustrate each in its order.

1. The materials for gaining a knowledge of this portion lie in Ex. xii.–xix. and Num. xxxiii. The point of departure was Rameses, as stated in Ex. xii. 37, and Num. xxxiii. 5. This was the chief town of Goshen. Ewald, Hengstenberg, and others, identify it with Heroopolis in Wady Tumilat. The chief argument adduced in favour of this view is the Septuagint version of Gen. xlvi. 28, 29, "while the original text names simply Goshen, the translator has in verse 28: 'but Judah he sent before him to Joseph, that he might come to meet him at Heroopolis in the land of Rameses,' (*συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσῆ*), and in verse 29, 'And Joseph prepared his chariot and went up to meet Israel his father at Heroopolis' (*καθ' ἡρώων πόλιν*). It is certain that 'at Heroopolis in the land of Rameses,' is no arbitary conceit of the LXX. They took the designation 'land of Rameses' instead of Goshen

from Gen. xlvii. 11, where the author himself substitutes for Goshen the land of Rameses. In the phrase 'at Heroopolis' for the name Rameses which had gone out of use, Heroopolis, the current name in their time, was substituted. "The city Rameses was to them the same as Heroopolis; the land of Rameses, therefore, was situated in the vicinity of Heroopolis."[1] This argument is radically unsound, because it rests on a false basis. The critic assumes that the name Rameses had gone out of use in the days of the Greek translators, and that they substituted for it the current one Heroopolis. But the Hebrew text does not justify this. Heroopolis is *not* put as the substitute for Rameses, because in Gen. xlvi. 28, Rameses is not in the Hebrew text. That text says *the land of Goshen*, for which the Greek has, *the land of Rameses*. The words *κατ' ἡρώων πόλιν* are an *explanatory addition* and nothing more. Because *the land of Goshen* (for which the LXX. have *land of Rameses*, names which the Hebrew itself uses interchangeably), appeared indefinite and vague, the translators, knowing the locality, put "at Heroopolis," for the purpose of giving greater speciality. Hence the analogy adduced by Hengstenberg of the translators substituting for *On* of the original text in Gen. xli. 45 *Heliopolis* (the Greek name, does not hold good. Heroopolis does *not* stand for Rameses in Gen. xlvi. 28, as Henstengberg asserts. The narrative in Ex. xii.–xiv. sufficiently shews that Rameses and Heroopolis were not identical; for as Heroopolis lay very near the eastern boundary of Egypt, and the point of departure Rameses was in the neighbourhood of the royal residence, the alleged identity is impossible. Wherever the palatial residence be fixed, at On, Bubastis, or Zoan, Rameses was manifestly in its vicinity, and therefore could not be the same as Heroopolis. The French Savans fixed at Abu-Keishid the site of the ancient Heroopolis; and therefore Hengstenberg, Robinson, and others, make the point of departure Abu-Keishid.

2. Another view is that of Lepsius who identifies Rameses with Abu-Keishid;[2] supposing, however, that Heroopolis should be fixed at the little sea or lake (Seba Biar) Mukfar. Denying the identity of Rameses and Heroopolis, he wishes to establish that of Rameses and Abu-Keishid. At the time of the French expedition to Egypt a group of three figures on a granite block was discovered, representing two deities with king Rames the Second between them, at Abu-Keishid. Hence he infers that the city must have been built by him, or called after his name. The inference is illogical; for surely memorials of the king may have been placed in different localities.

[1] Hengstenberg in his Egypt and the books of Moses, translated by Robbins, p. 52.
[2] Chronologie I., p. 45 et seqq.

3. A third hypothesis, advanced by Stickel,[1] identifies Rameses with Belbeis. This rests on the authority of the geographer Makrizi, who must have been well acquainted with his native land. The situation of Belbeis suits all the circumstances of the narrative. It lay on one of the most western points of Goshen, and on an old canal of the river Nile, by which it was connected with the southern parts of Egypt.

Setting out from Belbeis the Israelites travelled most probably in an eastern direction to Succoth the first station. Their way lay through Wady-Tumilat (Ex. xii. 37, Num. xxxiii. 5). The second station was Etham, which is said to be "on the edge of the wilderness," *i.e.*, the Arabian desert or Shur (Ex. xiii. 20, Num. xxxiii. 6). Here Moses received the command to turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-zephon, *i.e.*, with Pi-hahiroth on the north, Migdol on the west, the sea on the east, and Baal-zephon on the south. The position of Pi-hahiroth is supposed to be that of 'Ajrud. Migdol must have been at mount Atakah; whether the top of it, as Tischendorf conjectures, or not, it is impossible to determine. Obeying the command, therefore, Moses did not go round the north end or head of the gulf of Suez, but remaining in the Egyptian territory, turned southward, and marched down the western side of the arm of the gulph. There he came to a district where his march was intercepted in front and on the two sides by sea and mountain; while it was shut in behind by Pharaoh's host. All these conditions are answered by the plain of Suez, which is so extensive as to be able to contain two millions of persons. On the west and south-west, it is terminated by the mountain of Atakah. Supposing the Israelites to have marched from the north or north-east, this plain of Suez must have been their third station, from which they attempted a passage through the Red Sea. Accordingly the place of passage was the neighbourhood of Suez. Here accordingly it is put by Niebuhr, Robinson, Hengstenberg, Laborde, Ewald, Tischendorf, Kurtz. An east wind caused the sea to flow out. The word rendered east wind doubtless includes the north-east wind, which often prevails there. "A strong east wind," says Robinson, "acting here upon the ebb-tide would necessarily have the effect to drive out the waters from the small arm of the sea which runs up by Suez, and also from the end of the gulph itself, leaving the shallower portions dry, while the more northern part of the arm, which was anciently broader and deeper than at present, would still remain covered with water. Thus the waters would be divided, and be a wall (or defence) to

[1] In the Studien und Kritik for 1850, p. 367 et seqq.

the Israelites on the right hand and on the left. Nor will it be less obvious, that in no other part of the whole gulf would a north-east wind act in the same manner to drive out the waters."[1] But it may be objected, and indeed has been, that the breadth of the sea here is only 3450 feet, in which case a return of the waters that had been divided by the east or north-east wind would scarcely have sufficed to drown the whole army of Pharaoh. It is generally supposed that the sea was much deeper then than now; and besides, the direction indicated by the wind and dependent upon it was not straight through from the east, but rather south-easterly where the sea, even as it now is, is deep and broad enough to submerge a whole army.

Du Bois-Ayme[2] and Stickel think that the point of the passage was at 'Ajrud. But no plain is there sufficient to hold upwards of two millions of souls; nor could the Israelites have been there shut in on three sides by the mountains and sea.

Another view of the place at which the passage was effected has been recently advocated with great confidence by Von Raumer, Olin, Kitto, and others. It was first proposed by Sicard, who examined the whole district. According to it the Israelites passed down round Ras Atakah, and crossed opposite to Wady Tawarik. The breadth of the sea at this point offers a fatal objection to the hypothesis. It occupies six hours, being twelve geographical miles. The crossing took place by night, and was over at the morning-watch. Calculating two hours before the bed of the sea became dry by the blowing of the east wind, two millions could not have crossed within the allotted time. Thus notwithstanding all that has been alleged against the passage at Suez, much of which is directed against the supposition of its lessening the miraculous, we must adhere to it as the only tenable view.

After crossing the sea, the first station of the Israelites is unknown. Thence they marched in a south-easterly direction, along the eastern side of the gulf, for three days, passing through the wilderness of Etham, till they came to Marah, where the water was too bitter for use. The modern Ayin Howarah is supposed by Robinson to be identical with Marah (Ex. xv. 23; Num. xxxiii. 8). But this is liable to objection; and it is far more probable that Wady Amarah is the place, as Ewald and Bunsen have assumed. The next station is Elim, which is usually identified with Wady Gharandel (Ex. xv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 9). It is more probable, however, that it was Wady Useit. From Elim they came into a plain near the Red

[1] Biblical Researches in Palestine, vol. i. p. 83, first edition.
[2] In Rosenmüller's Alterthumskunde, iii. p. 265.

Sea. If, as is certain, they travelled south, they must have come to the plain at the mouth of Wady Tayibeh where they next encamped, on the fifteenth day of the second month. From this their next station was in the wilderness of Sin (Ex. xvi. 1; Num. xxxiii. 11). Their encampment was in the north of the desert, perhaps near El-Murkah. The opinion of Von Raumer, Laborde, and Kutscheit, that the encampment by the Red Sea was at El-Murkah, and that the encampment in the wilderness of Sin must be sought either in Wady Nasb or Wady Mokatteb, thus placing Sin in the east of the great plain El-Kaa, is less probable. It is not unlikely that the desert of Sin nearly coincides with El-Kaa. The peculiar views of Lepsius respecting Marah, Elim, the encampment near the Red Sea, and the desert of Sin, are refuted by Kurtz.

As the last encampment was near or at El-Murkah, they turned through the Wady Schellal and then into the Wady Badereh, whence they reached the rocky valley Kineh, opening towards the west, in which Seetzen found a place called El-Tobakkah, which he identified with Dophkah. Alush must be in Wady Feiran at Paran, perhaps identical with the latter (Num. xxxiii. 12, 13). Afterwards they reached Rephidim, where the people murmured for water. The position of this place can only be conjectured; and accordingly travellers have fixed it at different points. It was somewhere in Wady Es-Scheikh, either between the two defiles of Mokad Seidna Musa and Abu Suweirah, as Laborde thinks, or above the spring Abu Suweira where the valley enlarges, five hours distant from the point where Wady Esh-Sheikh issues from the plain Er-Rahah, as Robinson supposes. The conjectures of Lepsius and of Ritter respecting its site are not so likely (Ex. xvii. 1; Num. xxxiii. 14). From Rephidim the Israelites went along Wady Es-Sheikh till they came to the desert of Sinai (Ex. xix. 1; Num. xxxiii. 15).

It has been disputed whether mount Serbal was the summit from which the law was given, or Jebel Mûsa. Lepsius has adduced all that can be said in favour of the former. Rüppell proposed Jebel Katherin. The Biblical notices and localities agree with tradition in rightly assigning the ridge of Sinai at its northern end. The only questionable point, as appears to us, is, whether the summit Es-Sŭfsâfeh, or the southern summit properly called Jebel Mûsa, be the place where the Almighty is said to have descended in fire. According to the most recent researches, it is likely that the former was the summit whence the law was promulgated, the plain of encampment being *Er-Râhah*. Robinson's arguments in favour of the northern top Es-Sŭfsâfeh being that from which the law

was given, rather than the southern one Jebel Mûsa, have been combated by Ritter, Strauss, Krafft, and Kurtz, but not successfully. All conditions of the case are satisfied by the northern top, and the plain Er-Rahah in front of it; but Wady Sebayeh below Jebel Mûsa does not suit the scene of encampment. The point is well stated by Stanley: "That such a plain should exist at all in front of such a cliff is so remarkable a coincidence with the sacred narrative as to furnish a strong internal argument, not merely of its identity with the scene, but of the scene itself having been described by an eye-witness. The awful and lengthened approach, as to some natural sanctuary, would have been the fittest preparation for the coming scene. The low line of alluvial mounds at the foot of the cliff exactly answers to the 'bounds' which were to keep the people off from 'touching the mount.' The plain itself is not broken and uneven and narrowly shut in, like almost all others in the range, but presents a long retiring sweep, against which the people could 'remove and stand afar off.' The cliff rising like a huge altar in front of the whole congregation, and visible against the sky in lonely grandeur from end to end of the whole plain, is the very image of 'the mount that might be touched,' and from which the voice of God might be heard far and wide over the stillness of the plain below, widened at that point to its utmost extent by the confluence of all the contiguous valleys. Here, beyond all other parts of the peninsula, is the adytum, withdrawn as if in 'the end of the world' from all the stir and confusion of earthly things. . . . . There are two other points which meet here, and no where else. First, Moses is described as descending the mountain without seeing the people; the shout strikes the ear of his companion before they ascertain the cause; the view bursts upon him suddenly as he draws nigh to the camp, and he throws down the tables and dashes them in pieces 'beneath the mount.' Such a combination might occur in the Wady Er-Rahah. Any one coming down from one of the secluded basins behind the Râs Sufsâfeh, through the oblique gullies which flank it on the north and south, would hear the sounds borne through the silence from the plain, but would not see the plain itself till he emerged from the Wady Ed-Deir or the Wady Lejâ; and when he did so he would be immediately under the precipitous cliff of Sufsâfeh. Further, we are told that Moses strewed the powder of the fragments of the idol on the 'waters of the brook that came down out of the mount.' This would be perfectly possible in the Wady Er-Râhah, into which issues the brook of the Wady Lejâ, descending, it is true, from Mount St. Catherine, but still in sufficiently close connection with the Jebel Mûsa to justify the expression, 'coming down out of the

mount.' These two coincidences, which must be taken for what they are worth, would not occur either at Serbal or in the Wady Sebâyeh."[1]

It is stated that the Israelites departed from mount Sinai in the second year and twentieth day of the second month after the exodus. It appears, therefore, that they remained there nearly a year (all except ten days). Num. x. 11.

From mount Sinai they marched through Wady Es-Sheikh to its most northern point, where Wady Ez-Zalazah branches off from it, and onward in a north-easterly direction. In this way they passed into the wilderness of Paran. The first place mentioned is Taberah (Num. xi. 3; Deut. ix. 22). This does not seem to have been a station. Kibroth-hattaavah was really the first station after leaving Sinai. As it was three days' journey from the encampment in the plain Er-Rahah before Horeb, it must have been near El-Ain (Num. xi. 34; xxxiii. 16). Their next station was Hazeroth, which has been often identified with Ain El-Hudherah (Num. xi. 35; xxxiii. 17). From Hazeroth they encamped at Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran (Num. xii. 16; xiii. 26; Deut. i. 2–9).

Some think that the site of Kadesh was discovered by Rowlands in *Ain Kudes*, which lies towards the east of the highest part of Jebel Halal, towards its northern extremity, about twelve miles to the east-south-east of Moilahhi. The plain of Kadesh where was the encampment is described as a large rectangle about nine by five, or ten by six, miles. The rock with the fountain lies in the north-east of the plain. "The rock," says Rowlands, "is a large single mass, or a small hill of solid rock, a spur of the mountain to the north of it, rising immediately above it—it is the only *visible* naked rock in the whole district."[2] The stream issuing forth from its base, when it reaches the channel, turns westward, and after running about three or four hundred yards, loses itself in the sand. Although this view has been adopted by Kurtz, it is altogether untenable. Wherever Kadesh was, it is described as being "in the uttermost borders of Edom" (Num. xx. 16). Hence it could not have been west of the Arabah, because the Edomites' territory, in the time of Moses, did not reach farther. Again, in entering the promised land from Kadesh, a mountain had to be ascended immediately (Num. xiii. 17, xiv. 44, 45, Deut. i. 24, 41). This is inapplicable to the place described, or any where near it. The testimony of Eusebius and Jerome is inconsistent with the hypothesis. Both make it lie between Hebron and Petra. It is probable, as Robinson sup-

[1] Sinai and Palestine, pp. 42-44, tenth thousand.
[2] Williams's Holy City, vol. i. p. 467, Appendix.

poses, that the name given by Rowlands, Kudēs, is a blunder for El-Kudeirât—which is about the spot the latter describes.[1] It is surprising that Kurtz should have unhesitatingly acquiesced in the visionary hypothesis of an enthusiastic traveller.

In regard to Kadesh there are three opinions respecting the stay of the Israelites there. 1. Some suppose that they were twice encamped at the place: the first time on their way from Sinai to the southern border of Canaan (Num. xiii.); the second time, during the long wandering in the wilderness Et-Tih (Num. xx.). Such is the hypothesis of Von Raumer, Hengstenberg, Kurtz, and others. In describing the particulars involved in it, we shall chiefly follow the last-mentioned critic. 2. Stanley has endeavoured to identify Kadesh with *Petra*, but finds a difficulty in his way in Num. xiii. 26, where Kadesh is placed in the wilderness of Paran, whereas he places it in Sin. The difficulty in question is insuperable if the text be correct.[2] 3. Robinson identifies Kadesh with Ain-el-Weibeh, on the exterior of a great bend of Wady el-Jeib, where there is a fountain, and whence mount Hor is seen, not far distant. The list of stations in Num. xxxiii. 18–36, seems to refer to the time between the first and second abode there; while Num. xiii. refers to the first stay. Hence the question arises, which of the stations named in Num. xxxiii. alludes to this first abode in Kadesh; and why is the name Kadesh not specified on the first arrival there? Some fix upon Tahath, others Bene-jaakan, and others Rithmah, as an equivalent to Kadesh. Fries[3] has advocated the last. Wady-Retemat forms the entrance to the plain of Kadesh. In this manner the stations named in Num. xxxiii. between Rithmah (Kadesh) and Kadesh denote the principal ones during the thirty-seven years' wanderings in the wilderness. Of the names which occur there only two can be identified with certainty, viz., Ezion-gaber at the head of the Elanitic gulf, and mount Hor west of Petra. From Num. xxxiii. 37–49, relates to their journeying after leaving Kadesh the second time. It is observable that the names of the stations in Deut. x. 6, 7, and Num. xxxiii. 30–33, occur in a very different order; for whereas in the former the succession is Beeroth, Jaakan, Mosera, Gudgodah, Jotbath; in the latter it is Moseroth, Bene-jaakan, Hor-hagidgad, Jotbathah. It has been thought that the different character of the marches described will account for the apparent contradiction. The stations mentioned in Num. xxxiii. may have been merely the head-quarters of the people, or rather of Moses and the tabernacle. They lie

[1] See Robinson in the Biblical Repository for May 1849, p. 377 et seqq.
[2] Sinai and Palestine, p. 94 et seqq.
[3] In the Studien und Kritiken for 1854, pp. 50-90.

in no geographical order because belonging to the period when the Israelites wandered to and fro through the wilderness, taking all directions, north and south, zig-zag, backwards and forwards. But the stations in Deut. x. 6, 7, depend on a definite purpose. At that time the Israelites went round mount Seir, to enter the holy land from the east; and it is supposed that they would then make no unnecessary deflection from the shortest and most direct way. They had left Kadesh for the last time; whereas in Num. xxxiii. 30–33, they had to return to Kadesh. Hence Deut. x. 6, 7, cannot be brought into parallelism to Num. xxxiii. 30–33, because the times are different. It is only Num. xxxiii. 37–49, which relates to the same march as Deut. x. 6, 7. Taking the station Rithmah to coincide geographically with Kadesh, seventeen stations are mentioned in Num. xxxiii., between Kadesh and Kadesh. The last of them, viz., Ezion-gaber is at the northern end of the Elanitic gulf; and therefore the people must have gone from north to south. Of course in returning, they would be likely to stop at most of the same stations, and therefore the seventeen may be doubled. This would give more than a year at each place, which is too long. Had the writer given the entire list of stations, it is likely that the number would have exceeded forty. It was not however consistent with his plan to mention again what had been specified already. The following view of the stations mentioned in the history has been given by those who advocate the present hypothesis. From Kadesh to Kadesh (Num. xxxiii. 18–36):—

Rithmah (Kadesh) verse 18.
Rimmon-parez, verse 19.
Libnah, verse 20.
Rissah, verse 21.
Kehelathah, verse 22.
Mount Shapher, verse 23.
Haradah, verse 24.
Makheloth, verse 25.
Tahath, verse 26.
Tarah, verse 27.
Mithcah, verse 28.
Hashmonah, verse 29.
Moseroth, verse 30.
Bene-jaakan, verse 31.
Hor-hagidgad, verse 32.
Jotbathah, verse 33.
Ebronah, verse 34.
Ezion-gaber, verse 35.
Kadesh, verse 36.

The Israelites came to Kadesh in the first month of the third year. The great difficulty connected with this station is, that in Num. xiii. 26, it is placed in the wilderness of Paran; but in Num. xx. 1, in the desert of Sin. To reconcile these statements it has been assumed, that there were two places of the name of Kadesh; or that the one place lay on the border of the two deserts, so that it might be popularly assigned to either. The former supposition is very improbable, to say the least; while

geography is against the latter. It appears most probable that what is thought to have taken place at Kadesh, on the second abode there, viz., the murmuring of the people for water, Moses smiting the rock and sinning, etc., points *to the commencement* rather than *the end* of the forty years. The words "Wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? It is no place of seed, or of figs, or of vines, or pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink" (Num. xx. 5), are scarcely appropriate in the mouth of a second race which had not seen Egypt. They rather belong to their fathers. And with this agrees the state of mind presupposed in Moses and Aaron, whose faith was not yet firmly established, as we learn from Num. xx. The succession of events indicated in Deut. i. 37, also appears to shew that Moses's exclusion from the promised land followed soon after the message brought back by the spies. In like manner, Deut. x. 6–8, favours the same opinion. We believe, therefore, that Num. xx. 1, etc., belongs to the same time as xii., xiii., *i.e.*, the first (and only) abode at Kadesh. The writer resumes in xx. 1, what was already said in xiii. 1, and the words may properly read, "And the children of Israel had come," etc. (Num. xx. 1). In xiii. 26, it may be conjectured that the name *Kadesh* got into the text by mistake; perhaps from being an incorrect marginal remark. If so, a different station is intended at xiii. 26 and xx. 1. It is singular that in the list of stations in Num. xxxiii. Kadesh is not given at Hashmonah (verse 30), where we should expect to find it, but after Ezion-gaber (verse 36), in an inverse direction. If a transposition of the last clause of verse 36 were made at an early period, from the idea that Num. xx. 1, speaks of the fortieth year and a second abode at Kadesh, all is natural, The words, "And pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh," being joined to the thirtieth verse, make the whole read consecutively. "And they departed from Hashmonah and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh."

How long the Israelites remained at Kadesh is not stated. In Deut. i. 46, we read, that "they abode there *many days*." A year or more may be assumed as the time. They came to it in the third year, and left it in the fourth. There Miriam died. At mount Hor Aaron also died soon after; not in the fortieth year of the exodus, as Num. xxxiii. 38 states, but in the fourth. The number forty is a later interpolation. Having been refused a passage through his territory by the king of Edom, it was now the aim of the Israelites to compass mount Seir, and so attempt the conquest of Canaan in a tedious, toilsome, and difficult manner. From Hor they went straight to the brook Zered. Here began their war with the Amorites,

whose two kings they succeeded in subduing, and in taking possession of their lands, which were divided among the two tribes and half. Thirty-six years were spent on the borders of the Arabian and Syrian deserts in fighting their way against the Amorites, of which scarcely aught is narrated; the memory of particular events having been lost before the writers of the Pentateuch lived because they had no theocratic interest. And the influence of tradition is perceptible in the very indistinct accounts of the stations of the Israelites and the succession of events, contained in the book of Numbers. The round number forty continued in the memory of succeeding generations, as the period which elapsed from the exodus till the conquest of Canaan; but the distribution of this number was indistinct. In the time of the Deuteronomist it was thought that thirty-eight years were passed from the stay at Kadesh till the arrival at the brook Zered (Deut. ii. 7–14), which is not consonant with Num. xx. xxi. Perhaps he misunderstood Num. xx. 1–xxi. 12.

We regret that in these observations there has been a necessity for altering the text in some places, or supposing it to be corrupt. In Num. xxxiii. 38, *four* should stand for forty; while verses 39 and 40 were later interpolations occasioned by Deuteronomy. The last clause of Num. xxxiii. 36, belongs to verse 30, and in xiii. 26 Kadesh has been improperly inserted, instead of a station whose name has disappeared.

The more usual hypothesis, which assumes two stoppings at Kadesh, labours under far greater difficulties. It assumes that in the third or fourth year of the exodus the Israelites went from Kadesh to Elath or Ezion-gaber, and returned thence in the fortieth year to Kadesh, whence they set out quickly by the same route, winding round Elath to make their way to the brook Zered, where they conquered two powerful Amorite kingdoms and turned back into the plains of Moab. It is scarcely credible that they would have wandered about thirty-six years, inactive as regards the object to which their minds had been ever directed. Nor is it credible that they would have gone back to Kadesh under the guidance of their wise and cautious leader, through the formidable Arabah from the Elanitic gulf northwards; and that after being there refused a passage by the king of Edom, they should again make their way to the sea, amid terrible serpents and formidable dangers, of which they had already had experience. Two millions and a half could hardly have acted thus; especially as they were now an heroic and hardy race bent on the conquest of Canaan. The view we have adopted is that of Ewald,[1] Vaihinger,[2] and others.

[1] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, ii. p. 249 et seqq. p. 29 et seqq.
[2] Article Moses in Herzog's Encyklopaedie, vol. x.

Though not free from objection, it is encumbered with less formidable difficulties than the other. Goethe would not have turned it into ridicule, as he did the double stay theory.

The hypothesis of Bunsen agrees so far with our sentiments as to make but one sojourn at Kadesh. Like all the opinions of the learned writer it is ingeniously supported. He supposes that the Israelites went first from Sinai along the Arabah to El-Ghor, as far north as mount Shapher, which is the eighth station according to Num. xxxiii. 16, etc. Secondly, that they marched south from mount Shapher to Ezion-gaber: thirdly, that they returned from Ezion-gaber to Kadesh, marching in a north-westerly direction: fourthly, that they went from Kadesh eastward (Num. xxxiii. 37–39, Deut. x. 6, 7), then south to Akabah, and from the eastern boundary of Edom northward to the edge of the east-Jordan territory.[1]

For the mode of bringing out these results, we refer to the work of Bunsen himself. We hesitate to adopt them, because of the assumptions necessarily made, viz., that the death of Aaron on mount Hor, and the journey from Sinai to Kadesh, are unhistorical. It is also too violent a procedure to suppose that the wandering in the wilderness terminated in the seventh or eighth month of the third year of the exodus at Zered; thus necessitating a sojourn in the territory east of Jordan of considerably more than thirty years. It is improbable that the Israelites settled down here so long, as they were then near the land of promise; or that it took them so much time to force an entrance into the goodly territory, inured as they had been to previous hardships. This east-Jordan territory plays too important a part in Bunsen's speculations. According to him, the greater part of the legislation in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, proceeded from Moses there. Knobel thinks that the Elohist makes the Israelites visit Kadesh twice; while the Jehovist, following what is called *the book of rights*, knows of but one stay there. This is not clearly deducible from the narrative. It is founded on particulars stated, without sufficient allowance for things passed over, by the writers.[2]

After leaving Kadesh we find the following places mentioned:—

Beeroth Bene-jaakan (Deut. x. 6).
Mount Hor (Num. xxxiii. 37).
Jotbath (Num. xxxiii. 33).
Hor-hagidgad (Num. xxxiii. 33).
Zalmonah (Num. xxxiii. 41).

[1] Bibelwerk, Zweyte Abtheilung, Bibelurkunden, Erster Theil, p. 191 et seqq.
[2] See Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. pp. xiv. xv.

Punon (Num. xxxiii. 42).
Oboth (Num. xxi. 10, xxxiii. 43)
Ije-abarim or Iim (Num. xxi. 11, xxxiii. 44, 45).

It has been supposed with great probability by Kurtz, that the mountain or mountains of Abarim is a general appellation for the entire Moabite high land lying along the whole eastern coast of the Dead Sea, from Wady-Ahsy to the plain of Heshbon.[1] Ije-Abarim will be some forehills on the south-eastern limit of Kerek. This solves a great difficulty in the notices of mount Abarim. After Ije-Abarim the Israelites crossed the brook Zered, identical with Wady Kerak (Num. xxi. 12, Deut. ii. 13, 14). Thence they crossed the brook Arnon (Num. xxi. 13, Deut. ii. 24). Then followed Dibon or Dibon-gad (Num. xxxiii. 45), now Dhiban. The next station was Almon-diblathaim (Num. xxxiii. 46). After this we meet with Beer (a well) in the desert (Num. xxi. 16, 18). The next are Mattanah (Num. xxi, 18), Nahaliel (xxi. 19), Bamoth (xxi. 19), Pisgah, part of the range Abarim (xxi. 20). Nebo was in the neighbourhood of Heshbon, about an hour westward, and is only a part of Pisgah, the highest point of it (Num. xxxiii. 47). Thence they went by the way of Bashan to the plains of Moab by Jordan, near Jericho (Num. xxi. 33, xxii. 1, xxxiii. 48).

The differences between the two lists of stations in Numbers xxi. and xxxiii. have been observed by most critics, and variously explained. In the former we find this succession, Ije-abarim, Zered, Arnon, Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, Bamoth, Pisgah, plains of Moab. In the latter, Ije-abarim, Dibon-gad, Almon-diblathaim, mount Nebo, plains of Moab. Regarding Pisgah and Nebo as practically identical, two names occur in Num. xxxiii. which are not in Num. xxi., viz., Dibon-gad and Almon-diblathaim; whereas in Num. xxi., there are six names which are not found in Num. xxxiii., viz., Zered, Arnon, Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, and Bamoth. It is contrary to the usual method of Num. xxi. and xxxiii. that the former should be fuller in names of stations than the latter. But this is explained by Kurtz[2] on the principle, that Numbers xxxiii. has solely a stational object, the writer of this catalogue merely intending to give the names of *stations properly so called*, or places at which the Israelites halted for a time and set up the tabernacle; while the author of Num. x.–xxii. has solely a *historical object*; and mentions between Ije-abarim and the plains of Moab more places than the other, because he gives stations from which attacks were made on the Amorites, or points from which

[1] Geschichte des alten Bundes. vol. ii. p. 441.
[2] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii., pp. 452, 453.

the Israelites went forth to conquer the whole territory of the Amorites. Hence we should not look upon all the names in Num. xxi. as the names of places where there was a regular encampment, including the setting up of the tabernacle. As the places occur within short distances of each other, it is possible that two or more may have been occupied at the same time.

These observations will serve to correct the erroneous impression left on the mind of the reader by Kitto,[1] who argues that if Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, and Bamoth were stations, they could not have been on the north side of Arnon. Unquestionably they were on that side of the river; and the attempt to represent them as being on the south side is totally fruitless. They may or may not have been stations proper, or *encampments* where some stay was made. After crossing the Arnon, the second halting place was Beer. Mattanah, the next station to Beer, has been identified with Tedun, at the sources of Wady Ledschum opening into the Arnon. Nahaliel has been identified with Wady Ledschum itself. Thence the Israelites went to Bamoth, or Bamoth-baal, which was near Dibon, perhaps as Hengstenberg conjectures, half an hour north of Dibon. There can therefore be no doubt that all these places were north of the Arnon.

VI. CONDITION OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE DESERT.—The condition of the Israelites, during the thirty-seven years they wandered to and fro in the wilderness, though not described in the sacred narrative, may be conceived of with sufficient accuracy to prevent erroneous impressions respecting it. It was manifestly impossible to keep all the people compactly together as one host during the time. The barrenness and desolation of the country, which presents no extensive tract of pasture land adequate to supply the wants of so many people and of their herds for a long series of years, compel the assumption of a view very different from the popular representation of the whole multitude roving about in a compact mass. We must suppose that they dispersed in larger or smaller groups, and settled in spots where there were water and pasture, till necessity or other circumstances induced them to repair elsewhere. *The place of the tabernacle* was the rendezvous or head quarters. With it remained Moses, Aaron, and the elders or chief men: A sufficient guard always continued with it. The rest were widely dispersed in companies, roaming hither and thither, till, at the end of the thirty-seven years of punishment, they were reunited. How they were supplied with food for the period in question can hardly be determined. But as the tracts in which they roamed were very

[1] In Pictorial Bible, note on Numbers xxxiii.

fertile in some places, producing a great variety of vegetables and fruit; as there were numerous villages and posts throughout it; the Israelites were not without the natural and spontaneous productions of the earth. They tilled *the oases* and reaped the produce. It cannot, therefore, be supposed that they were miraculously supplied with all their food. If indeed they had not dispersed and wandered about in companies, one place would not have sufficed for the maintenance of so great a population; but, as the country of Arabia is not one dreary desert, as it is enriched with numerous oases, a recourse to the miraculous is unnecessary for their sustenance. The stations mentioned relate in all probability to the head-quarters of Moses and those with him. And if, as is apparent from the narrative, the central body of the Israelites was in the vicinity of mount Seir and the Red Sea, in the Arabah, during the greater part of their wanderings, there is less difficulty in seeing how they could have subsisted. They had come out of Egypt with numerous flocks and herds; they were well supplied with gold and silver; they were among Ishmaelites, Midianites, and Edomites, from whom they could procure many necessaries. The means of sustenance could be purchased, or taken by force from the tribes of the desert.

The manner in which they were guided through the wilderness is stated in Exodus xiii. 21, 22. "And the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and by night, in a pillar of fire, to give them light; to go by day and night. He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people."

The old Elohist does not mention *the pillars* of cloud and fire; and connects the phenomena with the tabernacle. Only in the junior Elohist, the Jehovist, and the writers used by the latter does there appear *a pillar* of cloud, into which the popular belief had transformed the Elohistic cloud. From being a sacred national signal accompanying the army on their march, in process of time it became miraculous, indicating the visible presence and dwelling-place of God. Fire was worshipped as holy among many ancient nations. The pillar could not have been really a guide in the wilderness, else why was Moses so anxious to engage the services of Hobab as one who knew the desert well? (Num. x. 29–32). Moses did not rely upon it as a guide; if he did, he had no need of Hobab to be to him and the Israelites "as eyes." Thus the pillar was not truly supernatural, though the writer represents it as such. Simple history had been partly enriched with the legendary, even between the times of the Elohist and the Jehovist. This accounts for the greater artificiality of the latter in comparison with the former—the higher reflectiveness exhibiting itself not

only in a truer conception of many things, especially the spiritual and moral, but also in creating a wider region of the fictitious supernatural; the development of the national mind appearing in the clothing of plain facts with legendary and marvellous features. Such is the natural process; the miraculous increasing in proportion to the distance of time between events and the persons looking back upon them. The people were prone to superstition; and so they both moulded their past history, and bodied forth their feelings, in the shape of the marvellous.

VII. BALAAM AND HIS PROPHECIES.—Num. xxiii. 4–xxiv. 25. Various interesting and important questions arise out of this portion of scripture, of which the chief are the following:

1. How Balaam obtained a knowledge of Jehovah, the God of Israel.
2. What was his true character and position.
3. What is the meaning of that peculiar prophecy,

> "I shall see him but not now,
> I shall behold him but not nigh.
> There shall come a star out of Jacob,
> And a sceptre shall rise out of Israel," etc. xxiv. 17.

4. What view is to be taken of the ass speaking to Balaam.

1. The first question is of less consequence than the rest. It has been variously answered. The more usual view is, that the knowledge and fear of God possessed by Balaam grew up in heathen soil, being a remnant of the ancient and pure monotheism which once existed among heathen nations. In confirmation of this, appeal is made to Balaam's country Mesopotamia, the abode of Abraham's family, where an important branch of it settled; to Job; and to the influence of Jacob's residence in the same territory. Balaam is thought to be paralleled in Melchizedek. Among the moderns this hypothesis has been advocated by Tholuck.[1] Another view is, that Balaam's religious perception was derived from the knowledge of the God of Israel which had been spread by the covenant-people during the Mosaic time, among the surrounding heathen nations. This has been ingeniously and ably defended by Hengstenberg, on the following grounds[2]:—(*a*) The name Jehovah in Balaam's mouth, which name never appears among those standing outside the circle of revelation. Thus Melchizedek, with all the correctness of his monotheism, knew nothing of *Jehovah*. (*b*) Not only does Balaam, like Melchizedek, know the one God the Lord of heaven and earth, he is also acquainted with the God of Israel, what He had already done for His people, what He would do in

[1] Vermischte Schriften, vol. i. p. 406, et seqq.
[2] Die Geschichte Bileam's u. s. w. p. 12, et seqq.

the future. (*c*) Balaam's prophecies rest throughout on the fundamental promises communicated in Genesis (compare Num. xxiii. 10, with Gen. xiii. 16, xxiii. 24 and xxiv. 9 with Gen. xlix. 9; xxiv. 17 with Gen. xlix. 10). A knowledge of such promises could only have been got from the people among whom they were preserved. (*d*) The powerful impression which the great deeds of Jehovah produced upon all the surrounding peoples (Exod. xv. 14, Josh. v. 1) favours the same opinion. The analogy of Jethro and Rahab is especially in point, who had arrived at the knowledge of the true God in the same way.

The latter hypothesis is much more probable than the former. Whatever remnant of a prior knowledge of the true God may have lingered in the land of Mesopotamia, it is insufficient to account for the peculiar position of Balaam, and his clear insight into Israel's place in the world's history. Yet it seems unnecessary to argue for the latter as though the former were entirely baseless. The one need not exclude the other. Perhaps Balaam's knowledge of the true God was influenced *in part* by the traditional reminiscences of a pure monotheism which were still alive among his forefathers. And though Bethuel and Laban's posterity may soon have been sunk in heathenism, it is not improbable that some seeds of religious truth were preserved among them, which the knowledge of Jehovah's marvellous works in Egypt and in the desert quickened in Balaam's soul. Thus we agree with Kurtz,[1] in not allowing the latter hypothesis to exclude every element of truth in the former.

2. What was Balaam's true character and position?

Here three views are entertained.

(*a*) Some think that he was an idolator and soothsayer, whose spirit was uninfluenced by true religion and had just as much relation to the prophecies he uttered respecting Israel against his will as the words of the ass had to its animal principle, according to the current view of the phenomenon as an outward thing. He was a mere sorcerer, who, by his insight into the secret powers of nature and his incantations, had obtained renown in his own land. Of those who follow this opinion, some suppose that he was the high priest of Baal-peor, the same deity as Peorapis in Egypt or Priapus in Greece, and the interpreter of his oracles. Many adherents of this hypothesis might be named; such as Philo, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory Nyssene, Theodoret, Origen, Chrysostom, Basil in ancient, and Bryant, Gleig, Palfrey and others in modern times. We do not think that it can be maintained. It is exposed to these objections: the

[1] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 456.

nature of the prophecies is such that they could scarcely have proceeded from one who had no element of true religion, but was a common deceiver. It may be safely asserted, that the Spirit cannot, consistently with his nature, develop his efficacy within one whose mind presents no element of alliance or sympathy. The bad element may usually predominate; but as long as there is *an* element of the better sort, the Spirit can seize upon that, and influence it to such a degree as to make it entirely predominant. Even in the case of Saul and his servants, we have no reason for supposing that their ungodliness was *thorough* or *total*. Accordingly Balaam declares "that he *could not go* beyond the word of the Lord his God to do either less or more," which cannot, with Gleig and others, be referred to his *physical* power, but to his will or inclination; because his defence against Balak is, "Must I not take heed to speak that which the Lord hath put in my mouth?" Had there been no fear of God in Balaam, he would at once have acceded to Balak's request, or forged a favourable answer. And especially after Balak's second message when the temptation was so powerful, he would not have said, "I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more." Besides, his prayer, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his," is inconsistent with total opposition to the divine will. Indeed the very application of Balak to Balaam, coming from such a distance to the seer, supposes intercourse with the God of Israel on the part of the latter—an intercourse which could rest only on his own confession. No surprise is expressed at the extraordinary revelations now made to him; on the contrary, his language implies that he had received such already (xxiv. 3, 4, 15, 16). And his acquaintance with the name of Jehovah is significant of more than the mere soothsayer or impostor. It is an exceedingly improbable conjecture to reply with Gleig, that "this narrative having been translated into the Hebrew language, probably from some document found in the possession of the soothsayer himself, or of some other Midianite killed in battle, Moses, who knew well by what God Balaam had been compelled to bless those whom he wished to curse, would naturally call that God *Jehovah*, whatever may have been the *name* given to him in Balaam's narrative."[1]

(*b*) Others regard him as a pious man and true prophet of God, who fell through covetousness. This is the view taken by Tertullian, Jerome, Luther, Buddeus, Deyling, Benzel, etc. But it is equally objectionable with the last. Why is he called "the soothsayer" הַקּוֹסֵם (Josh. xiii. 22), if he were nothing but a

[1] Stackhouse's History of the Bible, by Gleig, vol. i. p. 609.

genuine prophet of God? He had recourse to enchantments and other arts of divination, which separate heathen soothsaying from theocratic prophecy. That a קוֹסֵם or soothsayer cannot be looked upon as good is apparent, from the fact that קֶסֶם *soothsaying* is expressly forbidden by the law and assigned to *the false prophet* (Deut. xviii. 10, 12; 1 Sam. xv. 23; Ezekiel xiii. 23; 2 Kings xvii. 17; Ezek. xiii. 9, xxii. 28; Jerem. xiv. 14). Besides, the life of God in him was not such as to shew a true servant; for he did not at once send away the messengers of Balak, notwithstanding his conviction that Israel was the people of God, but detained them from avarice. Although he knew the immutability of God, he tried to get permission to go with the ambassadors of Balak the second time, and forthwith seized on the permission to go with them, which he could only have done with the secret intention of escaping from the condition imposed upon him. Blinded by passion, he did not perceive the angel sent to warn him; for a considerable time. Indeed it is apparent that soothsaying was the usual method which he employed for the discovery of secret things; and that, in the present instance, he was elevated above it by an extraordinary afflatus of the Spirit. Hence his stand-point, both in a religious and prophetic view, must have been a low one. The Spirit of God in him had not raised him above the use of heathen appliances, which no true prophet in Israel ever employed. In him it was feeble and inoperative.

(*c*) The third view, which alone appears the correct one, is intermediate between those just mentioned, and was first proposed by Hengstenberg.[1] It is only in its *exclusiveness* that each of the preceding hypotheses is incorrect. When the one is set over against the other and so maintained, both are certainly false. Yet there are elements of truth in them which, when combined, go to constitute the true view. Balaam was a heathen soothsayer and a seer of Jehovah at the same time. The two departments border on one another, though totally diverse in character. Balaam was between the two. He was in an intermediate position. The stage at which he had arrived was one of transition, where he could not assuredly remain long. Entangled as he was in the meshes of incantations and magic, he had an incipient knowledge and fear of God, which might have led on to the full character of a genuine prophet; had it not been resisted. But he stood still. He did not allow the spiritual to be developed within him. Whatever germ of piety he possessed was checked by the inordinate love of gain. The dawn of the spiritual gift that appeared in his soul was darkened by a

[1] Die Geschichte Bileam's und seine Weissagg. p. 11.

predominant passion. No thorough transformation had been wrought upon his inward character. He was radically unchanged. Yet the Spirit of God was not wholly withheld. His intellectual nature had been quickened. By the agency of that Spirit, individual rays of light were imparted to him; the incipient gift of prophecy bursting through the mist of debasing desires, and lifting him beyond the grovelling position he disliked to abandon. No comprehensive gift of prophecy belonged to him: and indeed he can scarcely be classed among true prophets. Yet he was not without the beginnings of such knowledge and reverence of the true God as formed a point of union for the divine Spirit. Hence he can neither be termed a mere heathen soothsayer and impostor, nor a pious prophet of the Lord.

3. What is the meaning of that part of Balaam's fourth prophecy which is contained in Numbers xxiv. 17, etc.?

> I see him, but not now;
> I behold him, but not nigh;
> A star arises out of Jacob,
> And a sceptre comes forth from Israel,
> And breaks to pieces the two sides of Moab,
> And shatters all the sons of tumult.
> And Edom shall be his possession,
> And they of Seir, his enemies, a possession;
> While Israel shall do valiantly;
> Out of Jacob rules [Jehovah]
> And out of the city (Zion) destroys them that remain.

It is universally allowed, that by the star which should come out of Jacob, and the sceptre which should rise out of Israel, a glorious king and ruler is spoken of. But, when we come to inquire more particularly who is meant, there is considerable diversity of sentiment.

(*a*) Some think that it refers to David, and appeal to the fact that he completely subdued the Moabites and Edomites as well as all the neighbouring nations hostile to the theocracy (2 Sam. viii). This opinion satisfies most of the conditions of the case. It is no valid objection to it, that the Moabites and Ammonites afterwards asserted their freedom, as related in the Books of the Kings; because the words do not say that the ruler should wholly subjugate them *for ever*. In the nineteenth verse the prophet's view stretches out into the distant future—far beyond David. His aspirations become, in a wide sense, *Messianic*. They long for and foretell a glorious time of conquest, of which David's was but the prelude. After the signal victory obtained by the conqueror over his enemies, Jehovah shall rule out of Jacob, in the midst of his people, and complete the subjugation of all his foes. The conqueror David insensibly gives place to

Jehovah in the nineteenth verse. There is an imperceptible transition from the one to the other. We do not look upon the seventeenth and eighteenth verses as Messianic, except so far as David's victories may have been connected in the mind of the seer with the ulterior and higher conquest in the golden age. It is strange that the verb וְיֵרֵד is not preceded by a noun. We suppose therefore with Ewald, that יְהוָה has fallen out; because the words in Psalm cx. 2 floated before the writer's mind.[1]

(*b*) Others as Calvin, Baumgarten, Delitzsch, and Rosenmüller, refer the prophecy to Messiah alone. Why then are the Edomites and Moabites singled out as peoples to be conquered by Him? The hypothesis is utterly unsuitable to the passage.

(*c*) Others as Kurtz, refer the prophecy both to David and Messiah, to the former as typical and anticipatory of the latter. We object to this double reference as unnecessary and inapposite. The Messianic element of the prophecy is introduced for the purpose of swelling out the number of passages in the Old Testament that speak of the future Redeemer. The words relate to war and conquest alone. There is nothing peaceful in them, as one should expect in allusion to Messianic times. The Messiah is a warrior, smiting the princes of Moab and destroying the tumultuous enemies of Israel. His foes are definitely mentioned. The spiritual blessings resulting to the heathen from Messiah's coming and power are entirely omitted. There is not the slightest allusion to the gracious benefits He bestows on the conquered. All this is in harmony with the character of Balaam. One should not expect the vision of such a seer to rise above the circle of earthly events. Supposing the prophecy to have been really uttered by Balaam, the star out of Jacob, which was also a sceptre, was in his view but one king, glorious and conquering, a shining spot in the darkness of futurity. Macdonald asserts that the prophecy is not more full of denunciation than the primal promise of the seed of the woman. He believes that the seed of the woman means specifically a *personal Messiah;* that the words of Gen. iii. 15, were *literally* and *audibly* spoken by Jehovah to Eve in the garden; and that both prophecies are essentially identical. It is useless to reason with one who holds such belief. He has yet to learn the first principles of interpretation.[2]

Hengstenberg's opinion is peculiar. He supposes that the star and sceptre designate an *ideal* person, the personified Israelitish kingdom, for which four arguments are adduced—by no

[1] See Ewald, achtes Jahrbuch., p. 36.
[2] Introduction to the Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 233.

means decisive or valid.[1] They have been refuted by Kurtz.[2] Yet they are repeated by Reinke.[3] A *real*, not an *ideal* person, must be meant. Individual deeds are ascribed to the star out of Jacob, which require a definite person to perform them. No pure abstraction or idea presented itself to the prophetic eye of the seer but a concrete thing when he exclaimed, "I see a star rise out of Jacob, and a sceptre from among Israel."

When it is asserted that the future king and conqueror should destroy all the children of Seth, the son of Adam and parent of the whole human race is not meant. Neither does Seth refer to a Gentile deity, whose priests and votaries are styled *the children of Seth*, according to Bryant. The word means *tumult* or *noise;* and the Moabites are termed *sons of tumult*, because they were perpetually troublesome and vexatious to the Israelites, by their incursions. So Verschuir first interpreted the noun, annihilating by that means one of the arguments on behalf of the Messianic application of the passage. Whether the star of Balaam, and the star of the wise men from the east bear an internal relation to one another is more than questionable.

4. What view is to be taken of the ass speaking to Balaam? This is a very difficult question. Assuming the historical character of the narration, and not resolving it into myth or legend, there are two modes of explaining the circumstance, viz.:

(*a*) As an external, objective fact. A miracle was wrought, and the tongue of the ass was moved to utter words after the manner of man. Most theologians who adhere to the letter of Scripture, take this view. It has been maintained very strenuously by Baumgarten, Otto von Gerlach, and Kurtz. In its favour, arguments like the following are produced:—

1. There is not a trace in the narrative of Balaam being in an ecstacy, or seeing the thing merely in inner vision.

2. The words, "and the Lord opened the mouth of the ass" (xxii. 28) necessitate the inference that the divine operation had the ass for its object, not the soul of Balaam. The words of Peter too, are very definite and express. "The ass speaking with man's voice forbade the madness of the prophet."

3. As the ass was present, bodily and externally visible, its speaking must also be externally and bodily audible.

(*b*) On the other hand, it has been asserted by Herder, and especially by Tholuck and Hengstenberg, that the incident occurred in vision. Balaam's soul was vividly impressed with the idea. The divine influence threw it into a peculiar condition, in

[1] Geschichte Bileam's, pp. 172, 173.
[2] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 490 et seqq.
[3] Die Weissagung Bileam's, Beiträge iv. pp. 259, 260.

which it conceived that the ass spake such words. The fact therefore was wholly internal, belonging to the soul of the rapt seer.

The argumentation of Hengstenberg in favour of this view is ingenious and laboured,[1] especially where he tries to shew that appearances in dreams and visions have *the same reality* as those in a waking state. The one class is as certain as the other, the difference being *formal* not *essential*. But when fancy is substituted for vision, *the actual* is subverted. With all the endeavours of this critic to prove that *the reality* of the thing is the same, whether presented to the inner vision, or to the outward eye as an objective phenomenon, we cannot resolve the whole into what is internal. The reasoning of Hengstenberg has been weakened, if not refuted, by Kurtz.[2] The entire narrative gives every reader the impression, that the writer thought he was relating what was historical and outward. It is expressly said that "the ass saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand," which can hardly agree with the subjective view maintained by Hengstenberg. Still stronger are the words of the twenty-eighth verse, "the Lord opened the mouth of the ass," which shew that the divine power was exerted on the mouth of the ass in producing certain words, and not upon the soul of the prophet. The language too in the Second Epistle of Peter proves, that the transaction was regarded as an external one; for it is plainly intimated there that the ass uttered articulate human language, and reproved the prophet.

While the phraseology thus seems to intimate that the narrator intended to describe what was objective and real, there are such difficulties and improbabilities in the transaction as to compel our having recourse to another view, that is, the *mythical*.

Such a miracle as that of an ass speaking with man's voice seems gratuitous and unmeaning. The divine intention evidently was to make Balaam ashamed, and so to dispel the cloud of earthly passions which prevented him from opening his spirit to a divine impression. It cannot surely be argued, though Kurtz appears to convey the idea,[3] that the literal speaking of the ass was *necessary* to rouse the sunken mind of the seer and waken up its prophetic capacity. Balaam, it is true, was stupid, obstinate, insensible to his calling, full of thoughts that were in direct opposition to the character of one who had the true prophetic gift; his heart was blinded by the love of money

1 Die Geschichte Bileam's, p. 48 et seqq.
2 Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 468 et seqq.
3 Geschichte u. s. w. vol. ii. p. 474.

and honour; but whatever amount of blindness or insensibility is attributed to him, it cannot render such miracle antecedently *probable*, much less *necessary*. More depends on *what* the ass said, than on *the simple fact* of its speaking. "The dumb ass forbade the madness of the prophet." She expostulated with and rebuked him. It is unlikely that he would have been reduced to shame and brought to think of his true position by the circumstance that *the ass spake*, had she not uttered words of rebuke. We cannot therefore agree with Kurtz in laying the stress and significance of the miracle on the *mere act of speaking*, rather than the *words which were spoken*. It was needful to recall the spirit of the seer from its sunken condition; that words of piercing reproof should be addressed to him. Hence the bare *speaking* of an ass seems meaningless.

It is very remarkable that the rider sits quietly on the ass and replies to her speaking without the least expression of astonishment. Would it not have been most natural for him to spring off her back? The first words of Balaam exclude the idea of astonishment: "Because thou hast mocked me; I would there were a sword in mine hand, for now would I kill thee."

Again, the speaking of the ass, taken as an outward and literal fact, transgresses those eternal laws which separate man from the lower animals. There is a wide, impassable line between nature and spirit—between the irrational creature, and the free agent man originally formed in the image of God. The Supreme Being, therefore, who put such a distinction between the two, will never transfer the qualities of the one to the other. This is freely admitted by Kurtz. But he assumes that the distinction between the two classes of God's creatures does not lie in *mere speech*, because various animals are able to utter articulate sounds like those of the human voice, and even articulate words; that it lies in *the things spoken;* that here the utterances themselves belong to the inner nature of the animal, without being a revelation of God to Balaam; and that all which shewed a divine operation was such modulation of the ass's voice as made it convey to the ears of Balaam words indicative of human speech. This reasoning seems to us fallacious. There is no good reason for separating the mere modulation and tones of the words from *the words themselves*. And it is contrary to the nature of the ass, whatever instinct, feeling, or intelligence is supposed to belong to it, to utter words of expostulation and reproof to Balaam. *The tones of the words* and *the words themselves* must be taken together. If the former was miraculous, the latter were equally so. *Both* constituted the wonder. And if that be so, the eternal laws separating the two classes of God's creatures are broken down—a thing which the Almighty could

not do consistently with his all-wise procedure in the original constitution of man and beast. The miracle, if such it be, is *unique* in Scripture.

Having thus seen the improbability of the outwardly *literal* view as well as of the purely *internal* one, we are driven to the assumption that the narrative is partly unhistorical. It possesses a historical basis adorned with legendary particulars. The simple fact or facts which lie at the foundation of it were dressed out, in the progress of time, with marvellous features.

It may not be out of place to mention, that Philo omits all mention of the ass's speaking; and that the best interpreters adopt the mythic view. Bochart[1] has adduced parallels where animals are represented as speaking prophetically, agreeably to the genius of tradition. The mythic view is favoured by the fact, that the mention of the Assyrians in xxiv. 24, and the tenor of the prophecy which presupposes the kingdom as already belonging to Israel, xxiv. 17, place the origin of the entire piece (xxii.-xxiv.) relating to Balaam in a later period, when traditional matter had become incorporated with the historical groundwork and could not be separated from it. There is some danger, however, of taking too much from the original matter. The traces of a later time are certainly discernible to criticism; but they lie partly in the form and rythmical configuration of the poems, as well as in the subject matter itself, though the latter is not free from them. It is difficult to tell at what time Numbers xxii.-xxiv. was actually written. Steudel's opinion that Balaam himself wrote his utterances is quite improbable. Hengstenberg satisfactorily shews, that the use of the names of Deity is inexplicable on that supposition. These titles could only have proceeded from an Israelite. Besides, Balaam could scarcely have written good Hebrew. Aramaean was his language.

We have argued on the supposition that Balaam really uttered what is attributed to him. But his words are not historical. The basis only is such. Balaam himself was a historical personage. He was a renowned soothsayer, to whose words great efficacy was ascribed by the heathens who had heard of his fame or come in contact with him. The Moabites and Midianites wished him to curse the Israelites and so deprive them of the protection of their God; but he blessed them. These facts the lyrical poet probably learned by tradition, and painted the scene in his own manner. The character of Balaam as here depicted is imaginary in several details. His words, which are poetical and prophetic, are partly those of a later writer.

[1] Hierozoicon i. p. 168 et seqq.

They are a specimen of lyrical divination, based on historical tradition and put into the mouth of Balaam as prophecy. God *may have* employed so unworthy an instrument as the seer is represented to be, to communicate a revelation of Himself. But it is unlikely. He was too wavering, covetous, half-heathenish, to be chosen as the medium of communication between a pure God and his creatures on earth. The blessings and curses of such an one could have no virtue in themselves, but only in the imagination of a superstitious age. In consequence of the author's theocratic stand-point, the people of Israel could not be blessed except by Jehovah; and therefore the seer is depicted as a waverer between Baal and Jehovah, impelled against his will by the spirit of the latter. The prophecy is post-Mosaic, as internal evidence shews. The mention of the *Kenites* and *Assyria* in the twenty-second verse, the former of whom were allies of Edom, shews that the writer was acquainted with the Edomite wars under Amaziah and Uzziah, and hoped that the latter power would permanently subjugate the restless Edomites. This brings down the time of composition to the first half of the eighth century, and is at the same time a presumptive evidence that the star and sceptre refer to *David alone;* because, if they alluded to Messiah, another period would not be described immediately after, *except it were later;* whereas on the Messianic interpretation of the seventeenth verse, it is much *earlier*.

The twenty-third and twenty-fourth verses some suppose to be a later addition, because it has been thought they do not coincide with the general character of Balaam's prophecies, which were intended to be eulogistic of the Israelites. What gave rise to them is difficult to discover. It is said that *ships of Chittim should afflict Eber, and he should perish for ever.* According to Hitzig,[1] the reference is to the invasion of Cilicia by the Greeks (B.C. 710). The Assyrians advanced to attack the Cilicians, but were repulsed with great loss; an event which must have been of consequence to the Israelites, and have thrown them into terror. Was that occasion sufficient to give rise to the two verses? We greatly doubt it. It is more probable that the words refer to a rebellion of the inhabitants of Cyprus against Phenicia—a rebellion that threatened all the north Syrian coast.[2] Whatever may have been the age of the writer, he certainly belonged to Judah not Israel, as xxiii. 19 shews.

Most assign the piece to the Jehovist. He did not write it himself, however, but found it already existing. The linguistic features do not entirely suit the Jehovist himself. Elohim not

[1] Begriff der Kritik, p. 54 et seqq.
[2] Ewald, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. iii. p. 608.

unfrequently occurs, as in xxii. 9, 12. There is a considerable resemblance between xxiv. 9 and Gen. xlix. 9, ascribed to imitation by some.

If the preceding observations be correct, we need not be anxious to inquire minutely into the mixed character of Balaam, the dramatic scenes in which he is pourtrayed, or the words put into his mouth, since they are unhistorical. Difficulties belong to the narrative which it is scarcely worth while to unravel, because of its ideal nature. The personal intercourse between God and Balaam, the appearance of an angel, the speaking of the ass, the exact predictions of the seer, and his utterances in glorification of Israel, are unhistorical.[1]

It is remarkable, that the Elohist merely mentions the fact of Balaam's falling by the sword along with the five kings of Midian (Num. xxxi. 8), and that his counsel was the cause of the Israelites being enticed into the impure worship of Baal-peor or Priapus (xxxi. 16).

After such explanation, some may think our lengthened discussion of Balaam's character, the speaking of the ass, and the meaning of his prophecies, to have been superfluous. Yet it has been judged desirable to treat the subject, in the first instance, in its literal aspect, as though everything happened as it is narrated and Balaam himself spoke the very lyrical poetry put into his mouth, because most readers look at it in that light, without perceiving the insuperable difficulties inherent in the view, or its analogy to the lyrics in Gen. xlix. and Deut. xxxiii. containing the benedictions of Jacob and Moses respectively.

VIII. CHARACTER OF MOSES'S LAWS.—The *fundamental* laws embodied in the three middle books of the Pentateuch belong to Moses himself. On them the theocracy is based. At least their essence should be referred to him, if not their present form. It is admitted that several of them lost their original form in the course of transmission, tradition having moulded them differently. Yet their *substance* is Mosaic. In maintaining that they are genuine Mosaic products, we attribute a high revelation to the great legislator, justifying the idea of the theocracy being *divine*. The laws may be called *divine*, because the mind of him from whom they proceeded was remarkably enlightened from above. The ancient Hebrews proceeded on the assumption that everything of the legal which came down from antiquity was derived from Moses. On this account they inserted among the laws really bearing his stamp, others of their own times; for by representing everything legal as originating at an early age, its authority was heightened. Accordingly,

[1] See Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 121 et seqq.

while we look upon Elohistic laws as truly Mosaic, as well as others recorded by the Jehovist, the three middle books of the Pentateuch may be said to represent Mosaism in *character* and *spirit*, though including later prescriptions and augmented with later features. It is sometimes difficult to trace the originals of these laws; and to separate the genuine Mosaic ones from such as were afterwards attributed to Moses. But it is not impossible. And it should be remarked, that some of the laws and festivals adopted by Moses were not *absolutely* new. He profited largely from his experience in Egypt; bringing thence not a few things subsequently incorporated into his legislation. When thus transferred they received a new significance. Their relation was changed in consequence of their connection with the worship of the one Jehovah. In the hands of the legislator they acquired a new aspect, being taken out of nature-worship into a revealed religion, where they prepared man for communion with God by nourishing and strengthening the consciousness of the divine within him. It is remarkable that the fundamental doctrine of Mosaism, viz., that there is but one God, the Creator and Preserver of all, invisible, eternal, omnipotent, holy, and just, was all along inadequately apprehended till the captivity. A few choice spirits grasped it with sufficient distinctness and adhered to it; while to the mass of the people Jehovah was no more than a superior god beside other deities. Polytheism had deeply penetrated the vulgar mind; and though the nation frequently sought Jehovah with conviction of sin and repentance, such conversions, called forth by external circumstances, were transient in their effects. A manifold idolatry, partly of Zabian and partly of Egyptian origin, had its altars in all the cities of the land, in the streets of Jerusalem, and in the very temple of Jehovah immediately before the exile, as we learn from Jeremiah. There is no evidence to shew that the ceremonial law was observed by the Jews with anything like regularity or strictness. The great feasts themselves, such as the passover, the feast of tabernacles, etc., were allowed to fall into desuetude, as the historical books attest. If the externals of true religion were negligently attended to, religion itself must have been sickly.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

I. CONTENTS.—This book may be divided as follows:—

1. An introductory discourse by Moses, containing a brief history of Israel since the exodus, with the object of warning and admonishing the people; to which is appended the destination of the cities of refuge east of Jordan, chapters i.–iv. 43.

2. The body of the work, in the form of a long address to the people of Israel by Moses, preceded by a short introduction (iv. 44–49); chapters iv. 44–xxvi.

3. A closing address exhorting anew to the observance of the law, chapters xxvii.–xxx.

4. A descriptive appendix relative to Moses's death, including two larger poetical pieces, viz., the song and blessing of Moses, chapters xxxi.–xxxiv.

In the eleventh month of the fortieth year from the exodus, Moses is represented as delivering the discourses recorded in the book of Deuteronomy. The aged patriarch, feeling that his death is near, and that he himself will not set foot in the land promised to his fathers, is anxious respecting the welfare of those whose leader he had been; and, like a father, assembles them to receive his last counsels and warning. He takes a brief historical survey of the principal events which had befallen the people from the time they were at mount Sinai till a recent period. Here he touches upon the appointment of officers, the sending of spies into Canaan to bring back a report of its state, and the divine anger manifested towards them for their incredulity and disobedience. He reminds them that they were forbidden to attack the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites; but that Sihon and all the Amorite territory were subdued. This is followed by the story of the conquest of Og king of Bashan, whose territory, with that of Sihon, was distributed to the two tribes and a half; and by Moses's prayer to enter the promised land, which was denied, though he was permitted to see it from the top of Pisgah. The fourth chapter

contains an exhortation to obedience. After the discourse he appoints the three cities of refuge for the country on the east of Jordan (i.–iv. 43). With Vater we take iv. 44–49 as introductory to what follows, *i.e.*, to the discourse which properly commences with the fifth chapter. He reminds them now, that they had made a covenant at Horeb to take Jehovah for their sovereign; that the precepts of the decalogue, which he recites, were announced there in their hearing, and that other divine communications had been made to him for their use. The observance of these divine precepts is inculcated; and they are commanded to teach them to their children. No intercourse with the idolatrous inhabitants of the land is to be held, but all monuments of their false worship must be destroyed. The speaker again exhorts them to observe the precepts of Jehovah, enumerating His benefits and adding a promise of perpetual prosperity and assistance if they would do so. Should they forget their obligations after they had enjoyed the pleasures and fertility of the promised land, they would be visited with heavy calamities. In the ninth chapter he dissuades them from ascribing their successes to their own righteousness or merits; reminding them how they rebelled in the wilderness and apostatised from Jehovah; for which reason they had almost been exterminated, had he not interceded for them and appeased the anger of God. In the tenth chapter, Moses relates how the tables of the covenant had been renewed; where the death of Aaron had taken place; and how the tribe of Levi had been separated. An exhortation to obedience follows. Here it must be noticed, that the sixth and seventh verses interrupt the connection and are out of place. It has been attempted, indeed, to find some reason for their present position, but every such explanation is too artificial to be adopted. The appeal to the people to render obedience to their divine benefactor is enforced in the eleventh chapter, by past manifestations of God's great power, both in their protection and punishment; and by His promise of blessings and purpose of heavy retribution. The people are solemnly to invoke on themselves the divine favour or vengeance on mounts Ebal and Gerizim, after their establishment in Canaan.

From the twelfth to the twenty-sixth chapter inclusive, Moses repeats such laws as were necessary for the whole people to know, and which had been previously enacted. Some of them are more or less modified. He also intersperses new ones. Those relating to the priests are omitted. In the twelfth chapter the rule is repeated respecting the destruction of the monuments of idolatry in the land of Canaan. Sacrifices are to be offered up in the place which the Lord should choose for that purpose. To that all offerings are to be brought; and there is to

be a festive entertainment for friends, where charitable liberality must be dispensed. Instead of the rigour of the ancient law being carried out, it is now permitted that animals designed for food need not be brought to the tabernacle to be slaughtered; but that the owner might slay them at his own home, if he resided at an inconvenient distance from the holy place. The blood is prohibited to be eaten in this case also.

The thirteenth chapter contains cautions and severe prohibitions against the adoption of the Canaanite idolatrous practices. False prophets, who should try to seduce the people into the sin of idolatry, are to be put to death, however near may be the relationship between them and those they have tempted. The cities also which suffer themselves to be drawn away to the worship of strange gods, are to be utterly exterminated. Not only the inhabitants of them are to be put to the sword, but the cattle also; all their moveables must be consumed with fire; and their dwellings razed to the ground. Certain rites practised by the heathen in mourning, are next prohibited; after which the rules respecting clean and unclean animals are repeated with only three slight differences from the previous record. This is followed by some other regulations relative to tithes. The sabbatical year is then adduced for the purpose of appending to it a new precept, viz., that the payment of debts should not be enforced in that year. It is not meant that they should be cancelled; but that the poor debtor should not be asked to pay during a year in which they got no produce from the land. This, however, does not apply to the rich and foreigners. Respecting the emancipation of slaves on the seventh year of their service, it is now enjoined for the first time, that the female should have the same privilege as the male; and that none should be sent away in a destitute state, but, on the contrary, with a liberal provision. All firstling males of cattle are to be sanctified to the Lord, and to be eaten, except the blood, in the place to be chosen by Him, unless they have some blemish. The sixteenth chapter treats of the three great annual festivals, the passover, pentecost, and tabernacles. Judges are to be appointed in all the cities, who shall administer justice with impartiality; groves and images are forbidden. In the eighteenth chapter it is enjoined that the victims for sacrifice must be sound; and that idolators should be slain. Difficult matters are to be determined by the priests, "and the judge that shall be in those days," *i.e.*, the supreme judge of the nation, to whom the same power belonged as that which Moses and Aaron had; but who was only extraordinary. Should the people desire a king over them, instructions are given respecting his person, duties, and responsibilities. He must have the

divine approbation, be a native, and not imitate the luxury and ambition of surrounding monarchs. He must also make out a copy of the law for his use.

In the first eight verses of the eighteenth chapter, the provision for the maintenance of the priests and Levites is referred to, in which an addition to the priests' perquisites occurs—viz., "the two cheeks and the maw;" and it is enjoined, that if a Levite should come from any part of the Israelite territory, where he had a home, and wish to give himself to the perpetual service of the tabernacle, he should have the same support as his brethren there. All superstition and impious divination, which were associated with heathen worship, are prohibited. Moses then goes on to speak of a prophet being raised up from among the people like to himself, to whom they should hearken, who is distinguished from false prophets. It is also stated in what way *a true* may be distinguished from a *false* prophet.

The first thirteen verses of the nineteenth chapter relate to the cities of refuge for manslayers, from which deliberate murderers are debarred, and put to death. It is then enjoined that landmarks are not to be changed. In all criminal cases, two witnesses at least are required. If a witness, after a judicial investigation before the highest tribunal, be convicted of perjury, he is to be visited with the punishment which his false testimony would have brought on another.

After the host is assembled for battle, and receives the priest's exhortation to encourage them, heralds are to proclaim, that whoever has built a new house and not dedicated it, or planted a vineyard, or betrothed a wife, is free to go home; and that the same privilege is given to the timid. In attacking cities, the Jews are to offer terms of peace; which, if accepted, are to secure to the victors the right of tribute and service from all the inhabitants; but if a city refuses to enter into negociation and is taken by storm, its male population only is to be slaughtered and their property seized. Women and children must be spared. Unceasing war is to be waged with the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites, till they should be utterly destroyed. In besieging a city, the people are to be careful about the trees they fell.

The commencement of the twenty-first chapter describes the things to be done in the case of an uncertain murder, for its expiation. Should one wish to marry a female captive, a month's time must be allowed her for mourning over her condition before she be taken to wife. And, if after this, he should desire to divorce her, she must be allowed her freedom, without being kept as his slave or sold. The first-born in a family cannot be deprived of his right of primogeni-

ture on account of his mother being hated. Stubborn and incorrigibly profligate sons are to be brought by the parents to the elders of the city, and then stoned. It is also enjoined, that a malefactor must not hang on a tree all night, but be buried the same day, "lest the land be defiled." In the twenty-second chapter it is ordained that a stray ox, or sheep, or ass, should be restored to its owner if known, or kept till inquiry for the missing be made. The rule is extended to every lost thing. The sexes are forbidden to exchange apparel, for the purpose of avoiding improper intercourse, and because such a practice was common in the licentious rites of idol-worship. The mother bird is not to be taken with her young ones; a battlement must be made on the roof of a new house to prevent persons falling down; different kinds of seeds are not to be sown together; a garment of woollen and linen together must not be worn; and fringes must be made upon the vesture. Should one slander his wife for unchastity before marriage, he shall be fined a hundred shekels of silver; but if such unchastity be true, the woman is to be stoned to death. Adultery is to be punished by the death of both parties. The chapter specifies several cases of impurity between man and woman. The twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth verses repeat and extend what had been already given in Exodus xxii. 16, 17, respecting the liabilities of a seducer. The sum to be paid the father is now specified, and the right of divorce is declared to be forfeited. The thirtieth verse is simply repeated, without any apparent reason.

The twenty-third chapter refers to those who might obtain the right of Jewish citizenship or naturalisation; to the necessity of cleanness and decorum in all arrangements respecting the camp; and to the non-restoration of a fugitive slave after he had crossed the Israelitish border. Whoredom is condemned as well as unnatural practices; and the pagan custom of presenting the wages of prostitution as a sacred offering is declared to be an abomination to the Lord. The taking of interest for the loan of money or any merchantable commodity, is strictly prohibited in regard to the Jews themselves, but not to strangers. It is easy to see that this would limit their commerce with other nations; and, by so doing, preserve their religious faith from contamination. What is vowed should be performed. Persons are allowed to eat in a neighbour's vineyard, but not to carry fruit away; and to pluck the ears of corn in a field, but not to put in a sickle.

The twenty-fourth chapter commences with a notice relating to divorce, and one cause of it. The divorced woman might marry again, but could not be re-united to her former husband after the death of the second, or after he had also divorced her.

A newly-married man was not to go out to war. The mill-stone, so necessary to the debtor's daily sustenance, could not be taken as security for a debt; nor the pledged garment kept over night; nor the house of a poor debtor entered for the purpose of demanding an article promised in pawn, when it could be brought out and delivered without exposure of the penury within. A hired servant was to be paid his wages before sunset. The chapter closes with other directions relating to justice and humanity towards the strangers and the poor, and liberality in leaving free gleanings for poor neighbours.

The twenty-fifth chapter ordains that there shall be moderation in judgment; and that stripes must not exceed forty. The ox which treads out the corn shall not be muzzled, so as to be prevented from feeding. If a married Jew died childless, his brother next in age was bound to marry the surviving wife, and the first-born succeeded to the inheritance. If however he refused to raise up seed to his deceased brother, he had to submit to a public ceremony of degradation, and to bear an ignominious name. Here, therefore, is an exception to the law in Leviticus. After referring to the immodest woman, unjust weights are prohibited; and it is ordained that the memory of Amalek should be rooted out.

The twenty-sixth chapter commences with a certain formula of words expressive of the grateful sentiments with which the Israelite should visit the sanctuary with his basket of first-fruits, when he should be settled in the promised land. This is followed by a similar confession for him who should give the third year's tithes. The people are then reminded of the solemn covenant between God and them.

In the twenty-seventh chapter, Moses, with the elders, commands the people that when they crossed the Jordan they should set up great stones, and plaister them with plaister, and write upon them "all the words of this law." These stones were to be erected on mount Ebal, where an altar was to be built of white stones. The most probable interpretation is that of the commentators, who regard the altar as composed of the stones on which the law had been engraved, as before stated. Thus *the stones inscribed* and *the altar* were one and the same thing, as the eighth verse, following the three preceding ones, plainly shews. The twelve tribes were then to be distributed into two divisions; six on mount Gerizim, to bless the people, and six on mount Ebal to curse. The tribes selected to bless are descendants of Leah and Rachel, the free wives of Jacob; while the other six are the posterity of his bond-women, along with the descendants of Reuben and Zebulun. The maledictions, twelve in number, which the Levites were to pronounce, are then given.

It has been inquired why certain crimes are mentioned to the exclusion of others; to which it is replied, by Le Clerc and Michaelis, that those violations of the law are selected which men are guilty of in secret, or which God alone can avenge, such as he who makes an idol and puts it in a secret place; he who despises his father or his mother, the parent generally submitting to indignity rather than delivering up a child to justice; he who secretly removes his neighbour's land-marks; he who misleads the blind; the perfidious judge who is unjust to widows, orphans, and strangers; he who is guilty of incest and bestiality; the secret assassin; and he who takes a bribe to condemn the innocent to death. After the Levites shall pronounce aloud these imprecations on the perpetrators of the crimes alluded to, the assembled congregation shall respond by, *Amen.*

The twenty-eighth chapter enumerates various blessings which should attend those who kept the divine law; and dreadful maledictions which should be the lot of those who violated that law. The former were to be pronounced by six tribes ranged on the declivity of Gerizim; the latter on the declivity of the opposite mountain, Ebal, by the other six tribes. It is not very easy to explain this chapter in connection with the preceding one. Of the two sets of maledictions the first, mentioned in the twenty-seventh chapter, were to be pronounced by the Levites on Ebal (14–26), in the sacerdotal capacity, who would then pass over to Gerizim and become one of the tribes in blessing; while the tribes left on Ebal were to proclaim the second set of maledictions. Thus the two courses of maledictions were distinct, and uttered by different parties. It will be observed that the curses in the twenty-eighth chapter are more copious and detailed than the blessings. Neither list is concise or condensed; so that the speaker may rather be supposed to have followed his own excited feelings, than to have adhered to the form in which the respective utterances were to be pronounced. With less probability it has been conjectured by Palfrey,[1] that they may have been intended to be read aloud in their whole length by some individual, each sentence being appropriated by the tribes appointed for the service, by means of a response at its close. The form is too oratorical to justify the idea that they were proclaimed just as they are now written.

The twenty-ninth and thirtieth chapters contain another discourse of Moses, in which he recounts the divine benefits, for the purpose of encouraging the people to renew the covenant with Jehovah faithfully; and adds the disastrous alternative, should they despise the divine law or fall into idolatry. Pardon

[1] Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures, vol. i. p. 496, note.

is promised to the repentant people. No excuse for ignorance can be pleaded, because the law is so clearly explained. Death and life are plainly set before them. The first verse of the twenty-ninth chapter does not belong to what precedes, as some think. The covenant mentioned was to be made in the land of Moab, not when the Israelites should have crossed the Jordan.

Feeling that he had arrived at the utmost point to which he was permitted to advance, that he was disabled by age and near death, the speaker now encourages the people with the assurance of the divine guidance and protection in taking possession of the promised land; and gives a solemn charge to Joshua before them, exhorting him to the courage which became him as their leader. It is then stated, that he committed the written law to the priests and all the elders of Israel, with the injunction that it should be publicly read every seventh year at the feast of tabernacles, before the assembled people. By the divine command Moses and Joshua repair to the tabernacle, where the Lord appears in a pillar of cloud, giving the sanction of his authority to the arrangement respecting the future leadership of the people. *There* was communicated to Moses a brief account of the people's apostacy and consequent calamities, after his decease. He is also commanded to write "a song" and teach it to the children of Israel; which he does accordingly. After all the words of the law had been written in a book, Moses gave it to the Levites to be deposited in the side of the ark of the covenant; and, assembling all the elders and the officers once more, delivered to them the divine message which he had just received. On the same day he was directed to ascend mount Nebo, and, having taken a distant view of the promised land, to rest in death and be gathered to his people. The song of Moses is contained in xxxii. 1–43, in which, after a solemn invocation, he recalls to the recollection of an ungrateful people the benefits they had received from God. He then describes them in the enjoyment of all kinds of possessions and secure occupation of the promised land, but turning aside from the worship of Jehovah to strange gods. In consequence of such conduct God is described as angry, threatening punishment and inflicting it. For greater effect the poet introduces the Almighty himself speaking in His wrath. The conclusion refers to other nations, adopted by Jehovah in place of the Israelites, and celebrating the justice of the divine judgments.

The thirty-third chapter purports to record some of the words of Moses with which he blessed the children of Israel, invoking prosperity upon the tribes in succession. The last chapter briefly states that Moses went up to mount Nebo to survey the promised land, where he died at the age of one hundred and

twenty, and was buried in a valley or hollow place, over against Beth-peor. It is added, "no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." His funeral obsequies lasted thirty days. He was succeeded by Joshua as civil and military leader.

II. "THIS SONG" IN XXXI.-AND XXXII.—A good deal of perplexity is connected with the words, "this song," in Deut. xxxi. 19, 21, 22, 30, xxxii. 44. Its usual application is to xxxii. 1–43. It must be confessed, however, that difficulties lie in the way of that interpretation. At the first mention (xxxi. 19) the song is introduced very abruptly, Moses and Joshua being commanded by God at the door of the tabernacle "to write it out and teach it to the children of Israel that it may be a witness against them for Him." The language *seems* to imply that the song was delivered in the first place by God himself to Moses and Joshua, who were merely ordered to write it down for the benefit of the Israelites. It is immediately subjoined, that Moses did as he was commanded; he wrote the song and taught it to the Israelites (verse 22). In the thirtieth verse the song is again introduced in language which is suitable to a first mention of it; and again in xxxii. 44, similar language is repeated. It is certainly unusual to sever the directions and statement respecting the song in xxxi. 19–22, from the preceding connection, and refer them to a succeeding passage. Palfrey also urges, that the length of the song is unsuitable for the children of Israel to learn by heart; that its contents do not correspond with the view of its being a message from the Deity, because single expressions are the language of a devout worshipper, and the Lord himself is introduced as speaking in some parts; and that its whole tone, verbose, discursive, pompous, and expressive of human feelings, is adverse to the same interpretation. For these reasons he refers the words, "this song," to xxxi. 16–18; and then the song means only a brief and solemn admonition to the people which they could easily learn, and retain in the memory.[1]

Although this view has the recommendation of simplicity we are compelled to reject it. The writer of xxxii. 46, appears to have thought that the preceding song, 1–43, was the one intended to be learnt by the Israelites, for he says: "Set your hearts unto all the words which I testify among you this day, which ye shall command your children to observe to do," etc. The length of the song, supposing it to consist of xxxii. 1–43, is not unsuitable to be retained in the memory of the Israelites, *in substance*; and we cannot see that the nineteenth verse of xxxi. really implies that God himself delivered the song as a

[1] Academical Lectures, etc., vol. i. p. 501, note.

message from himself in its present form. All that can be assumed is, that in substance the song was a message from the Deity, which the poet enunciated and expanded in his own way. The Divine Being *inspired* him to deliver it; He did not dictate it audibly. There is indeed some awkwardness in verses 19–22 being introduced without the song itself being immediately given, verses 23–29 intervening and breaking the connection; but this is obviated in a great measure by such as think that from xxxii. 24 we have the words of Moses's continuator, all that precedes having been the composition of the legislator himself. According to that view, Moses himself hastens to complete his writing with a mere reference to his concluding song, leaving it to some other to put it in writing.

It has been asked where the record of Moses terminates. The point is of importance only on the assumption of the legislator himself having written the book; and therefore we need not discuss it. It is obvious that the last two chapters cannot be ascribed to Moses. The thirty-second also, with its inscription (xxxi. 30), appears to be a later addition. The transaction at the tabernacle, which none but himself and Joshua could record from personal knowledge, seems also to belong to him. But there his entries apparently end, *i.e.*, with xxxi. 23, as Hengstenberg supposes. His delivering the book to the Levites, the reason of it, and his command to convoke the people that he might address his last message to them, belong to another writer. It is unlikely that xxxii. 44-52 was added by Moses. Other conjectures as to the probable termination of Moses's record need not be stated, because the entire book belongs to a LATER writer and time.

III. "THIS LAW" IN XXVII. 2, 3.—In Deut. xxvii. 2, 3, we read: "And it shall be on the day when ye shall pass over Jordan unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, that thou shalt set thee up great stones, and plaister them with plaister. And thou shalt write upon them *all the words of this law*, when thou art passed over," etc.

What is meant by *all the words of this law?* Not the whole Pentateuch, on account of its extent. Not the decalogue, because Moses does not speak of it in the context; nor is any reference made to it in the execution of this command by Joshua (viii. 30-35). Others have thought that the curses recorded in the latter part of the twenty-seventh chapter, and the blessings mentioned at the beginning of the twenty-eighth, compose the law in question, solemnly proclaimed from Ebal and Gerizim. This view is given by Josephus. We do not see any good reason for restricting the term *law*, especially as connected with *all the words of*, to the parts specified. Pulfrey confines

the term to the first twelve imprecations, which the Levites are supposed to have read aloud from the altar-stones on which they were engraved.[1] This is still more improbable than the last explanation, being far too narrow a sense of "all the words of this law." Others, as Geddes, Vater, and Hengstenberg, think that *the second law* is meant, *i.e.*, Deut. iv. 44-xxvi. This is incorrect. The law generally is meant, *i.e.*, the precepts proper belonging to it, which were 613 according to the Jews.[2]

It has been inquired what was the use of the plaister in the inscription spoken of. Kennicott[3] thinks that the letters were raised in black marble, and the hollow intervals between the black letters filled up with white lime to make them more conspicuous. Michaelis,[4] objecting to this view, suggests that when Moses commanded his laws to be cut in the stones, he had them coated with a thick crust of lime, that when the lime decayed the inscription *might* be revealed to a future age. Both conjectures proceed on the idea that the legislator wished to transmit his laws to the latest posterity. We agree with Michaelis in thinking, that the writer of Deuteronomy meant to attribute this idea to Moses; for Palfrey's objections rest on the assumption that *the law* contained merely the twelve curses, and that the inscription was only intended for a temporary purpose.

IV. MOSES'S DEATH AND BURIAL.—In the thirty-fourth chapter, fifth and sixth verses, we read: "So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the Lord. And he buried him in a valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor: but no man knoweth of his sepulchre *unto this day.*" Some time had elapsed between his burial and this record, as we learn from the phrase, *unto this day.* How the great legislator died is not stated. When it is said, "he buried him," the meaning is simply impersonal, "*one* buried him," or "he was buried." With Kurtz,[5] and many others who take Jehovah as the nominative case to the verb *buried* we cannot agree; for what could be the meaning of the Deity himself burying Moses? It has been commonly supposed, that the reason why the spot was concealed from the people was, lest it should afterwards become a scene of superstitious or idolatrous worship. But Kurtz imagines that there was little fear of this, in consequence of the great respect which the people had for the most distinguished prophet of the Old Testament. The general view of graves and dead men's bones as producing uncleanness, was sufficiently strong to prevent pious pilgrimages

[1] Academical Lectures, etc., vol. i. p. 491.
[2] Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 306.
[3] Works, vol. iii. p. 77, note.
[4] Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 356, translation.
[5] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 526.

to the resting-place of a saint, however holy. There is some truth in this opinion; for although the graves of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, etc., were well known, there is no intimation that the Israelites made them the scene of superstition. It has been thought probable, that although Moses's body was buried, it was exempted from corruption. He passed immediately into the same state of existence with Elias, but not in the same manner.

The burial of Moses is viewed by Kurtz in connexion with a remarkable passage in Jude's epistle, ninth verse, where Michael the archangel and the devil are represented as disputing about the body of the Jewish legislator. The writer follows a Jewish tradition, which is also in the Apocryphal book called the "Ascension of Moses;" a work known to Clement, Origen, and Didymus, and probably of Alexandrian origin. We cannot see, however, that the introduction of this tradition into a canonical epistle attests its truth or authority. It is simply a Rabbinical story which must be judged by its intrinsic merits. The fact that Jude refers to it does not sanction its credibility.

V. SECOND TITHE. — In Deut. xiv. 28, 29, xxvi. 12–15, it would appear that a *second* tithe is brought forward. From the way in which the subject is introduced, it may be inferred that the practice was already in use or well known. In xiv. 22-27, a yearly tithe is first spoken of, which was to be taken to the sanctuary and eaten before the Lord. But at the twenty-eighth verse, the writer mentions another tithe of which he says—"At the end of three years thou shalt bring all the tithe of thine increase the same year, and shalt lay it up within thy gates" (xiv. 28). The most probable interpretation of the clause seems to be, that on every third year the second tithe was to be consumed at home, instead of being carried to Jerusalem. Such is the view of Selden,[1] preferable as appears to us to that of Michaelis who supposes that every third year an accurate reckoning of the unoffered tithes was made, and what was then found to be due remained for appropriation at home. But the so-called second tithe should not be severed from the first or Levitical one. There was properly but one whole tithe. And it is evident that the Deuteronomist regarded the triennial one as the chief, because he calls it *all the tithes*, and the third year *the year of tithing*. The regulations in Deuteronomy are indeed different from those in Leviticus and Numbers, but they concern the same tithe. An extension is given to it in the fifth book. It is enjoined not only that the Israelites should apply the tenth of the produce of their fields, vineyards, and herds, or its equiva-

[1] Works, vol. iii. Part II. pp. 1083, 1084. London 1726.

lent in money, in preparing yearly a feast at the sanctuary, in which slaves and the Levites should participate; but that every third year a tithe-feast should be held in the city of each Israelite, to which the Levites, strangers, widows, and orphans should be invited. Thus tithe-feasts of a social character are enjoined; not interfering with the original tithes, but *accompanying the tithe-offerings and additional to them.* They were offering and social feasts, liberally supplementing the proper tithe-offerings. Had they been substituted *in place of* the original Levitical tithes, the priesthood would not have had sufficient maintenance. They did not however *interfere* with, but enlarged the latter with a benevolent intent. The mention of firstling animals in connexion with the tithe-feasts is so cursory, that it may suggest a variety of interpretations. The first-born of animals belonged to the priest as a part of his proper revenue. Perhaps Deut. xii. 6, xiv. 23, xv. 19–23, refers to a second sort of firstlings which were to be employed for feast-offerings, and therefore to be consumed by the offerer himself and his guests. The name denotes the animals *next in age* to those belonging to the sacerdotal salary. Hence the firstlings referred to were *additional* to such as appear in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

VI. NATURE OF THE DEUTERONOMIC LEGISLATION. — The second legislation in the plains of Moab is so different from the Sinaitic contained in the three preceding books as to shew another time of origination. It contains *deviations from* the older, as well as *additions* and *discrepancies*, shewing another author. It is possible indeed to conceive of Moses, provided he wrote the preceding books of the Pentateuch, giving a survey of the historical circumstances through which he had passed at the head of the Israelites, and modifying or abrogating such enactments as would be unsuitable to the people when they had obtained possession of the promised land. But though the case is possible, abundant evidences justify the conclusion that it is highly improbable, if not absolutely erroneous. The book of Deuteronomy as a whole could not have proceeded from any one who may be assumed as the writer of the preceding four books.

It has been already shewn, that the other portions of the Pentateuch proceed from various writers, whose documents were put together in their present form by a later hand. It is most natural therefore to look for the same writers in the present book. Are they here also? A cursory perusal of Deuteronomy is sufficient to shew, that by far the greater part of it proceeded from one person. Who was he? Was he the Elohist, older or younger, or the Jehovist? The two former are out of the ques-

tion, as the genius of the work proves. The Jehovist is the only one that has any claim to the authorship. And to him it has been assigned by Stähelin,[1] whom Schultz appears to follow, on the ground that the legislation, theology, manner of writing, and historical accounts, are similar. But though he has ingeniously defended this view by a minute investigation of the phenomena, we do not think he has been successful in maintaining it. Granting that there is much relationship between the Jehovist and Deuteronomist, in all the leading particulars of their composition, so much diversity will be found as to disprove identity of authorship. The similarity in diction between them occurs for the most part in places where the latter repeats or alludes to older pieces; and, as the former was much nearer to him in time and characteristics than the Elohist, it is but natural that he should influence the Deuteronomist to some extent. The shorter interval of time between the two also leads to similarity between the laws. But if the Jehovist and Deuteronomist had been identical, it is very improbable that he should first enumerate laws, differing in various respects from the Elohist, and then present a second legislation containing alterations in his own laws.

With regard to diction, the following dissimilarities appear:— דָּבַק בַּיי *to cleave to Jehovah* iv. 4, x. 20, xi. 22, xiii. 5, xxx. 20. Stähelin vainly endeavours to account for the absence of this phrase in the Jehovist by the assumed fact that he had no occasion for expressing the idea connected with such an expression.[2] בִּעֵר הָרָע *to put away the evil*, xiii. 6, xvii. 7, and elsewhere, which Stähelin fails to explain on the hypothesis that the Jehovist and Deuteronomist are identical. שָׁמַר לַעֲשׂוֹת *to keep to do*, v. 1, 29; vi. 3, 12, 25; viii. 1; xi. 32; xii. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 5; xvii. 19; xix. 9; xxiv. 8; xxviii. 1, 15, 58. מַעֲשֵׂה יָדַיִם *work of the hands*, ii. 7; xiv. 29; xvi. 15; xxiv. 19; xxviii. 12; xxx. 9; Exod. xxiii. 16, with which Stähelin directs us to compare the phrase, is not identical. מִשְׁלַח יָד *what the hand is put to*, xii. 7; xv. 10; xxiii. 21; xxviii. 8, 20. עַשְׁתְּרֹת צֹאן *flocks of sheep*, vii. 13; xxviii. 4, 18, 51. נָתַן לִפְנֵים *to set before or give up*, i. 8, 21; ii. 31, 33, 36; vii. 2, 23; xxiii. 15; xxxi. 5. הָדַף *to cast out*, vi. 19; ix. 4. הַמִּצְוָה וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים *the commandments, the statutes, and the judgments*, v. 28; vi. 1, 17, 20; vii. 11; viii. 11; xi. 1; xxvi. 17; xxx. 16.

[1] Kritische Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, u. s. w. p. 72 et seqq.
[2] Ibid, p. 82.

Gen. xxvi. 5, and Lev. xxvi. 15 are not the same, and are therefore wrongly adduced by Keil.[1] כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה *as this day*, ii. 30; iv. 20; viii. 18; x. 15; xxix. 27. הֵיטֵב infinitive absolute in the sense of *utterly*, ix. 21; xiii. 15; xvii. 4; xix. 18; xxvii. 8. Gen. xxxii. 13 is not the same, and should not therefore be adduced by Keil to neutralise the example. בְּלִיַּעַל xiii. 14; xv. 9—a word frequent in Samuel and Kings. הִרְפָּה *to forsake* with the object of the verb, iv. 31; xxxi. 6, 8. Comp. Cant. iii. 4; Job. vii. 19. הִתְגָּרָה *to engage or encounter*, ii. 5, 9, 19, 25. נָדַח in Hiphil xiii. 6, 11, 14; in Niphal iv. 19; xix. 5; xxx. 17. The much more frequent use of feminine infinitive forms, as דָּבְקָה xi. 22; xxx. 20; שִׂנְאָה i. 27; ix. 28. The poetical expressions *God of gods, heaven of heavens*, comp. 1 Kings viii. 27; 2 Chron. ii. 5. To these may be added the Chaldaising forms וַיֵּתֵא for וַיֵּאתֶה xxxiii. 21; אָזְלַת xxxii. 36; חַיּוֹצֵת for הַיּוֹצֵאת xxviii. 57; יַדְבֵּק, יוֹלֵק xxviii. 21, 36; תֶּשִׁי fut. Hiphil from נָשָׁה xxxii. 18. These Chaldaising are later forms, whatever Keil may assert to the contrary. But there is no need of proving the diversity of the Jehovist and Deuteronomist, after the convincing arguments of Knobel.[2] We remark—

1. That the legislation contained in Deuteronomy is of a later character than that of the preceding books. (*a*) There was a marked distinction between the priests and Levites in position, revenues, and habitations. In Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers the priests are carefully distinguished from the Levites. The duties of the latter were subordinate; such as setting up and taking down the tabernacle, carrying it and its furniture, and attending upon the priests. They were forbidden to approach the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar, under pain of death. Accordingly the Levites are never said to "stand before" *Jehovah*, as the priests are; but always to "stand before" *the priests* or *the people*. The duties of the two classes are clearly and broadly separated. In respect of income, the priests were allowed certain parts of sacrificial victims, first fruits, and firstlings; whereas the Levites had only a tenth, of which they were to give the tenth to the priests. In like manner, the priests in encampment were nearer the tabernacle than the Levites. Thus they had in all respects a higher position and better maintenance than the ordinary sons of Levi. They stood nearer to Jehovah himself. But in Deuteronomy we observe a different representa-

[1] Einleitung, p. 99, second edition.
[2] Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. pp. 589, 590.

tion. There the sharp distinction between the two classes almost disappears. The Levites have a much higher position than they had in the old legislation, as appears from the language applied to them in Deut. x. 8, 9: "At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, unto this day. Wherefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren: the Lord is his inheritance," etc. Here, expressions characteristic of the priests alone in the old legislation, are applied to the Levites, shewing that the latter no longer occupied that very subordinate position before assigned them; but that the sphere of their duties was enlarged and heightened. The same thing is observable in Deut. xviii. 6-8, where the service of the Levites is described in terms applied exclusively to the priests in the old legislation; such as *minister in the name of the Lord, stand before the Lord.* It is also said of the priests that *they bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord* (Deut. xxxi. 9), which is uniformly attributed *to the Levites* in the earlier books. The very name applied to the priests in Deuteronomy is different from the old one, *the sons of Aaron;* for they are commonly termed *the priests the Levites, the priests the sons of Levi,* etc., shewing that the writer laid no stress on the descent from Aaron, but merely on that from Levi. Such appellations for the priests occur only in later books, in Jer. xxxiii. 18; Ezek. xliii. 19, xliv. 15; the deutero-Isaiah lxvi. 21; and 2 Chron. xxx. 27, xxiii. 18. And in noticing the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, where the distinction between the priests and Levites is strictly observed in the book of Numbers, it is worthy of remark that the Deuteronomist passes over the Levite Korah because, in his eyes, there was nothing improper in aspiring to the priesthood.

(*b*) In respect of income, according to the old law the tithe of the land and of the flock or herd belonged to the Levites, of which they were to give a tenth to the priests. The priests had also the first-fruits of the earth and the first-born of animals. Of the former it is said that only the clean in the priests' house were to eat. As to the latter, the first-born of animals fit for sacrifice were offered up to the Lord; the blood was sprinkled upon the altar, the fat was burned, and *all the flesh* fell to the priests. The firstlings of unclean animals were to be redeemed according to a valuation increased by a fifth, or, if not redeemed, to be sold; and the first-born of men were to be redeemed for five shekels, all which purchase-money belonged to the priests. But in the second legislation these revenues are very different. The tithes do not belong to the Levites, and therefore the tenth of them belonging to the priests is omitted. In like manner

the entire flesh of first-born animals does not fall to the share of the latter class. Instead of this, both the Levitical tithes and the whole flesh of first-born beasts were brought to Jerusalem and consumed there at religious festivals by those who offered the oblations, with their families and whomsoever they invited. The Deuteronomist does not expressly prescribe that these things should be consumed at festivals, but he presupposes it; all that he commands is, that the feasts should be at Jerusalem alone.

Nothing is said in Deuteronomy of the first-born of unclean animals, or of the redemption of first-born animals, or of men. If the native town of an Israelite was far distant from Jerusalem, he was allowed to sell his tithes and first-born, and to buy with the proceeds what was required for the festival seasons in Jerusalem; but nothing is said of a fifth part to be added.

From these regulations it appears, that the revenues of the Levites and priests are materially curtailed by the Deuteronomist. This is particularly the case with the former, because their tithes were their main income. It was but a small compensation to be invited to partake of the religious feast at Jerusalem. Hence a new regulation is made, to the effect that all the tithe of the productions should be laid up every third year in the several cities, and there given to the Levites, the strangers, the orphans, and widows.

The sum of the whole is, that the tithes and first-born of animals, according to the second legislation, were no longer the revenue of the Levites and priests, but spent at religious feasts. The priests were not indemnified for the loss. Yet it appears that the first-fruits were still theirs; for in these there is no alteration. The Levites were compensated in some measure for their diminution of income by the triennial tithes; which, however, were to be shared by other poor.

Many attempts have been made to make these institutions in Deuteronomy accord with those in the earlier books by such as attribute the Pentateuch to Moses. Some of them are ingenious, but all are forced and arbitrary, doing more or less violence to the words of the record itself.

With respect to the habitations of the Levites, after possession of the holy land, forty-eight cities were promised them with suitable plots of pasture adjoining. But in Deuteronomy they are represented, at least the greater number of them, as not inhabiting the cities assigned to them, but as scattered throughout the respective cities of the other tribes. This is implied in the repeated phrase, "the Levite that is within your gates," which occurs in a connection clearly indicating his situation to be similar to that of a stranger; for the Levite is associated with

the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and is himself called a stranger in Deut. xviii. 6. Thus there is a marked distinction between the old and the new legislation in relation to the residence of the Levites; the former enacting that they should have cities of their own to dwell in when the Israelites should occupy the promised possession; but the latter regarding them as scattered strangers among the other cities, homeless, needing help and compassion from their brethren. The separation of the ten tribes from the other two materially altered the position of the Levites and Levitical priests. Jeroboam chose priests from the people without regard to their Levitical descent; and then the regular Levites in the northern kingdom must have gone into that of Judah, settling in the cities there allotted to the priests and in other southern places. The insufficiency of those cities to accommodate all compelled great numbers to go wherever they could obtain the means of living. It is vain to say with Keil,[1] that the Levites had not all these cities given to them, but only a sufficient number of houses in them; for of such limitation the record does not exhibit a trace.

But it may occur to the mind of some in connection with the priests, that there is an inconsistency in representing them as poor on the one hand, and on the other as occupying a higher position, and therefore gaining more respect. It is quite true that the revenues both of the priests proper and of the Levites were curtailed; while both had attained to a higher authority in certain things, and are oftener commended to the liberality of the people. The great increase of the Levites exercising priestly functions, gave rise to their poor condition outwardly. Nor is there any inconsistency between such an external lot and the higher estimation in which they were held; because among a population by no means rich, and wanting most of the means of becoming so, their great numbers, as long as they did not occupy the cities allotted to them, induced a state of comparative poverty. Doubtless many of them found it difficult to procure employment, and repaired to Jerusalem; where they might hope to improve their worldly condition. There is therefore no inconsistency in asserting that both priests and Levites exercised to some extent higher duties; though their revenues according to law had become less, and they may therefore have needed the generous sympathy of the people on whose behalf they ministered.

2. The book of Deuteronomy differs from the preceding legislation in containing two new institutions, viz., the kingly and prophetic offices. Let us refer to them in order.

[1] Einleit, p. 105.

The old legislation has no precept or rule relating to the kingly office, and therefore it is taken for the first time into the circle of legislative enactments by the Deuteronomist, and appears as a new institute. The terms in which it occurs are these (Deut. xvii. 14–20):—"When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me; thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose: one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother. But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way. Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold. And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes to do them: that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel." Here it will be observed that no disapprobation of kingship itself is indicated. On the contrary, an express promise is given to such a king as should keep the law of God, that he should enjoy long life and transmit the kingdom to his children. It is enacted that he should be an Israelite chosen by God, and not a stranger; that he should not multiply horses to himself nor cause the people to return to Egypt; that he should not multiply wives for fear of being corrupted, nor accumulate gold and silver.

In like manner we meet with definite regulations respecting the prophetic office for the first time in the second legislation. The terms in which it is spoken of are these (Deut. xiii. 1–5): "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul. Ye shall walk after the Lord your God,

and fear him, and keep his commandments, and obey his voice, and ye shall serve him, and cleave unto him. And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death; because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, to thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in. So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee." (Deut. xviii. 9–22) "When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord: and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee. Thou shalt be perfect with the Lord thy God. For these nations, which thou shalt possess, hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners; but as for thee, the Lord thy God hath not suffered thee so to do. The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken; according to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken. I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him. But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall die. And if thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: thou shalt not be afraid of him." In the latter passage, after all kinds of heathen idolatry and soothsaying are forbidden, a promise is given that the Lord would raise up a series of prophets like to Moses, in whose mouth He should put His words, and who should be obeyed on pain of death; whilst the prophet that presumed to speak falsely in the name of Jehovah or of other

gods should be put to death. False prophets were to be known by the thing spoken not coming to pass. In the former passage, it is supposed that a prophet wishing to entice the people to idolatry might give a sign which should come to pass, which is considered by the writer as a proving of the people's fidelity, by the Lord. The fact that the Deuteronomist does not make the test of true prophecy lie in an external sign or miracle, but in the people's own consciousness of the revealed will of God, shews an advanced stage of religious development which could not have been attained at once. The moral appreciation of prophecy as a manifestation of the divine will in itself, apart from any external attestation, evinces a penetration into its very essence foreign to the Mosaic period.

3. The administration of justice described in the second legislation is also different from that of the primary one. In the latter able men chosen from among the people were elected rulers of thousands, and of hundreds, and of fifties, and of tens, to determine what was right in all ordinary cases; the most important ones being reserved for Moses himself. But in Deuteronomy the elders of cities act as magistrates in them, and decide all family disputes. In addition to these, judges are appointed to settle all cases belonging to private and criminal justice in the several cities. The more difficult cases are to be taken before the highest court at Jerusalem and decided there. The constitution of this supreme tribunal is not very definitely described in Deuteronomy, but it may be inferred from xvii. 9, 12, xix. 17, that it consisted both of priests and laity. The high priest would naturally be at the head of it. Here is an advanced state of jurisdiction very unlike the simple system that appears in the earlier books. In the several cities local magistrates settled all family affairs, while judges administered the law in every other matter. And at Jerusalem was the supreme court of appeal where priests and others determined all the higher cases brought before them.

4. A more enlarged spirit generally is observable in the book of Deuteronomy, shewing greater culture, civilisation, mildness, and purer ideas of religion. It is pervaded by more humanity than the preceding books.

This is exemplified in two new prescriptions, the one prohibiting fathers to be put to death for children, and children for fathers (xxiv. 16); the other that more than forty stripes should not be inflicted (xxv. 3). In the regulations too respecting the preparations for war and the mode of conducting it, which are all new, a humane spirit is prominent (xx.). In like manner, while it is not allowed in the preceding books to lend upon usury to the poor, the prohibition is here generalised, "thou

shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother." Usury is not permitted between Israelite and Israelite. This is an important extension of the prohibition as it appears in Exodus and Leviticus. It is also enacted that *female* slaves, as well as males, should receive their freedom in the seventh year; a thing unknown to the earlier legislation (xv. 12). Even in the decalogue, the philanthropic point of view taken by the author is observable; for while the reason assigned for the sabbatical rest in Exodus is taken from God's resting after creation; that in Deuteronomy is "that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou."

In Deuteronomy it is also noticeable, that the religious aversion to blood appears in a weaker and milder form. Thus in Leviticus we read: "And whatsoever man there be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, which hunteth and catcheth any beast or fowl that may be eaten: he shall even pour out the blood thereof and cover it with dust, for it is the life of all flesh," etc. (xvii. 13, 14). But in Deuteronomy it is written, "thou shalt not eat it (the blood), thou shalt pour it upon the earth as water" (xii. 24). In conformity with this later view, in the fifth book we find that "the stranger who is within thy gates" is not subjected to the same restrictions respecting the eating of any thing that dies of itself, as an Israelite. "Ye shall not eat of any thing that dieth of itself: thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates, that he may eat it, or thou mayest sell it unto the alien" (Deut. xiv. 21). But in Ex. xxii. 31, it is commanded to give such flesh to the dogs; and from Ex. xii. 49; Lev. xvi. 29; xviii. 26; xxiv. 16, 22, it appears that strangers were to be under the same law in this matter as Israelites, and therefore they could not partake of the flesh of animals that died of themselves or had been torn by wild beasts.

In Deuteronomy God does not speak by Moses, but the latter speaks directly to the people. Nor is *the angel of Jehovah* ever mentioned. The Lord himself is always alluded to as revealing himself. Only in one case is the pillar of cloud represented as coming between Jehovah and his people to make known the divine will (xxxi. 15); but there another hand may be traced than that from which the great body of the book proceeded.

5. It is important to observe, that every part of divine worship is connected with the temple at Jerusalem which is regarded as the centre of the theocracy. Indeed this seems to have been a main idea with the writer of Deuteronomy. The theocracy was a united organisation which should have a visible and local centre. Division in relation to the worship of God was a thing to be deprecated. Accordingly, all sacrifices, offerings,

and ceremonies are attached to one definite place and none other. The idea of oneness in the sanctuary belongs to the old legislation and was preserved among the Israelites in the wilderness *by the tabernacle;* but in Deuteronomy unalterable oneness *of place* is connected with religious worship. Accordingly the phrase "the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there," occurs very often, because all sacrifices, offerings, tithes, vows, etc. are connected with that place. It is very clear that the place so designated is none other than Jerusalem; not the place where the tabernacle should happen to be. The terms are too strong to admit of the notion of a shifting place regulated by the presence of the tabernacle; because it could scarcely be said of it with propriety, "to cause his name to dwell there" or, "his habitation." The difference between the old and new legislation in this point is, that the place of Jehovah's worship is unalterable in the one; while in the other it changes with the tabernacle.

Perhaps it will be thought that the differences in legislation we have just pointed out are small—not sufficient to justify the opinion that another writer had to do with the second legislation. The changes and modifications are not indeed radical ones; but that circumstance does not take off from their weight in relation to the object they have been adduced to serve. Thorough changes in the Levitical system could hardly be looked for; because it was affected by the slow development of the religious consciousness of the nation and the circumstances of the people. Besides, these discrepancies in the legislation are but a part of the argument to shew the late origin of Deuteronomy. It will be noticed, that the second legislation is only a development of the first. Germs and principles included in the first are expanded, as one might expect to find in the course of time. The advancement of the people and the progress of their peculiar system would obviously correspond. Should it be said that the altered circumstances of the Israelites in Palestine called for these changes, that is true; but it does not touch the point of *time* in the promised land when the progress of events gave rise to the alterations specified; for it will appear that they do not depend on the simple settlement of the Jews in Canaan, but on their national development there. They must have been the result of circumstances that could not be foreseen.

VII. Comparison of the Deuteronomic and Jehovistic Legislations.—Having given a brief survey of the differences between the first and second legislation generally, let us now compare the Deuteronomistic with the Jehovistic legislation. Neither ventures to require the tithe from the people. The passages in Deuteronomy which refer to tithes are, xii,

6, 7; xiv. 22; xxvi. 12 which refer chiefly to tithe-festival-times or convivial entertainments to which certain parties were to be invited. No precept enjoins the payment of tithes to the Levites, as in the Jehovist; because at the time of the Jehovist and also of the Deuteronomist they were no longer given. Both writers recognise only three yearly festivals, viz., the feast of unleavened bread, Pentecost, and Tabernacles (Ex. xxiii. 14–17 and xxxiv. 18–23; Deut. xvi. 1–17). The law respecting the liberation of slaves is the same (Ex. xxi. 1–6, and Deut. xv. 12–18) according to which they were released in the seventh instead of the fiftieth year, *i.e.*, the seventh year of their servitude. Neither mentions the year of jubilee. Thus the majority of the regulations respecting festivals continued unchanged from the time of the Jehovist till that of the Deuteronomist.

But there is a marked distinction in *other* portions of the legislation belonging to these two authors, shewing that alterations had been made in practice during the interval between them. Thus the law respecting firstlings as given by the Jehovist (who differs on the point from the Elohist), is not the same as that in the Deuteronomist; as may be seen from Ex. xxxiv. 20 compared with Deut. xv. 19–23 and xxvi. 1–11. According to the Deuteronomist, the first-born was to receive a double portion of the inheritance (xxi. 17); formerly the sons shared alike. The Deuteronomist enjoins that *female* slaves should be liberated every seventh year (xv. 17); but the Jehovist only mentions *males* (Ex. xxi. 1-6). It is also remarkable, that the historical motive for observing the sabbath, given by the Deuteronomist (v. 15) is wanting in the Jehovist (Ex. xx. 8-11); though the former gives no historical foundation for the festivals, such as the passover and feast of tabernacles. In the Jehovist (Ex. xx. 25) it is forbidden to take usury from the poor; whereas in Deut. xxiii. 20 it is forbidden to take it from an Israelite generally, in opposition to strangers. Instead of the entire flesh of the animals and the tithe of the Levites belonging to the priests, the latter were merely to partake of the tithe festivals at Jerusalem (Deut. xii. 6-7; xiv. 22). The judicial functions of the priests first became legal in Deuteronomy as compared with the Jehovist; and the priestly office generally had risen in importance; because, among other causes, the Levites had been admitted to functions formerly confined to the descendants of Aaron. On the whole the Deuteronomist presents an advance in religious development and toleration compared with the Jehovist; though not so great as that which the latter shews in relation to the Elohist. We have merely glanced at the chief points of agreement and variation in the legislation of the former two, without touching subordinate

details. The greatest agreement is in the regulations relating to festivals; while those pertaining to the priests and to the peculiarities of public worship, exhibit more discrepancy.

VIII. DEVIATIONS OF THE DEUTERONOMIST FROM THE EARLIER BOOKS.—The book of Numbers brings down the history of the Israelites to their abode in the plains of Moab; and manifestly comprehends all the Mosaic legislation there, for in chap. xxxvi. the boundaries of the promised land are stated, with the names of the persons who should divide it among the tribes. Moses's own history is also brought down till very near his death; so that nothing farther than the mention of that event remains to be recorded (xxvii. 12-23). And the last verse seems to imply, that the code was considered complete: "These are the commandments and the judgments, which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho" (xxxvi. 13). The great legislator too, being told of his death, requested a successor; and Joshua was appointed (Num. xxvii. 12 etc.). Thus every thing relating to Moses is finished. The reader expects no more. Judging, therefore, from the book of Numbers, all the Mosaic history and legislation is completed. Yet Deuteronomy takes up the very same point (i. 1-5), and gives a series of long discourses by Moses. New laws are promulgated; and Joshua is again appointed successor (xxxi). What had been said before is repeated; as the twenty-eighth chapter, which is an echo of Lev. xxvi., plainly shews. The same author does not repeat himself, varying his mode so perceptibly. The time, place, and theatre of transactions are carefully noted in the commencing verses; although in the last part of the book of Numbers they are the very same; a fact indicating a different work from its predecessors. Had the writer of it intended to add an appendix to what he had given before, he would scarcely have repeated at length particulars already recited in Numbers. The time and place chosen are the only ones that could have been taken for the purpose; but they are like a new patch on an old garment.

The treatment which the earlier *history* receives from the writer of Deuteronomy is very free. Instead of adhering closely to the accounts already given, he has deviated from them more or less materially. Independent in manner and tone, he has not scrupled to deal with the history of the Israelites after his own fashion. This is evident even where he is dependent on the Elohist for his materials. It is *possible* that one may have given such license to his pen who stood near in time to the writer he followed, but it is not *probable*. What added to his free manner was the consciousness of having

so many fresh materials. Sources were at his command which had appeared at different times in the nation. Out of these he could draw freely, as he has done various particulars. From the nature of the case it is impossible to separate the parts in which he followed his sources, from those where he had nothing more than the Elohist or Jehovist accounts; but it may be fairly presumed that the fresh additions were taken from his own historical materials. Thus the new particulars respecting the repentance of the Israelites after they had been defeated by the Amorites in Seir (Deut. i. 45); their abiding at Kadesh "many days" (i. 46); the fasting of Moses while he was forty days and nights on Sinai (ix. 9); the command not to molest the Moabites (ii. 9, 19); the divine direction to pass over the river Arnon, and to begin to possess king Sihon's territory (ii. 24); and the mention of Kedemoth (ii. 26) were probably derived from peculiar accounts possessed by the Deuteronomist. His deviations from the earlier history are exemplified in x. i, where the command to make the ark and the two tables of stone is related as one and the same given to Moses together; whereas according to the Elohist in Ex. xxv.-xxxi., the order to make the ark had been received before that to hew out the two tables. In this there is no contradiction. Again, in Deut. x. 8 we read, "At that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name, unto this day," which comes immediately after the journeys of Israel from Beeroth to Jotbath, through intervening stations, and presents a discrepancy with Num. viii., where the consecration of the Levites is described *after* the tabernacle had been constructed and dedicated, but *before* the Israelites had removed from Sinai.

In Deuteronomy *Horeb* is always the mountain on which the law was given; but in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, *Sinai* is employed. According to Hengstenberg and Robinson, the former is the more general appellation, including all the mountain district; while Sinai is specific, referring to the summit of legislation. Hence the names are employed with discrimination, as one or other suits the writer's purpose. This explanation is unsatisfactory, as Roediger appropriately observes.[1] It fails to account for the fact that the fifth book alone uses *Horeb* even in narrating the occurrences which the preceding books attribute to *Sinai*. The distinction does not depend on local circumstances, but on times; Sinai being the older, Horeb the younger. The latter came into use before the Deuteronomist's time, and almost supplanted the former. The Elohist uses *Sinai*

[1] Wellsted's Reisen in Arabien, vol. ii. pp. 89, 90 note.

alone, the Jehovist both, the Deuteronomist *Horeb* only; for Deut. xxxiii. 2, is not his. Ex. iii. 1 and xvii. 6, are the younger Elohist's.

In Deuteronomy Moses repeatedly lays the blame of his exclusion from Canaan on the people (i. 37; iii. 26; iv. 21); but according to Num. xx. 12, God punished him thus for not believing Him; while in Num. xxvii. 14, his punishment was occasioned by the legislator's own disobedience. Moses was just the man to admit his faults, and that publicly. The spirit of a later period, wishing to glorify the hero as much as possible, naturally threw a vail over them.

The words of Ex. xiii. 9, respecting the passover, that it should be "for a sign upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth," which are manifestly figurative, are taken literally by the Deuteronomist in vi. 8, which shews a considerable interval of time between the two records of them.

The liberties taken with the decalogue, small as they are, are perhaps the most remarkable, for one should not have expected any change there. Yet the motive assigned for keeping the sabbath is different. Other minor alterations in the text are by no means improvements. In Deut. i. 22, the proposal to send spies to search out the land of Canaan is represented as originating with the people themselves; whereas in Num. xiii. 1, 2, it is said to proceed from Jehovah. The narrative given in Deut. i. 9-18, of the appointment of judges to assist Moses, compared with Ex. xviii., seems to belong to another time than that indicated in Exodus. It is later. Besides, there is some difference in the manner of describing the institution, for we are reminded by the terms of the Deuteronomist of the seventy elders. Indeed, expressions employed in Num. xi. of the elders are applied to the judges. (Comp. Deut. i. 9, 12, with Num. xi. 11.) When it is said by Ranke[1] that Ex. xviii. stands too early in time, it is easy to see the reason of such arbitrary hypothesis.

But notwithstanding these deviations of the Deuteronomist from the earlier books, and the free treatment to which he has subjected parts of the history contained in them, we admit that there is no positive contradiction between them. This has been successfully made out by Stähelin[2] and Von Lengerke.[3] One thing however is clear, viz., that the writers were separated by an interval of time; whether the Elohist or Jehovist be the author of the historical notices from which the Deuteronomist departs.

[1] Untersuchungen, vol. i. p. 83.
[2] Kritische Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, p. 72, et seqq.
[3] Kenaan, pp.. cxi, cxii.

IX. LATENESS SHEWN BY THE MANNER OF EXPRESSING THE ABROGATION OF SOME LAWS.—The manner in which the abrogation of some laws is expressed, shews that the writer lived long after Moses. Thus in Deut. xii. 8: "Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes." The context shews that the language refers to the bringing of offerings, sacrifices, tithes, etc., which the Israelites on their wanderings could not offer in one fixed place. But the words "we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes" appear to indicate that the people sacrificed in any place they thought proper, or in various places besides the sanctuary, contrary to the old legislation (Lev. xvii. 1-9). What then is the meaning of the words? They are derived from the writer's own time, when the practice of offering sacrifices in various localities was common. Unconsciously, therefore, has he transferred to the time of Moses what belonged to his own. It was important for the Deuteronomist to express the abrogation of the old law, because his object was to uphold the unity of worship in one centre. And in so doing he has transferred the arbitrariness which prevailed in his day, contrary to the Mosaic theocracy, to the time of the speaker, although the tabernacle had been made, and all sacrifices had been expressly associated with it.

X. TONE, MANNER, AND STYLE COMPARED WITH THE PRECEDING BOOKS.—The book of Deuteronomy is so different in tone, manner, and style, as to repudiate its Mosaic authorship. It is hortatory and rhetorical. The writer assumes another stand-point from that of the Israelites' legislator. He appears as a kind of prophet, speaking in a moralising tone. Mythology and law are viewed in a different light. In the other books of the Pentateuch they are presented in a natural and simple form; the former in its true character as the religious, popular belief, the latter in its strictness of precept and letter. But in Deuteronomy mythology is the subject of reflexion, and is therefore *converted into theology*. Another sense is put into it—a spiritualising and mystical one. The laws, too, lose their juridical simplicity, and exhibit a moral tendency,—their observance being enforced by religious motives, and applied to the heart in the way of preaching. For an illustration, we refer to Deut. iv. 12, 15, 16, 17, where, on the peculiar way in which Jehovah appeared on Sinai, is founded a reason against making images: "Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves (for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure," etc. In the same way the divine institution of

the prophetic office is traced to the same myth: "According to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken, I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren like unto me, and I will put my words in his mouth," etc. (Deut. xviii. 16–18). Of the manna it is said, "He fed thee with manna that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live," (viii. 3) where a spiritualising, mystical sense is given to the manna-food. In the other books little of the inward devotion of the heart to Jehovah is inculcated. More stress is laid upon external attachment to Him. Gratitude and supreme love to Him are seldom mentioned, because an outward conformity to laws and institutes is mainly insisted on. But in Deuteronomy great prominence is given to the state of the heart in relation to God. He is to be loved and obeyed with all the heart and soul. "Circumcise *the foreskin of your heart*" is the language of the speaker, shewing that the ceremonial law was less valued, as in the time of the prophets. We do not deny that the preceding books contain injunctions respecting the devotion of the heart to Jehovah. All we assert is, that their characteristic nature is not the inculcation of such worship, but another kind of devotedness. The spirit of the book before us is well exemplified by the prayer prescribed for such as brought the first-fruits to the sanctuary to be presented there to the Lord, "And thou shalt speak and say before the Lord thy God, A Syrian ready to perish was my father, and he went down into Egypt, and sojourned there with a few, and became there a nation, great, mighty, and populous: and the Egyptians evil entreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage: and when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppression: and the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, and with great terribleness, and with signs, and with wonders: and he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this land, even a land that floweth with milk and honey. And now, behold, I have brought the firstfruits of the land, which thou, O Lord, hast given me. And thou shalt set it before the Lord thy God, and worship before the Lord thy God" (xxvi. 5–10); and by what the writer prescribes for those who had given tithes in the manner directed; "Then thou shalt say before the Lord thy God, I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house,

and also have given them unto the Levite, and unto the stranger, to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all thy commandments which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed thy commandments, neither have I forgotten them: I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I taken away ought thereof for any unclean use, nor given ought thereof for the dead: but I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord my God, and have done according to all that thou hast commanded me. Look down from thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless thy people Israel, and the land which thou hast given us, as thou swarest unto our fathers, a land that floweth with milk and honey" (xxvi. 13–15). Here religion takes a particular shape; and whatever may be thought of its peculiar nature, it is evident that the earlier books present no parallel to it. There is nothing unsuitable in the prescribed forms. They express feelings appropriate to the circumstances. But it is not too much to say, that they could not have consistently stood in the other books of the Pentateuch, because they breathe a later spirit.

Again, miracles increase in proportion to the interval of time between the narrator and their occurrence. Things are exaggerated and become extraordinary. Thus the Deuteronomist writes: "Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years" (viii. 4). No intimation of such a miracle is found in the preceding books. Nor does any blessing promised to the people in case of obedience, equal, in the extravagance of its tenor, the following found in Deuteronomy: "There shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle. And the Lord will take away from thee all sickness, and will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee" (Deut. vii. 14, 15).

The Deuteronomist's style is diffuse, and his language unlike that of the other writings traditionally ascribed to the same individual. Such long addresses to the people do not comport with the great lawgiver, who is elsewhere described as speaking briefly. Indeed he was a man of *action* rather than *words*. The garrulousness of old age to which Jahn resorts will not account for this rhetorical character of the book; for the style is not that of old age compared with Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. On the contrary, it is the style of a literary man following a period of literary activity. It does not belong to an ancient time of the language, nor even to the most flourishing portion of it. Thus it cannot be assigned to the seventh or eighth century, B.C., but to a later period, when the language had passed its highest point and was beginning to decay. If a few archaisms do belong to it, that is nothing strange or

unusual. In the progress of every language some remains of its earlier state continue. And even late writers occasionally retain certain marks of the ancient tongue, abiding consciously by the antique. It is therefore preposterous in Keil and Schultz to bring together a few expressions of the older kind which Deuteronomy has in common with the earlier books—in both sections of them, the Elohistic and Jehovistic—and to infer from them a complete agreement of diction. It is equally inapposite to adduce some peculiar words and phrases occurring in Deuteronomy and the earlier books, for the purpose of proving that there is no such peculiar *usus loquendi* in the former as justifies a difference of authorship.[1] We are not surprised to find many terms and phrases in Deuteronomy which appear in the older books. Nay we should have been surprised not to find them; because the Deuteronomist was so well acquainted with the substance of the first four books as to found his own work upon them. Intending it as an important supplement, and deriving the greater part of the materials from them, it was unavoidable that he should occasionally use their terms. The place designed for the work by the side and as a part of the Mosaic record, explains the origin of such words as are common to the five books. Besides, all that are adduced by Keil to shew identity of authorship are few and unimportant, in comparison with the general conformation of style characterising the whole work. The antique is not its pervading character any more than that of the first four books. On the contrary, the oratorical diffuseness evinces a time when the language had passed its highest point of culture, and began to degenerate.

The diffuseness of the writer in Deuteronomy, compared with the concise and unpolished brevity of the preceding books, will best appear from parallels in both. Thus Ex. xx. 19, is expanded and dressed out in five verses (Deut. v. 23–27). In Ex. xxxiv. 11-17, is a plain paragraph, which reappears with a slight change and some exaggeration in Deut. vii. 1-11. Compare also Deut. vii. 12-26, with Ex. xxiii. 20-32; the latter being expressed in nervous eloquence; the former in loose and feeble style. "I will take sickness away from the midst of thee" (Ex. xxiii. 25), is thus amplified in Deuteronomy; "And the Lord will take away from thee all sickness, and will put none of the evil diseases of Egypt, which thou knowest, upon thee; but will lay them upon all them that hate thee" (vii. 15). Similar instances occur on bringing together Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. as, "And ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters shall ye eat" (Lev. xxvi. 29).

[1] Keil's Einleit., p. 100.

"And thou shalt eat the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee. So that the man that is tender among you and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he shall leave: so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat: because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates" (Deut. xxviii. 53-57). This is a tedious expansion of the one verse in Leviticus. In transferring from this same chapter of Leviticus the words "And I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass" (verse 19), the Deuteronomist adds, "the Lord shall make the rain of thy land powder and dust; from heaven shall it come down upon thee until thou be destroyed" (Deut. xxviii. 24).

These remarks prepare the reader for a number of *characteristic phrases* and *forms of speech* in Deuteronomy. Several of these have been already given as examples of diversity between the Deuteronomist and Jehovist. But since the preceding books contain portions of the two Elohists, it is possible that all the Deuteronomist's characteristic phrases and words might not be exhausted by comparison of him with the Jehovist. It is needful, therefore, to point out his peculiar modes of expression compared with the first four books of the Pentateuch generally.

When speaking of the punishment of the guilty it is generally subjoined "*so shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee*" (xiii. 6; xvii. 7, 12; xxi. 21, etc.); instead of which the other books have, *that soul shall be cut off from his people* (Lev. xx. 20, 21, 25, 27, etc.); or, *he shall bear his iniquity* (Lev. xx. 17). *To put away innocent blood* (xix. 13; xxi. 9). *All the people* or *all Israel shall hear, and fear, and do no more*, etc. (xiii. 11; xvii. 13; xix. 20; xxi. 21). *Thine eye shall not pity* or *spare* (xiii. 9; xix. 13, 21; xxv. 12). *This is the case* זֶה דְּבַר (xv. 2; xix. 4). *For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God* (xiv. 2, 21; comp. xviii. 13; xxi. 9), for which the other books have shorter formulas, such as, *I am the Lord*,

which sanctify you (Ex. xxxi. 13; Lev. xx. 8; xxi. 8; xxii. 32). *Thou shalt lend unto many nations* (xv. 6; xxviii. 12, 44). *The iron furnace of Egypt* (iv. 20). *The heaven and the heaven of heavens* (x. 14). *God of gods and Lord of lords* (x. 17). *Unto the heart of heaven* (iv. 11). *Jehovah a consuming fire* (iv. 24; ix. 3). *As the days of heaven upon the earth* (xi. 21). בֶּן הַכּוֹת *son of being beaten, i.e., deserving of stripes* (xxv. 2). בְּנֵי חַיִל *sons of strength*, or *strong men* (iii. 18). *To enter into covenant* is expressed by עָבַר בִּבְרִית (xxix. 11), which does not occur till Micah ii. 13. שׁוּב עַד is an expression that does not occur till Joel, Amos, and Isaiah. *In the day of the assembly* בְּיוֹם הַקָּהָל referring to the public appearance and gathering of the people at Sinai, occurs in none of the preceding four books (ix. 10; x. 4; xviii. 16). *Under every green tree* תַּחַת כָּל עֵץ רַעֲנָן (xii. 2) is a much later phrase than the time of Moses, and appears only in 2 Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. Of single words we may quote as peculiar בָּעַר *to remove* or *exterminate*, in the phrase בִּעַרְתָּ הָרָע מִקִּרְבֶּךָ (Deut. xiii. 6, etc.); דָּבַק with *Jehovah*, meaning *to be devoted to his service* (x. 20; xi. 22; xiii. 4; xxx. 20). מִשְׁלַח יָד or יָדֵךְ *business* (xii. 7; xv. 10; xxiii. 21; xxviii. 8, 20). הִתְגָּרָה *to commence fighting with one* (ii. 5, 9, 19, 24). בְּלִיַּעַל *a vile thing* (xiii. 14; xv. 9). הֵיטֵב as an adverb, *well, properly* (ix. 21; xiii. 15; xvii. 4; xix. 18; xxvii. 8). רָגַן to *murmur* (i. 27) for לוּן (Ex. xvi. 2; Num. xiv. 2; xvii. 6). אֲשֶׁר in the sense of *when, then* (ii. 22; xi. 26), רְאֵה in an adverbial signification, referring to a number of persons (i. 8, 21; ii. 24; iv. 5; xi. 26). סֶמֶל (iv. 16) is found only in Ezek. viii. 3, 5; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7, 15. נָשַׁל *to cast out* or *eject a people* does not occur in that sense in the first four books. The word employed is גָּרַשׁ. In Exodus and Joshua נָשַׁל means *to put off* the shoes. See Deut. vii. 1, 22. מוֹסָר (xi. 2) does not occur in any earlier book than the Proverbs. גְּדִלִים (xxii. 12) is a later term for צִיצִת (Num. xv. 38). קְטֹרֶת (xxiii. 26) occurs only in Job and Ezekiel. מְלִילָה (xxiii. 26) is found only in Job. מִשְׁלַח in the sense of *business* (xii. 7, 18; xv. 10; xxiii. 21; xxviii. 8, 20). שְׁגַר (vii. 13; xxviii. 4) and עַשְׁתָּרוֹת (vii. 13; xxviii. 4, 18) both meaning *offspring*. The writer is fond of putting *nun paragogic*, as it is called, which is even appended to the preterite יְדַעוּן (viii. 3). But *nun para-*

gogic is for the cognate ם the form of the third plural personal pronoun when attached to the verb.

The preceding words and phrases shew how the Deuteronomist deviates from the phraseology of the rest of the Pentateuch, or employs expressions evincing a decidedly later period—the period of Ezekiel or Jeremiah. His mode of writing is ornate, diffuse, wordy, garrulous, compared with the brief, unpolished diction of the preceding books. In explanation of such diversity, it has been said that Moses sustained the part of a legislator and historian in the one case, but of an orator in the other. It is quite true that the style of a popular speaker is different from that of a legislator. But there is still a certain uniformity in the same author. Even when he assumes a loftier tone, he does not lay aside all the characteristics of his former speech. In becoming more eloquent and elevated, the peculiarities of his usual utterances are perceptible. Thus when Tacitus writes rhetorically, he preserves his own manner. What shews a different author is the inflated speech in various cases where the nature of the subject does not require it—an accumulation of words having no fellowship with genuine eloquence, but diffusely rhetorical. Look for example at the true eloquence of the legislator in one passage and the feeble wordiness of the Deuteronomist in its parallel.

"And I will send hornets before thee which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before thee. I will not drive them out from before thee in one year; lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased and inherit the land." (Ex. xxiii. 28-30).

"I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments." (Ex. xx. 5, 6).

"Moreover the Lord thy God will send the hornet among them, until they that are left and hide themselves from thee be destroyed. Thou shalt not be affrighted at them; for the Lord thy God is among you, a mighty God and terrible. And the Lord thy God will put out those nations before thee, by little and little: thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee. But the Lord thy God shall deliver them unto thee, and shall destroy them with a mighty destruction, until they be destroyed. And he shall deliver their kings into thine hand, and thou shalt destroy their name from under heaven: there shall no man be able to stand before thee, until thou have destroyed them." (Deut. vii. 20-24).

"The Lord thy God he is God, the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him, and keep his commandments to a thousand generations; and repayeth them that hate him to their face, to destroy them: he will not be slack to him that hateth him, he will repay him to his face." (Deut. vii. 9, 10).

The only exception to the rhetorical fulness and breadth of diction is the thirtieth chapter, where there is condensation. In addition to the characteristics just stated it may be remarked, that Deuteronomy shews more internal connexion than the preceding books, being regularly and systematically arranged as far as the thirtieth chapter inclusive.

The preceding remarks will have prepared the way for the opinion that a late writer represents the whole of Deuteronomy, or at least chaps. iv.–xxx., as proceeding from Moses's hand (chap. xxxi.). This was a bold step for the unknown author: and had not his time been one of some literary activity, the thing could scarcely have suggested itself to his mind, or been successfully executed. When he lived he must have seen great moral defection in the land. Though the temple had been built at Jerusalem, superstition increased with the formalities of ritual worship. Despising the Mosaic form of the state, the people had elected a king—a step that led to tyranny and luxury, after the manner of Asiatic sovereigns. Idolatry had been extensively practised; and the worship of Jehovah neglected, or badly performed. National degeneracy prevailed. But priestly authority grew in proportion to that of the sovereign. The collision between the ecclesiastical and civil power had long existed, the former becoming firmer and stronger. The service of God was not concentrated, as it was intended it should be, at Jerusalem. Other places were freely used for offering sacrifices there. Thus the essential idea of theocratic worship, that one definite place should be employed for the public service of Jehovah, was in danger of being obliterated from the popular mind; especially since separate worship had been set up by Jeroboam after the division of the tribes and the rending of monarchy. Impressed therefore with the importance of theocratic unity, the Deuteronomist thought he might recall the idea more vividly to the minds of his fellow-countrymen, and so reform their worship and morals by putting into the mouth of Moses on the plains of Jordan a series of hortatory discourses which the latter is supposed to have addressed to the assembled people before his death; recapitulating the law with modifications, abrogations, and supplements, and regarding the Deity as dwelling in the temple at Jerusalem, where alone he could be legally worshipped. In no other place could religious services be conducted, according to the law of Moses, the divine code of the nation. In the progress of time changes had been made in the Levitical system, which are referred to Moses by our author.

XI. SCOPE OF THE BOOK.—The leading scope of the writer was to inculcate the unity of theocratic worship, and by that means to repress prevailing superstition and kingly tyranny.

In doing so he produced a book which is not merely a popular summary of the preceding four, but also a *supplement* and *corrective*. Manners and customs had fallen into disuse in the progress of time. Various institutions were no longer suited to the state of the age. Accordingly old laws were supplemented, relaxed, or superseded, by the introduction of others. Several of these had originated with the priests; and our author was manifestly favourable to the Levitical caste. All his exhortations respecting the place of worship and the Levites tend to establish the authority of the priests, and to check royal licentiousness. The single law concerning divorce, conceding what the ancient one does not appear to have allowed (xxiv. 1, etc.), proves the later stand-point of the writer and the corrupt morals of his day; for had it not been introduced at a subsequent period, it would not have been left out of the former books, where other regulations concerning domestic life are given.

XII. KIND OF FICTION EMPLOYED BY THE AUTHOR.—What is to be said of the fiction which the author employs? His purpose was good and laudable. The vehicle shews his skill. Nothing could have been more effectual for the end he had in view. His admonitions and counsels take the only mould that recommends them most suitably to acceptance; for the name of Moses had acquired a lustre not undeserved. Under these circumstances we do not think that the Deuteronomist should be charged with fraud. It is true, as Lessing observes, that "moral actions in themselves considered must ever be the same, however different be the time or the people;" but here there was no evil intent. The deception was an innocent one, being merely a *veil* or *form* for communicating and enforcing lessons of importance. It should also be observed, that there is substantial truth in representing Moses as the author of this second legislation, because it is conceived and carried out in the spirit of the first, the seminal principles of which were his. It is little more than a reproduction of the Mosaic in a developed and later form, with such changes as had arisen in practice. The *sentiments* conveyed by the Deuteronomist are *essentially* those of Moses. In this manner we reduce the fiction of the writer to a very harmless thing. Nor is it without example in the range of the national history of the Jews; for the book of Ecclesiastes presents a parallel. Why it was not challenged, we are unable to say; but there were comparatively few persons in the nation at the time who had a knowledge of literature—some Levites and prophets being the learned class. And it is possible that at the particular time and among the people of the Jews, the work would not be regarded as reprehensible simply on account of its envelope.

The temper of the times was favourable to the reception of the work, even though it may have been recognised in its true character; since it is unreasonable to look for a high standard of christian morality in a period of Jewish degeneracy. Comparatively innocent as the fiction was, we cannot blame the age for accepting it without hesitation; though it may have been aware of the dress chosen by the author for his work. But perhaps not many knew the real case; the learned class being small.

XIII. NOT WRITTEN BY MOSES.—It is certain that Moses himself could not have written the book of Deuteronomy, nor made such changes in the old legislation as are contained in the discourses of the book. How could he, since the discourses including the legislation recorded, have the appearance of being delivered before the people on one and the same day—the first of the eleventh month of the fortieth year (comp. i, 3; iv. 40; xxvii. 1, 10, 11). This is very improbable considering their length. And even had they been delivered on that day, it is unlikely that in the very brief interval between it and his death, he could have had time for writing them down, amid the difficult circumstances in which he was placed. Yet it is often assumed that the legislator, looking forward with prophetic penetration into the future, provided for the circumstances of the people settled in Palestine by adapting former institutions and laws to their peculiar wants. He altered what had such reference to their migratory state as could not be retained with convenience when they got possession of Canaan, or could not be carried out. We can easily imagine that some modification in the laws formerly promulgated by Moses might have been necessary or desirable just before the occupation of Palestine; but it is impossible to conceive of some changes having proceeded from himself. For example, the law respecting the tithe of the land which was assigned to the priests, and that relating to all the flesh of firstling clean animals which was also given to the same class, must have been intended to apply to the Israelites in Canaan, for they had no fixed property till then. Viewed apart from the possession of Palestine, such institutions are all but meaningless. Besides, both are introduced by, *the Lord spake* to Moses or Aaron. If then the literalists, who advocate the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, believe that these prescriptions proceeded directly from God himself, surely Moses, who is the speaker in Deuteronomy, could not presume to alter them. And where was the ground for their alteration? Circumstances arising out of the settlement in Palestine could scarcely call for change, because it is alleged that the laws referred to were expressly framed at first with reference to

those circumstances. Thus there is sufficient evidence in their alteration, that the second legislation did not come from Moses or the author of the first; and therefore that he did not write Deuteronomy.

Various incidental notices shew that the book was written when the Israelites were established in Palestine. Thus in ii. 12 we read, that the children of Esau had succeeded in driving out the Horims who dwelt in Seir, and taking possession of their territory, *as Israel did unto the land of his possession which the Lord gave unto them.* Here the phrase *land of his possession,* cannot be restricted to the territory east of Jordan, which the Israelites had already taken in Moses's time. It can only mean *Palestine proper;* and therefore the occupation of Canaan was an event long past to the writer.

The same conclusion is deducible from xiv. 21, where we read: "Ye shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself; thou shalt give it unto the stranger that is in thy gates that he may eat it; or thou mayest sell it unto an alien: for thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God." The same thing is implied in xix. 12, xxi. 1, etc., xxv. 7. The mention of *Dan* for Laish (xxxiv. 1) cannot be put before the time of the Judges. And such regulations concerning wars with foreign nations and those Israelites who should be sent home as unfit for service (chap. xx.,) could not have been earlier than David's time. The language of xxviii. 27 alludes to what befel the men of Ashdod, as related in 1 Sam. v. 6.

In Deut. xix. 14 we read: "thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it." Here, though the last clause is adapted to the time of Moses, the reference to *they of old time, ancestors,* Joshua and the rest who allotted the land to the different tribes, shews that a considerable time had elapsed between the writer and the persons so called. *They of old time* cannot allude to the old inhabitants who were to be driven out, but to the first distributors of the territory. And what else can be implied in the clause, "*as it is this day,*" added to the words "to drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou art, to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance" (Deut. iv. 38), than that the Israelites had been inducted into the land of promise before the time of the writer. Should it be said, in opposition to these evident marks of a period posterior to Moses, that there are many traces of Mosaic origin we reply that this is only natural, because the fictitious form assumed by the author required it. All is narrated as though Moses had been the actual speaker and writer. Hence

incidental marks of the post-Mosaic origin are all that can be expected; and so much the more valuable are they as notices, because they are out of harmony with the machinery of the writer, whether consciously or unconsciously on his part. Probably he was not solicitous that the vehicle chosen for his sentiments should be undiscovered; because his motives were pure and patriotic. It is of no use for Schultz to collect numerous traces of the Mosaic age in the book, in order to prove its Mosaic authorship;[1] as long as a later writer intended to set forth the great legislator speaking and acting, without bungling incongruity.

XIV. TIME OF WRITING.—Let us now endeavour to ascertain as nearly as possible when the work was written. It was not extant in the time of Joshua, else he would not have taken Achan with *his sons and daughters*, and stoned them with stones, contrary to the express prohibition in Deut. xxiv. 16, "The children shall not die for their fathers, but every man shall die for his own sin." It was not extant in the time of Elisha, else he and other prophets of Israel would not have instigated and encouraged the murder of innocent royal children for the sins of their parents; since the book directly forbids it. The message sent by Elisha to Jehu at Ramoth was cruel in conception. Neither had it existed in the times of the pious kings, David, Solomon, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, else the Pentateuch could neither have been forgotten nor lost in the face of such a command as Deuteronomy contains, viz., that every king on coming to the throne should have a copy of the law transcribed for his own use from that which was kept by the priests the Levites. Is it likely that the kings mentioned would have so far neglected this duty as to allow the book to pass into forgetfulness? And if they did, surely the prophets would have noticed the sin. It appears therefore that down to the time of Hezekiah, the written Pentateuch was unknown. The command in question proceeded from the Deuteronomist writing at a time when the book made its first appearance; and he wished it not to be neglected by the kings of Judah. By such a provision he hoped to secure for it a proper and public recognition in the land. In Deut. xvii. 14–20 we read: "When thou art come unto the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, and shalt say, I will set a king over me, like as all the nations that are about me; thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee, whom the Lord thy God shall choose; one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over

[1] Das Deuteronomium erklärt, p. 73 et seqq.

thee, which is not thy brother. But he shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that way. Neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold. And it shall be, when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them: that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel." On comparing these words with the refusal of Gideon to assume the rule over the people, "I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you: the Lord shall rule over you," it is plain that in one passage the appointment of a king is referred to without the least indication of monarchy being disapproved of by God; while in the other Gideon refuses the office as incompatible in itself with the sovereignty of Jehovah over the Israelites. Again, in 1 Sam. viii., when all the elders of Israel came to Samuel asking him to appoint them a king to judge them like the rest of the nations, the proposal is said to have displeased the prophet. And why did it displease him? The reason is stated in the seventh verse, "They have rejected me that I should not reign over them." The thing was inconsistent with the theocratical principle. It was not that monarchy was displeasing to Samuel the demand of the people being an act of injustice to him, for it was not, as we see from verses 1-5; the prophet disapproved of the proposition because of its essential incompatibility with the theocracy; just as Gideon refused to be king for the same reason. Had the law in Deut. xvii. 14–20, existed at the time of Samuel, we should have expected an express reference to it, because it was exactly appropriate. The people's proceeding was in accordance with it. Yet Samuel was displeased; and was informed by the Lord, that the people, in demanding an earthly sovereign, had rejected their only legitimate One. We infer therefore, that the law in Deuteronomy had no existence in the time of Samuel. And it originated *empirically*, not *out of reflection*. It was the result of experience, not of theoretical legislation. Circumstances unfolding themselves in the history of the Israelites gave rise to it. It came to be seen that it was expedient, if not necessary. After the

kingly power had been established in the land, and the people had learned by bitter experience what it was, the law suggested itself to the mind of a reflecting Israelite. Hence monarchy in itself is not disapproved. That would have been absurd, after kings had reigned and the people been accustomed to their rule. All that the law could reasonably attempt was to define the conditions and check the excesses of monarchy. This is done accordingly. The whole tenor of the passage shews, that hard experience of kingship had taught the people a lesson they could not have foreseen. Judging from the terms of the regulation we must suppose that Solomon had already reigned; for he was the first to multiply cavalry, rightly perceiving that in them consisted the strength of an army in such a country as Judea. Till his time asses and mules were employed instead of horses. Not only did Solomon multiply horses to himself, he also multiplied *wives*, who turned away his heart from Jehovah. And he accumulated silver and gold. Thus Solomon was the first who conspicuously set the example of doing what the Deuteronomist forbids.

Hengstenberg[1] and Hävernick[2] object to reasoning like this, and endeavour to justify the adaptation of the law to the Mosaic time alone, by urging the words, "nor cause the people to return to Egypt, forasmuch as the Lord hath said unto you, Ye shall henceforth return no more that day," which they believe to be appropriate only in the time of Moses, when there was some fear that the love of horses might lead the people back to Egypt, but not later, because under Solomon and even in Joshua's time the people had attained to a consciousness of their national independence, and all idea of their reunion with Egypt was impossible. Thus it is thought that the cause assigned for the prohibition is meaningless, unless the law belong to the Mosaic period. But surely these critics forget their own position in so arguing; for in maintaining that Moses was legislating for the future of the nation with prophetic insight, why did he not foresee the national independence? The law was made for the future when the people should be settled in their own land. If therefore there was no danger of returning to Egypt, the legislator enacted what was perfectly useless. But indeed Egyptian alliances with their corrupting influences had taken place. Thus in the time of Hezekiah, Egypt was confederate with Judah against the Assyrians. The going down to Egypt spoken of is not the resettlement of the entire population, but intercourse between it and Palestine, for the purpose of importing horses and strange customs. Besides, among the punishments threat-

[1] Authentie des Pentateuchs, vol. ii. p. 247 et seqq.
[2] Einleitung, I. 2, p. 473 ot seqq, second edition.

ened against the Israelites for disobedience to the Lord God and his law, the severest spoken of by the Deuteronomist is their being carried away to Egypt *in ships;* shewing that Egypt had again become powerful, and that too by sea. This does not suit the Mosaic origin of the threatening, even supposing it to be a pure prediction—for a prediction is always based on the present. It rises out of historical circumstances in the present to take a flight beyond them. In the time of Moses however, the power of Egypt by sea could not have been imagined. The prophecy would have been appropriate had Egypt's power by land been described as overwhelming to the Israelites; but their naval formidableness could only have been suggested, in conformity with the genius of prophecy, by the natural phenomena of history. In other words, the Egyptians must have been powerful by sea before this language could be employed. Hence the passage in xxviii. 68 brings us to the time of Isaiah at least.

We have already seen that there was a supreme tribunal at Jerusalem, consisting of priests and laymen, where the most difficult cases were decided, as described in Deut. xvii. 8–13. Now we learn from Chronicles that Jehoshaphat instituted this court: "Moreover, in Jerusalem did Jehoshaphat set of the Levites and of the priests, and of the chief of the fathers of Israel, for the judgment of the Lord, and for controversies, when they returned to Jerusalem; and he charged them, saying," etc. etc. From this we infer that Deuteronomy was not written before the reign of Jehoshaphat.

Two other places serve to define the time more nearly, viz., xvii. 16, and xxviii. 68, especially the latter. Egypt was a powerful nation—powerful by sea. The Israelites were in danger of going down to Egypt for cavalry, and so multiplying horses. They hired Egyptian troops, and perhaps the Egyptian king hired Israelite infantry. This could not have taken place before Psammetichus, under whom the country was reunited after it had been distracted with civil dissensions. Herodotus relates, that Psammetichus besieged Ashdod for twenty-nine years. The troops for the siege he probably transported by sea, though no historian expressly says so. Other great powers were less formidable to Israel in the time of Psammetichus than the Egyptian as restored and strengthened. Assyria was verging towards decay; and Babylon was not powerful or independent. What must have made the revived power of Egypt especially threatening in its aspect to Judah was the siege of Ashdod by Psammetichus's army. The possibility of an alliance between the two countries was then very likely; and to it the writer of Deuteronomy was opposed. Taking therefore the reign of Psammetichus as that

in which the second legislator wrote, we get 671–617, B.C. Josiah ascended the throne in 639, but he would scarcely have thought of contracting an untheocratic alliance with Egypt. The short reign of Amon his predecessor cannot be assumed; and thus we are brought to Manasseh, who became king in 696 B.C., and reigned fifty-five years. His character agrees well with the circumstances that suggested Deut. xvii. 16, and xxviii. 68. The alliance with Egypt, as we learn from Jer. ii. 18, 36, existed in the reign of Josiah. In the latter part of the reigns of Psammetichus and Manasseh, probably during the siege of Ashdod, when circumstances looked towards a covenant with Egypt, did the Deuteronomist put into the law respecting kings a prohibition of their close connexion with that country, and threatened the people in case of disobedience with captivity from the same power. The nearest approach to the date we can make is 650 B.C. This coincides with Ewald's hypothesis that the book was written during the second half of Manasseh's reign.[1] Riehm and Bleek arrive at the same.

In confirmation of this date we refer to the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, which did not prevail till Manasseh's time; for we read in 2 Kings xxi. 3, that he worshipped all the host of heaven and served them; in accordance with the precept in Deut. xvii. 3, where such worship is censured. Of Manasseh it is also recorded that he used enchantments and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards (2 Kings xxi. 6); agreeably to which conduct is the language of Deut. xviii. 10, 11: "there shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer."

There are some passages which may be thought to refer even to the Babylonish captivity, and so to bring down the date later, for in them not only is *exile* expressly described, but even *the king* is carried away prisoner: "the Lord shall bring thee and thy king which thou shalt set over thee, unto a nation which neither thou nor thy fathers have known" (xxviii. 36). Kings, however, are here spoken of *in the concrete* not the *abstract;* and it is easy to suppose that the author had in his mind the captivity of the ten tribes. Writing after this event and witnessing the calamities of Judah in its decline, the Deuteronomist might readily anticipate a similar fate for the southern kingdom, on which account he could say, "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee. Thou shalt see it no more again,

[1] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 171 et seqq.

and there ye shall be sold unto your enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you" (Deut. xxviii. 68). Even the book of Leviticus contains a striking passage relating to captivity (xxvi. 33, 34). But Deut. xxviii. exhibits more frequent and detailed descriptions of a like captivity, suggested in the first instance by the captivity of the ten tribes, and then deepened by the subsequent calamities of Judah. The passage in xxviii. 36, may be referred to the Babylonish captivity. The writer could have predicted some such catastrophe by a careful consideration of the times in which he lived. It should be remembered that the author of chap. xxviii. threatens the people with one severe judgment after another, in case of their continued disobedience; the judgment always inflicted by a powerful nation. Hence he may have different peoples in view. The Chaldeans seem thus to be pointed at in the 49th verse: "The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth; a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand," etc.; and after them the Egyptians, the most formidable of all (68). The chapter is based on the 26th of Leviticus. Had the kingdom of Judah been broken up, it is evident that the writer would not threaten the people with their being carried down to Egypt in ships and there sold to their enemies for servants (xxviii. 68). Neither would the Edomites have been so mildly spoken of; for they manifested joy at the disasters brought upon the Jews at the time of the Babylonish captivity, and acted the part of enemies. Hence the prophets of the day, Obadiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, complain of their cruelty and threaten them with judgments (comp. ii. 4, etc.; xxiii. 8, etc.).

The date we have assumed for the Deuteronomist appears to us more probable than that which Vaihinger[1] and Bunsen[2] adopt —viz. the latter part of Hezekiah's reign. The power of Egypt was not so formidable then. We do not see that the words of xvii. 16, on which Bunsen greatly relies, imply an exchange of the apparatus of war between Judah and Egypt—Jewish infantry having been sent to Egypt and Egyptian cavalry received in return. No political alliance existing between the kings of Judah and Egypt when the author wrote is contained in them. Hence we are not shut up to Hezekiah, who, as is well known, entered into such relations with Egypt, while there is no proof that Manasseh followed his example. It is true that Hezekiah was the first that destroyed all other places of sacrifice, wishing to make the temple alone the recognised centre of national worship—a proceeding which agrees

[1] Article Pentateuch in Herzog's Encyklopaedie, vol. xi. p. 316 et seqq.
[2] Bibelwerk, Zweyte Abtheilung, erster Theil, p. 264 et seqq.

well with a main object of the Deuteronomist. But the writer might easily receive his impulse from the reforming measures of the pious king who had departed; and be emboldened by the spirit God had put into him, to insist on the temple as the only legal place for sacrifice, *in consequence* of the wicked conduct of the son restoring what the pious father had righteously abolished. Knobel conjectures that the Deuteronomist lived under Josiah, which appears to us too late.[1]

The writer himself is unknown. Ewald thinks that he wrote in Egypt, in the sight of those unfortunate countrymen whom Manasseh had sold into that land. There is no internal evidence for such a position; neither is probability against it, as Riehm supposes.[2] An Israelite living in Egypt might write for the benefit of his countrymen such laws as those given in the book, and in particular the regulation that all males should make a pilgrimage three times in the year to Jerusalem, with the full persuasion that they would be valued and observed.

XV. SIMILARITY TO JEREMIAH'S DICTION.—It has often been remarked that Deuteronomy presents a number of words and phrases found in Jeremiah, such as, the image of the "iron furnace;" "to scatter among the people or the heathen;" "to circumcise the heart, or the foreskin of the heart;" "to pollute the land," in speaking of divorce; "cursed be he that fulfilleth not all the words of this law;" "thou shalt become a proverb and a byword among all nations where Jehovah has driven thee;" "a nation from afar, whose tongue thou shalt not understand;" "horses swifter than eagles;" "eating the flesh of thy sons and daughters;" "the Lord will turn thy captivity and gather thee together again;" "hear, O earth, the words of my mouth;" "a fire is kindled in mine anger;" "Israel shall dwell in safety;" "under every green tree." But it must not be supposed on account of these resemblances that Jeremiah was the writer of the book of Deuteronomy, in whole or in part. He may have imitated the style of Deuteronomy to some extent; for we agree with Von Bohlen[3] and Bleek[4] that the resemblance cannot have arisen from chance. Comp. Jer. Jer. xxxiv. 14, with Deut. xv. 12, vii. 33, with Deut. xxviii. 26; xv. 4, xxiv. 9, xxix. 18, xxxiv. 17, with Deut. xxviii. 25; xxii. 8, 9, with Deut. xxix. 24–26; v. 15, etc., with Deut. xxviii. 49; xxiii. 17, with Deut. xxix. 18.[5] Nothing, however, appears to us more incorrect than the hypothesis that Hilkiah, in concert with his son Jeremiah, drew up the five books of the Pentateuch, and produced them as found in the temple, to the

[1] Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 591. [2] Die Gesetzgebung im Lande Moab, p. 105.
[3] On Genesis, edited by Heywood, vol. i. p. 270, et seqq.
[4] Einleitung, p. 301. [5] See Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 591.

astonished monarch. It is attended with so many difficulties as to ensure its rejection. Whoever the author was, he must have been highly gifted. He was evidently familiar with the prophets, which may account for his manner. That he was a priest is not improbable. Perhaps he was a Levite, a circumstance which would account for his frequent commendation of the Levite to the generosity of the people. There is little doubt that he belonged to the kingdom of Judah.

XVI. DEUTERONOMIST HAD THE PRECEDING BOOKS IN WRITING BEFORE HIM.—The book is like a sequel to the three preceding ones. It is a fragment viewed by itself. We cannot indeed pronounce it a disconnected, unmethodical fragment; for it has more unity than Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers; but it is incomplete. Thus the Sabbath is not mentioned, except in the decalogue (v. 14); nor does any reference to circumcision occur, except that the word is employed twice in a figurative sense (x. 16; xxx. 6). There is no doubt that it is built on the historical facts embodied in the former parts of the Pentateuch. It presupposes them as well known. It alludes to them throughout. Yet it is still possible that the writer may have taken all his knowledge of the previous history from oral tradition. His acquaintance with it may have been drawn from an *unwritten* source. That the author of Deuteronomy bases his observations on the contents of the four preceding books is not sufficient to shew that the latter were committed to writing prior to his undertaking to write; for that would be inconclusive proof of the anterior existence of the documents themselves: what is wanted is proper evidence of the fact that the Deuteronomist had *the written books* before him, with all their contents. And this appears to have been the case, as the following examples shew. Sometimes there is an express reference to laws already given, as in Deut. xviii. 2, "Therefore shall they have no inheritance among their brethren: the Lord is their inheritance, *as he hath said unto them.*" Here Num. xviii. 20, is alluded to. A similar example occurs in Deut. xxiv. 8, "Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you: *as I commanded them*, so ye shall observe to do." Here the regulations in Lev. xiii. xiv. are implied.

Ex. xx. 1–17, containing the decalogue, is repeated nearly word for word in Deut. v. 6-21, the latter manifestly later than the former.

Certain parts of the first chapter of Deuteronomy bear considerable resemblance to the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Numbers, as i. 22-25, to Num. xiii. 21-26. But the likeness is closer in other verses, as—

"Surely there shall not one of these men of this evil generation see that good land, which I sware to give unto your fathers, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh; he shall see it, and to him will I give the land that he hath trodden upon, and to his children, because he hath wholly followed the Lord" (Deut. i. 35, 36).

"Moreover your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, and your children, which in that day had no knowledge between good and evil, they shall go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it" (Deut. i. 39).

"Surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it; but my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereinto he went; and his seed shall possess it" (Num. xiv. 23, 24).

"But your little ones which ye said should be a prey, them will I bring in, and they shall know the land which ye have despised" (Num. xiv. 31).

In Deut. xiv. 3-20, the regulations respecting clean and unclean meats are taken from Lev. xi., with some variations which shew the later lawgiver; such as the omission of the locust, bald locust, the beetle, and the grasshopper, as allowable food (Lev. xi. 21, 22).

The description of the leading festivals in Deut. xvi. shews in various ways the use of the preceding books. This is particularly so with the *feast of tabernacles* (xvi. 13, 14). The name is taken from Lev. xxiii. 34, חַג הַסֻּכֹּת. And the words תַּעֲשֶׂה לְךָ נאסַפְךָ are borrowed from Lev. xxiii. 39, and Ex. xxxiv. 22.

In like manner the name *feast of weeks* (Deut. xvi. 10) is taken from Ex. xxxiv. 22, the numbering of seven weeks from Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. When the Deuteronomist substitutes for the point of commencing the reckoning of the seven weeks, *the time thou beginnest to put the sickle to the corn*, instead of *from the morrow after the Sabbath*, we see that he lived subsequently to the writer of Leviticus, giving a plain date for one that had become uncertain.

Again, where we read in Deut. xvi. 8, "On the seventh day shall be a solemn assembly to the Lord thy God." the name עֲצֶרֶת applied to *the seventh day*, is taken from Lev. xxiii. 36, and Num. xxix. 35. The writer transfers it from the *eighth* day, to which it is applied in Leviticus and Numbers, to the *seventh*. Although he had said in the third verse, "Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread," yet in the eighth he says, "Six days thou shalt eat unleavened bread," making the next, *i.e.*, the seventh, a day of *holy convocation*, עֲצֶרֶת

The entire description of the feast of the passover, which is connected with that of unleavened bread in Deut. xvi. 1-8, is founded upon various passages in other books, principally in Exodus. Thus the reason given for its observance, viz., because in the month of Abib Jehovah brought the people out of the

land of Egypt (Deut. xvi. 1) is from Ex. xii. 17; xiii. 3; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 18. The words "thou shalt eat unleavened bread" are from Ex. xiii. 7, xxiii. 15, the explanation appended, "even the bread of affliction, for thou camest forth out of the land of Egypt in haste," being the writer's own (Deut. xvi. 3). "And there shall be no leavened bread seen with thee in all thy coast seven days" (Deut. xvi. 4), are from Ex. xiii. 7, "and there shall no leavened bread be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven seen with thee in all thy quarters."

The expression in Deut. i. 10, "Ye are this day as the stars of heaven for multitude," is borrowed from the promise to Abraham recorded in Genesis xv. 5: "Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: and he said unto him, so shall thy seed be."

In Deut. ix. 12 we read: "And the Lord said unto me, Arise, get thee down quickly from hence: for thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of Egypt, have corrupted themselves; they are quickly turned aside out of the way which I commanded them; they have made them a molten image." Here the language is closely borrowed from Ex. xxxii. 7, 8: "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go, get thee down; for thy people, which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt have corrupted themselves. They have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them, they have made them a molten calf," etc.

In Deut. xxvii. 5, Moses is said to prohibit the people, after they had crossed the Jordan and were building an altar of stones, from lifting up any iron tool upon the stones; which is taken from Ex. xx. 26: "And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone: for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." The verb, *lift up*, is the same in both; and the cause of the prohibition being omitted in Deuteronomy implies acquaintance with the former passage.

"Moreover the Lord thy God will send the hornet among them, until they that are left, and hide themselves from thee, be destroyed." (Deut. vii. 20).	"And I will send hornets before thee, which shall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before thee." (Ex. xxiii. 28).

The figure of *bearing on eagle's wings* (Ex. xix. 4) is expanded and magnified in Deut. xxxii. 11: "As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings, so the Lord alone did lead him," etc. etc.

In Deut. vii. 22 we read: "And the Lord thy God will put out those nations before thee by little and little; thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase

upon thee." This is borrowed from Ex. xxiii. 29, 30: "I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee," etc. etc. The expression מְעַט מְעָט which appears nowhere else, shews that the one place was taken from the other.

Jehovah is called a *jealous God* אֵל קַנָּא in Deut. iv. 24, which peculiar expression is borrowed from Ex. xx. 5.

In Lev. xix. 19 we read: "Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind. Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed, neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee." In like manner the Deuteronomist says: "Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with diverse seeds: lest the fruit of thy seed which thou hast thus sown and the fruit of thy vineyard be defiled. Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together. Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woollen and linen together" (xxii. 9–11). It is easy to see that the latter is an enlargement of the former. The difficult word שַׁעַטְנֵז is adopted by the Deuteronomist, which appears to be of Egyptian origin. But in taking it from Leviticus he appends the explanation, "woollen and linen together." What he adds to the original law, in accordance with its spirit, is that a vineyard should not be sown with seeds of different sorts; for which the owner would be punished with the loss of the whole fruit or produce; and that an ox and ass should not be yoked together in the plow.

These proofs of the Deuteronomist's acquaintance with the four preceding books might be multiplied, since almost every chapter presents some indication, however slight, that written documents were employed by him. It is natural to suppose that he attached himself for the most part to the Jehovistic descriptions and laws. Living as he did much nearer the time out of which they arose, he would not readily revert to obsolete forms. Civilization had progressed since the Elohists. The national conceptions of God and his requirements had expanded. Even since the Jehovist wrote they had been somewhat modified. Hence the Deuteronomist stands substantially on the same stage of national development as the Jehovist, with some difference on the side of advancement. In like manner the historical survey is of the Jehovistic stamp, in some cases a little intensified. Thus it is frequently commanded the Israelites to drive out and destroy the Canaanites lest they should corrupt the chosen people, and so lead to their punishment. The usual expressions applied to the Israelites' conduct in rela-

tion to them are גָּרַשׁ, or the intensive form גֵּרֵשׁ; שִׁלַּח, הַכְחִיד, הוֹרִישׁ. Such is the Jehovistic representation, which is foreign to the Elohists. But the Deuteronomistic words are more copious and strong. They are הוֹרִישׁ, הָדַף, נָשַׁל, הַאֲבִיד, הַשְׁמִיד, הַכְרִית, הַחֲרִים, כָּלָה, אָכַל, implying that the Canaanites were to be utterly exterminated, that no favour should be shewn them, but that every living thing should be destroyed.

Yet examples of the Deuteronomist's return to the older legislation and consequent neglect of the latter are not wanting. Thus we read in xv. 12–18, that the Hebrew bondman was to be released in the seventh year of his servitude, agreeably to Ex. xxi. 2–6; whereas the later law in Lev. xxv. 39–55, speaks of his release only in the year of jubilee. Similarly, the Deuteronomist has respect to the most ancient law in representing the first produce as a gift to the priests (comp. xviii. 3-5 with Ex. xiii. 11-16). He also speaks merely of one convocation or solemn assembly, on the seventh day of the feast of unleavened bread (Deut. xvi. 8 comp. with Ex. xiii. 6), while other laws relating to the festivals mention such an assembly on the first day also (Ex. xii. 16, Num. xxviii. 18). The latter are posterior in time.

As an example of advanced or improved legislation, may be taken the way in which Deuteronomy repeats the regulation contained in Ex. xxii. 16, 17, which runs thus: "And if a man entice a maid that is not betrothed, and lie with her, he shall surely endow her to be his wife. If her father utterly refuse to give her unto him, he shall pay money according to the dowry of virgins." But the Deuteronomist says: "If a man find a damsel that is a virgin, which is not betrothed, and lay hold on her, and lie with her, and they be found, then the man that lay with her shall give unto the damsel's father fifty shekels of silver, and she shall be his wife: because he hath humbled her, he may not put her away all his days" (xxii. 28, 29). Here it is enjoined that he must take her for his wife and never put her away; having given her father, who has no right of refusal, a specific dowry, as in a case of regular marriage.

A striking instance of a more cultivated period is the law recorded in Deut. xxii. 13-21 compared with that in Numbers v. 11-31. In the latter great latitude is afforded to the suspicious husband, while the woman's protection against him is only a superstitious appeal to Jehovah. But in the former a judicial investigation is substituted, giving the wife a more reasonable chance of justice. It would thus appear that such beliefs as those implied in the arrangement recorded in Numbers, had

been shaken or destroyed at the time of the Deuteronomist. Compare also Deut. xxii. 23–27 with Lev. xx. 10.

The change in the Deuteronomist's laws, or the new additions he makes to those already in operation, is uniformly on the side of humanity, toleration, and benevolence. Thus it is forbidden for the first time, that fathers should be punished instead of their sons, or sons in place of their fathers (xxiv. 16); while it is enacted that stripes should not exceed forty (xxv. 3), and that servants at the time of their manumission should receive from their masters a liberal present "out of the flock, and out of the floor, and out of the wine-press" (Deut. xv. 14).

XVII. CHARACTER, AUTHORSHIP, AND DATE OF XXXI. XXXII. XXXIII. XXXIV.—The thirty-first chapter as far as verse 13 is universally attributed to the Deuteronomist. But verses 14-30, betray another writer, both because most of what they say is told immediately before (verses 1-13), and also because the tabernacle of the congregation appears in the fourteenth verse with the pillar of cloud. The language too is not the Deuteronomist's. The verses are Jehovistic.[1]

The thirty-second chapter, as far as verse 43, contains Moses's song, referred to in xxxi. 19, 22, 30. It is pretty clear that the song was not written by the Deuteronomist himself, who never appears as a poet, and from whose style it strongly differs. Neither can it have been written by the Jehovist; for the difference of diction and manner is too great. It proceeded from some unknown poet, whose historical allusions and linguistic peculiarities shew that he lived after Moses, and even after Solomon. Thus the fifteenth verse presupposes that the Israelites had passed through highly prosperous and peaceful times; and in the twenty-first the people referred to are the Assyrians, who had attained to the height of their power, and are described in the thirty-third chapter of Isaiah. All internal evidence leads to the last quarter of the eighth century as the period when the song was written, which Ewald has proved.[2] The Deuteronomist thinking it worthy of Moses, though it was not written for the purpose of passing as Mosaic, adopted and put it into his mouth. We cannot agree with Ewald in thinking that the Jehovist had another piece at xxxi. 19, etc., which the Deuteronomist displaced in order to insert the present. But there is certainly some awkwardness in the circumstances connected with the song, according to the description of the book of Deuteronomy as it now stands. Agreeably to xxxi. 19, a song is divinely announced to Moses and Joshua, which they are commanded to write, and teach to the children of Israel.

[1] See Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 320.
[2] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 165 et seqq.

But it is not given. In the twenty-second verse we are informed that Moses wrote the song that same day, and taught it to the children of Israel. Still it is not recorded. This is succeeded by a charge to Joshua, the delivery to the Levites of the law-book to be kept in the side of the ark, and a warning to the assembled elders and officers. *Then* we are first introduced to Moses *speaking* the song before the whole congregation, although it had been mentioned already that he had written and taught it. Hence the song appears out of place. It should come after the twenty-first verse of the thirty-first chapter. In any case the writer of it was neither the Jehovist nor Deuteronomist.

These observations shew that we differ from Knobel, who assigns the song to the Syrian period. Instead of referring verses 21, 30, 31, 35, to the Assyrians, he supposes the Syrians to be meant, chiefly because he thinks that the former would have been spoken of in stronger language, and that the captivity would have been announced.[1] But Knobel relies much on the seventh verse, which relates to Judah, as evidence that the chapter belongs to a much earlier time than is commonly assigned to it. He takes the allusion in the verse to be to David's living at a distance from Saul in banishment; while the twelfth verse he applies to Gibeon, whither the tabernacle had been brought after Nob had been destroyed by Saul. These are precarious allusions to rely upon. We do not believe with Knobel that the poem belongs to the time of Saul, and are surprised to find the critic asserting that the writers of Gen. xlix. and Deut. xxxiii. were independent of one another, without perceptible imitation on the part of either.

The verses immediately succeeding the song, viz., xxxii. 44-47, belong to the Deuteronomist himself, as the allusion in verse 46 to *all the words* of Moses plainly shews. The remainder of the chapter, viz., 48-52, is Elohistic, having been taken from the Elohim-writer and put here by the Deuteronomist. It is partly a repetition of Num. xxvii. 12-23, as Bleek has pointed out.[2]

The thirty-third chapter, describing the blessings pronounced by Moses on the tribes, has been variously judged. The first thing in it that strikes the reader is the resemblance between it and the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, where Jacob blesses his sons, the heads of the twelve tribes. The writer of Deut. xxxiii. has evidently had Genesis xlix. before him; for his images and language are borrowed from it. Each writer takes his own present, and dresses it out in poetical colours; but the position assigned to Levi suffices to shew that the author of

[1] Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 325.

[2] Einleitung, pp. 165, 307.

Deut. xxxiii. lived after the writer of Gen. xlix., for there the views of both differ. Levi is involved in the curse with Simeon, according to Gen. xlix.; but in Deut xxxiii. no mention is made of Simeon, and the Levites are described as regular priests and teachers of the law. The last remnant of Simeon had disappeared in the days of Hezekiah; but the Levitical party had then attained to equal importance with the old Aaronic priests. It is remarkable that Bleek[1] and Tuch[2] suppose this chapter in Deuteronomy to have belonged to the Elohim-document. They give the same place to Gen. xlix. In both instances we dissent, and agree with Ewald in placing Deut. xxxiii. after the Deuteronomist.[3] The internal state of the kingdom, as depicted in the chapter, is favourable. We may therefore fix on the reign of Josiah, when such a reform had been effected throughout the land as must have filled the hearts of the pious with new hopes. The aspirations of the people were excited, and bright visions again floated before the minds of the pious. The wish expressed respecting Judah and his people, viz., that David's house might again have dominion over all the tribes (verse 7); the exalted and honourable place occupied by the tribe of Levi, who had become teachers as well as incense-offerers (8-11); the allusion to Jerusalem (not Gibeon, as Knobel takes it) as the place of the temple (verse 12), to which the most northern tribes are represented as repairing for worship (verse 19), all point to a late period. Judging from the language, the time was not far from that of Jeremiah. He was not contemporary wtth Amos, as Graf assumes.[4] If this be so, it was not appended to his work by the Deuteronomist himself. And this is confirmed by the loose way in which it is inserted, there being no internal connection between it and its context. We need not say how unlike the chapter is in spirit and diction to the Deuteronomist himself.

The first nine verses of the thirty-fourth chapter betray the hand of the Elohist. But verses 4-6, 10, are Jehovistic. The Deuteronomist concludes with verses 11 and 12, in which he remarks that no prophet as great as Moses had ever arisen in Israel. It is true that the language of these verses reminds one strongly of the Jehovist, but that is not sufficient reason for concluding with De Wette that they are Jehovistic, since there is frequent similarity between the Jehovist and Deuteronomist in this respect. By comparing the twefth verse with iv. 34; xxvi. 8, the Deuteronomist at once appears.

[1] De libri Geneseos orig. atque indol. Histor. Observationes, p. 19.
[2] Kommentar ueber die Genesis, pp. 555, 556.
[3] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 171 et seq.
[4] Das Segen Mose's erklärt von C. H. Graf, 1857, 8vo.

From the preceding remarks it will be seen that Deuteronomy in its present state did not proceed from the hand of the writer himself. The body of the work is regular and connected in its parts; but towards the conclusion the wonted regularity disappears. There different pieces are put together. And the poem in chapter xxxiii. was also inserted after the Deuteronomist. Those who divide off an appendix from the book of Deuteronomy because unwilling with some Jews to maintain that Moses wrote the account of his own death at the end (though that is the only consistent course for such as hold the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch), are sorely puzzled to know where the supposed appendix begins. The Talmud reduces it to the last eight verses of the thirty-fourth chapter; while Abenesra makes it *begin* with that chapter. Eichhorn and Hävernick look upon xxxi. 24, as the proper subscription of Moses to his own work, and verses 25-30 as the right conclusion, which were subsequently added to the history. Hengstenberg, followed by Keil, supposes that Moses's own writing terminates with xxxi. 23; and that the twenty-fourth verse and onward proceeds from another hand. Others regard xxx. 20, as the termination of Moses's composition, and the rest as another's. All these hypotheses shew misconception of the Deuteronomist's position and style.

The Deuteronomist found the first four books made up in their present form of two or more leading documents, and terminating with Moses's death. But the Elohim-document contained more than this, for it carried on the history till the conquest of Palestine. The Jehovist too and the documents he used were not exhausted. Accordingly he inserted the second legislation in the end of Numbers, and associated with his own remarks such Elohistic and Jehovistic pieces as seemed necessary to complete the historical account closing the book of Numbers.

The date ascribed by us to Deuteronomy would be wholly invalidated if Delitzsch's assertion were true,[1] viz., that Hengstenberg has proved both Amos and Hosea to presuppose the existence of Deuteronomy. It is one thing to shew their acquaintance with the law, and another to prove their knowledge of the book of Deuteronomy. The passages iv. 13; vi. 7; viii. 12, 13; xi. 3, 8; xii. 4, 9, 10, 13; xiii. 6 (Hosea), do not demonstrate the priority of the written Deuteronomy. We are confident that neither of these prophets copied the Deuteronomist. Nor can it be fairly proved that Isaiah and Micah borrowed expressions and images from this book. Why should it be thought that Isaiah begins his prophecies with

[1] Commentar über die Genesis, p. 11, third edition.

words borrowed from Deut. xxxii. 1, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth," since the phrase seems to have been a common one, inviting respectful attention to the message so introduced. Were either passage an echo of the other, it is more likely that a poet should apply to Moses what had been attributed to Jehovah by a prophet, than that he should first employ it. It is easy for Delitzsch to pronounce Isaiah i. 2–4, a kind of mosaic from Deut. xxxii. and xxxi.; but it would be difficult to render it probable. The same applies to the description in Isaiah i. 5–9, resting on the threatenings in Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. We admit that Isaiah i. 10-11, presents the settled diction of the sacrificial and festival laws in Exodus and succeeding books; but why suppose that Deuteronomy must have been present to the writer? or why need he have had aught but the Elohim document? In Isaiah i. 15-31, it may be that passages in the Pentateuch were before the mind of the seer; but we demur to the assertion that such passages were especially Deuteronomic ones, or that they rest on the basis of a deep-lying connected history.

Mic. vi. 8, "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" has been derived from Deut. x. 12, "And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in all his ways, and to love him, and to serve the Lord thy God," etc. Yet the same sentiment, and in part the same words, are in Hos. xii. 6, and vi. 6; and it is as likely that Micah is the original of Deuteronomy, as *vice versâ*, especially if we translate the prophet's words with Hitzig, "they have shewed thee."

XVIII. Table of New Laws, and of Changes in Old Ones.—The following table of new laws in Deuteronomy, and of changes in old ones, may be useful:—

1. Unity of place for common worship is strictly insisted on (xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; xiv. 23, 24; xv. 20; xvi. 2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16; xvii. 8, 10; xviii. 6; xxvi. 2; xxxi. 11).
2. The law respecting the election of a king (xvii. 14–20).
3. The law relating to the prophetic order (xviii. 9-22).
4. The prohibition of groves near the altar of the Lord (xvi. 21).
5. The regulation respecting the administration of justice in difficult cases by the Levites and the judge (xvii. 8–13).
6. Inheritance-right of the first-born (xxi. 15–17).
7. The privilege of a woman taken captive in war (xxi. 10–14).
8. The law relating to fugitive slaves (xxiii. 15, 16).
9. Prohibition of bringing the hire of a whore into the Lord's house (xxiii. 18).

10. Prohibition of changing male and female dress promiscuously (xxii. 5).
11. The law against man-stealing (xxiv. 7).
12. The regulation concerning the number of stripes (xxv. 2).
13. The law respecting divorce (xxiv. 1–4).
14. The Levirate (xxv. 5–10).

THE OLD LAW.	DEUTERONOMY.
In the three middle books of the Pentateuch the place of worship is called *the tabernacle of the congregation.*	The tabernacle is never mentioned in Deuteronomy.
The priests are carefully distinguished from the Levites.	This distinction is not observed in Deuteronomy, for the Levites take part in priestly duties, such as blessing; while priests perform Levitical offices, as carrying the ark of the covenant (x. 8; xxxi. 9).
A yearly tithe is to be paid into the sanctuary (Levit. xxvii. 30-33).	A tithe at the end of three years is to be laid up for the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (xiv. 28, 29).
The priests are to receive all the first-fruits and firstlings, or a sum of acquittance (Num. xviii. 12, 15-19; Levit. xxvii. 26, etc.).	The first-born of flocks and herds are to be consumed in holy feasts, with the household and Levites, *at the sanctuary* (xii. 6-12, 17-19; xv. 19-23).
The wave breast and the heave shoulder of the victim are to be given to the priests (Ex. xxix. 27; Levit. vii. 34; x. 14; Num. vi. 20; xviii. 18).	The priests are to receive as their due the shoulder, two cheeks, and maw of an ox or sheep offered in sacrifice (Deut. xviii. 3).
Animals are to be killed only before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation (Levit. xvii. 3, etc.).	In Deuteronomy, the killing of animals anywhere is permitted (xii. 15, 20-22).
Blood when poured out is to be covered immediately with dust (Levit. xvii. 3).	Blood may be poured out on the earth (xii. 16, 24; xv. 23).
The leader in war is the judge in peace (Ex. xviii. 13, etc.).	Particular judges are appointed, who decide in civil and criminal cases (xvii. 9; xxi. 2; xix. 18).
The service of a man servant is limited to six years (Ex. xxi. 1-11); or with mild treatment till the year of jubilee (Levit. xxv. 39, etc.).	In Deuteronomy, women are expressly included as well as men; who are to be released at the end of six years, and sent away with liberal presents (xv. 12-18).
Strangers are subjected to all the regulations of the Hebrews (Ex. xii. 49; Levit. xvi. 29; xviii. 26).	Strangers may buy a carcass of an animal that has died of itself, or receive a present of it, which is forbidden the people of God (Deut. xiv. 21).[1]

To this we append the chief additions in Deuteronomy to the older books.

The command of God to leave Horeb, i. 6, 7, not mentioned in Numbers x. 11.

[1] See Vaihinger's article Mosaïsches Recht in Herzog's Encyklopaedie, and Bunsen's Bibelwerk, Halbband 9, p. 274 et seqq.

The repentance of the Israelites i. 45 — omitted in Num. xiv. 45.

Moses's intercession on behalf of Aaron, ix. 20, etc.—omitted in Ex. xxxii. xxxiii.

The command not to fight with the Moabites and Ammonites, ii. 9, 19, or with the Edômites, but to buy of them food and water, ii. 4, 8.

The historical notices given of the oldest inhabitants of Moab, Ammon, and mount Seir, ii. 10-12, 20-23; of the sixty fortified cities of Bashan, iii. 4; of Og king of Bashan, a remnant of the race of giants, iii. 11.

The different names of Hermon, iii. 9; the wilderness of Kedemoth, ii. 26, where Moses sent ambassadors to the king of Sihon—omitted in Num. xxi. 21.

The more particular account of the attack of the Amalekites, xxv. 17, 18, compared with Ex. xvii. 8, etc.

Other minor additions may be omitted.[1]

XIX. ARGUMENTS FOR MOSAIC AUTHORSHIP. — It is unnecessary to refer to proofs of the Mosaic authorship and age of the book. Schultz has summed them up in copious array; and the whole list is pervaded by weakness. His reasoning largely proceeds on a false principle; for it is based on alleged Mosaic marks in the book; *the very thing intended by the writer.* The work does not profess to represent the time of the author, but that of Moses in the plains of Moab; and must therefore be full of particulars consonant with the age and circumstances in which the great legislator lived. Yet as some may be disturbed by a few of the Mosaic arguments, we shall allude to the most plausible.

1. The relation of Moab, Ammon, and Edom to Israel is entirely different from that which obtained some centuries later. In Deuteronomy Edom is regarded with kindly feelings; Moab and Ammon only with hostility. "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother" (xxiii. 7). He was allowed to enter into the Lord's congregation in the third generation (xxiii. 8). Such view of these people is pronounced natural to the age of Moses; whereas in all after history and prophecy the relation is reversed. The prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah have words of mercy for Moab and Ammon; but none for Edom.

In opposition to this, we find a king of Edom, *i.e.*, a tributary king appointed by the Jews fighting with Jehoshaphat against Moab (2 Kings iii. 9, 12, 26). It is true that the Edomites revolted under Jehoram, and were successful in maintaining their independence in the time of Ahaz (2 Chron. xxviii. 7),

[1] See Keil's Einleitung, pp. 95, 96.

so that they became powerful rivals of the Hebrews; but that is the very reason why a far-seeing man might not wish to provoke them, but rather to act in a friendly spirit. Their power rendered them formidable. One writing as a legislator might therefore speak of them in a different tone from patriotic poets and prophets who wished for their subjugation again; though Judah would only enfeeble itself by attempting their re-conquest. The reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh were a very probable time for Edom to be spoken of as it is in Deuteronomy; that of Moses was not; else why should David's subsequent vengeance on it be so very severe; and why should the prophets, *contrary to the law*, call for its destruction. And does not the fact that the Moabites and Ammonites are spoken of with greater severity than the Edomites mark the date as being after the war with Jehoshaphat, in which those peoples made themselves formidable to Judah?

2. The supremacy of Judah, the sovereignty established in the line of David, the building of the temple, the revolt of the ten tribes, the persecution carried on by Jezebel, the wickedness and fall of the kingdom of Israel, the Assyrian invasions were events of great moment in their bearing on the development of the theocracy; yet none of them is alluded to. Especially remarkable is the silence of the author of Deuteronomy as to the distinction between Judah and Israel.

This is easily answered. By referring to any of the things here specified or all of them, the writer would have departed from his purpose. In carrying out his design consistently, he must necessarily omit them, because his exhortations are put into the mouth of Moses in the plains of Moab.

3. Certain geographical notices shew a very early composition. Thus the book gives information about obscure Canaanitish tribes, the Emim, Horim, Zamzummim (ii. 10-21); about the names of mount Hermon (iii. 9); about Og king of Bashan (iii. 11). The old name "mount of the Amorites" is given to the mountains of Judah (i. 7, 19). The argument founded on this is put in two ways, viz., a forger would have no object in inventing them, and they are of too minute a character to be handed down by tradition.

Both are admitted. They were neither invented nor handed down by tradition. The names and particulars are taken by the writer from the four preceding books. The old appellation "mount of the Amorites," agrees with the author's standpoint; and the two names of mount Hermon as explained in iii. 9 are natural in a late writer, not in Moses.

XX. DEUTERONOMY XVIII. 15-18.—"The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy

brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken; according to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb in the day of the assembly, saying, Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord my God, neither let me see this great fire any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, They have well spoken that which they have spoken. I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him."

There is considerable diversity of opinion respecting the meaning of the word *prophet*, or נָבִיא.

1. Some understand by *the prophet* Jesus Christ, exclusively. This opinion has been very extensively held in ancient and modern times; by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Athanasius, Eusebius, Lactantius, Augustine, and Isidore of Pelusium; by Luther and the Lutheran church generally, as well as by the Reformed church. In more recent times, it has been adopted by Doederlein, Koecher, De Broix, Pareau, Knapp, Kurtz. The arguments for it are best given by the last named critic.[1]

(*a*) The most ancient and unanimous tradition is in its favour. Thus the Pentateuch closes with the words (Deut. xxxiv. 10), "And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face." The redactor, from whom these words proceeded, must have interpreted *like unto me and like unto thee* in the eighteenth chapter as referring to the personal Messiah. He would have fallen into an irreconcilable contradiction with the writer of the eighteenth chapter had he understood the word *prophet* of the succession of prophets after Moses. Later prophecy itself renounces the honour of its representatives being like unto Moses, because the announcements of Isaiah xlii. 49; l. 61, where the Messiah appears simply as *the prophet*, rest upon the passage before us. It was *to him* that the mission was assigned of restoring Jacob and being the salvation of Jehovah unto the end of the earth. The Messianic acceptation was the decidedly prevailing and probably the only one, because in the post-exile times what Deuteronomy closes with was the common conviction of all the scribes after the captivity, and continued in the synagogue almost exclusively till later times. That the Samaritans held it is shewn by the New Testament, where the woman says to Christ (John iv. 25), "I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ; when he is come he will tell us all things." As the Samaritans receive no other book than the Pentateuch, the sentiment here expressed could only have been derived from the present passage. When Philip said to

[1] Geschichte des alten Bundes, vol. ii. p. 513 et seqq.

Nathaniel (John i. 45), "We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth the son of Joseph," he could have thought of none other prophecy than this. In like manner the passage in John vi. 14 where the people after seeing the miracle of feeding the five thousand, said, "this is of a truth that prophet that should come into the world" shews, that the Messianic interpretation was the usual one. Christ himself had it doubtless in his mind when he said (John v. 45, 46), "Do not think that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, in whom ye trust. For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me." Not less obvious is the allusion in John xii. 48–50 to Deut. xviii. 18, 19. It is also impossible to mistake the reference of the words in Matt. xvii. 5, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him;" the phrase *hear ye him* being the echo of *unto him shall ye hearken.* Stephen looked upon the prophecy as fulfilled in Christ (Acts vii. 37); and Peter too in Acts iii. 22, 23, "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me; him shall ye hear in all things whatsoever he shall say unto you. And it shall come to pass, that every soul which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people." Such is an abstract of the particulars adduced under the head of *tradition* by Kurtz, after Hengstenberg.

(*b*) Another argument is founded on the constant use of the word נָבִיא in the singular. Had its sense been *collective*, the singular and plural would be interchangeable; but the term never appears as a *collective* elsewhere, nor are the prophetic order set forth as a collective body. The writer must have had an *individual* before his mind when he used the singular term and *singular suffixes* attached to it.

(*c*) כָּמֹנִי and כָּמוֹךָ are against a collective sense, and therefore favour the Messianic interpretation. There is a difficulty in referring the comparison to the prophetic order, even if the points of comparison be limited to the one particular, *similarity in the office of mediator.* Since the Israelites could not bear the terrors of the divine majesty, God, it is promised, will also treat with them in the future by a mediator, as he did by the instrumentality of Moses. This can only refer in a proper sense to Christ, who was to be the mediator of the New Covenant, as Moses was of the Old. And if it be contended, as it is by Kurtz, that when a prophet *like unto Moses* is promised, we should expect in him *all that was peculiar and distinguishing in Moses*—viz., Jehovah's speaking with him *mouth to mouth*

and the privilege of *seeing the similitude* of Jehovah, instead of receiving the divine communications *in a vision* or *dream* like the other prophets (Num. xii. 6-8); as also *the charge of all Jehovah's house*—where is the prophet from Moses to Malachi that corresponded to such description?

2. Some think that the language refers both to the succession of prophets and the Messiah, *primarily* and *immediately* to the former, but *secondarily* and *mystically* to the latter. They find both a literal and spiritual sense; the latter realising the whole import in its fullest aspect. This is the view of Nic. de Lyra, Calvin, Grotius, Le Clerc, Dathe, Hävernick, and others. Hengstenberg's opinion amounts to the same, though peculiarly expressed. "The plurality of prophets," says he, "is comprehended in an ideal unity, because Moses saw that the prophetic office would rise at last into an actual person in Christ."[1]

3. Others suppose, that *the prophets collectively* are meant. This is adopted by Origen, and most of the later Jewish interpreters, especially Kimchi, Alshech, and Lipmann; by Rosenmüller, Vater, Baumgarten-Crusius, Hofmann, De Wette, Knobel, etc.

4. A few Jewish interpreters, with Von Ammon, understand by the prophet, Joshua; while Abarbanel fixes upon Jeremiah.

The third view alone appears to us agreeable to the context and argument. "Consult not the soothsayers of the neighbouring nations, but apply to the prophets whom God will raise up, of your own nation." According to this hypothesis, the apostle Peter accommodates the passage to Christ, by virtue of the idea that He was the prototype of the prophetic order. If the prophets were types of Him who was to come—the great prophet of mankind—the attributes of their office were consummated in Him. He alone was a *perfect* prophet. Thus the adaptation to Jesus Christ is in harmony with an idea which commends itself to the reason; though the correct interpretation rejects all but the one sense—the succession of prophets or prophetic order in general. In the verses immediately preceding, Moses tells the people not to consult observers of times or diviners, after the manner of the Canaanite nations; adding as a reason for the prohibition the words in question, "for the Lord your God will raise up a prophet like to me, to whom ye shall hearken." Here a distant Messiah cannot be meant, else the argument would be irrelevant. Surely Moses would not say, "Consult not soothsayers and diviners, for the Lord will raise up a prophet like unto me, *some hundreds of years after my death*, to whom ye shall attend." Had the Messiah come immediately

[1] Christologie, vol. i. p. 124.

after the speaker's death, the argument would have been pertinent; but as it stands there is no force in it, unless the allusion be to a prophet or prophets soon to appear. Then only could the speaker's language be valid against the superstitious usages of the people. Still further, the subsequent context (verses 20-22), which prescribes criteria for distinguishing false prophets from true, is adverse to the Messianic application, because the reference is plural. We expect the true prophets to be spoken of before Moses begins to separate them and the false. Both on the ground of grammatico-historical interpretation and of context, we must hold that the collective prophets are meant. As to the likeness between Moses and the נָבִיא, some suppose it to lie in the fact that the series of prophets were to be of the Israelite nation as Moses was. The Lord, says Moses, will raise up to you a prophetic order from among your brethren, *as I am*. They shall belong to your own nation. The only objection to this meaning is, that it is already contained in the phrase *from thy brethren*, making כָּמֹנִי and כָּמוֹךָ superfluous. We believe, however, that neither expression is so. The likeness between Moses and the prophets must be restricted, else it does not agree well with Deut. xxxiv. 10 where we read: "There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses." It does not extend to *all* the qualities of the lawgiver, but simply denotes a capacity and will both to receive divine communications and to lay them in all their integrity before the people. We cannot assent to Hävernick's interpretation, "speaking the same things which I have spoken."[1] In xxxiv. 10 we understand the Deuteronomist to say, that no prophet *as great as Moses* afterwards appeared in Israel, because Jehovah held more confidential intercourse with him as explained in Num. xii. 6-8. In the present place, a general likeness between Moses and the נָבִיא is asserted. It is by no means implied, nor is it necessary to the sense, that the comparison should convey the idea of *equality* in character, dignity, or virtue. *Similarity of official* qualifications is intended.

The *collective* use of the singular נָבִיא has a parallel in מֶלֶךְ *king* in Deut. xvii. 14-20, where the series of kings is meant, contrary to what Hengstenberg affirms.[2]

As to the arguments alleged in favour of the exclusively Messianic application, most of them rest on mere assumptions. The strongest is based on Peter's reasoning in Acts iii., of which we have already spoken as accommodation. We think it very probable that Christ had the present passage in his mind

[1] Alttestamentliche Theologie, p. 90.
[2] Christology, vol. i. p. 101, English translation.

when he uttered the words recorded in John v. 45, 46; but that circumstance only shews that he adopted the common interpretation of it; not that he recognised it as the true one, and sanctioned it as such. In employing the *argumentum ad hominem*, it was not needful that he should correct the prevailing application of a passage, or teach his hearers criticism. It was sufficient to confute them on their own acknowledged grounds. We need not speak of the supposed evidence for the Messianic sense contained in Matt. xvii. 5; John xii. 48–50; i. 45; vi. 14; iv. 25, because it is obviously weak and uncertain. Though the Samaritans, Nathaniel, and the Jews generally may have referred *the prophet* to Messiah in the days of the Saviour on earth, there is no reason for our adopting their opinion as infallible. The same remark applies to Stephen (Acts vii. 37). As to the second hypothesis, according to which there is a twofold reference, to the prophet and to Messiah, we greatly doubt if the original writer ever thought of it. Though apparently devised for the purpose of obviating the objection founded on Acts iii. 23, and vii. 27, it is not required even for that. Hengstenberg indeed has tried to set it forth with all possible plausibility; and Hävernick has lent it the weight of his name; but their arguments are unsatisfactory. The proper grammatical sense requires *a single application*, which the context teaches us to assign to the order of prophets. A complex application is unnecessary, and foreign to the words themselves. The first view is refuted by the fact that the Messiah is never set forth as a prophet in the Old Testament, nor is he termed נָבִיא, *a prophet*.[1]

XXI. ALLEGED MOSAIC RECORDING OF THE SACRIFICIAL LEGISLATION CONTAINED IN THE PENTATEUCH.—Having now surveyed the whole Pentateuch in outline, we proceed to make a few general remarks on the Mosaic origin and alleged Mosaic recording of its sacrificial legislation. If the basis of that legislation proceeded from Moses, and was unfolded in practice, we can understand the indefiniteness characterising that practice. But if he left the code as it now exists in the Pentateuch, a *written, prescribed, precise* system—it is not easy to see how it could have been so much neglected, even by such as were inclined to obey. Thus we observe in relation to the three middle books,

1. If they were left in writing by the legislator himself in their present state, why was there so great latitude about the persons offering sacrifices, as well as the offerings themselves? Both are definitely laid down. The appointments of both are

[1] See Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 277.

expressly referred to God as their author. They are divinely prescribed by Moses. If so, they must have been publicly recognised and followed. The priesthood had been solemnly assigned to the descendants of Aaron. Others were forbidden to take upon them the duties belonging to the sacerdotal office. Yet we find various persons sacrificing without the Aaronic priests. And what makes the fact more remarkable is, the pious had no scruple about presenting such offerings as the law prescribed for priests alone. Thus Gideon of the tribe of Manasseh built an altar to the Lord in Ophrah, and offered a burnt-sacrifice upon it (Judg. vi. 25, 26). Manoah a Danite built an altar to the Lord on the top of a rock and offered a kid upon it (Judg. xiii. 16, 19). Samuel an Ephraimite offered sacrifice (1 Sam. x. 8; xvi. 2) etc. Ahithophel the Gilonite did the same (2 Sam. xv. 12). When Absalom asks leave to go and sacrifice, David makes no objection (2 Sam. xv. 7), etc. David himself offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings before the Lord, and blessed the people in the name of the Lord of hosts (2 Sam. vi. 17; xxiv. 24, 25). Elijah built an altar on mount Carmel and offered burnt-sacrifice on it (1 Kings xviii. 30–33). These instances shew that those best acquainted with the divine law and most disposed to obey it—judges, kings, and prophets, the guides and teachers of the people, offered sacrifices to Jehovah with their own hands. The principle *qui facit per alium facit per se* will not apply to them, for the circumstances are such as to preclude it, as in the case of Elijah on mount Carmel.

In relation to the things offered there is similar freedom. Thus Samuel took a sucking lamb and offered it for a burnt-offering; whereas the prescribed animals in the law should all be a year old at least (1 Sam. vii. 9). The Bethshemites offered female beasts for burnt-offerings (1 Sam. vi. 14). And at the time of Joash it would appear that the people substituted money for the sin and trespass-offerings (2 Kings xii. 4), etc.

The same latitude is seen with regard to the place where Jehovah should be worshipped. The old law, *as far as it related to the sojourn in the wilderness*, connected sacrifices with the tabernacle and the Aaronic priests. Thus we read in Lev. xvii. 3–6, "What man soever there be of the house of Israel, that killeth an ox, or lamb, or goat in the camp, or that killeth it out of the camp, and bringeth it not unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, to offer an offering unto the Lord, before the tabernacle of the Lord, blood shall be imputed unto that man; he hath shed blood; and that man shall be cut off from among his people. To the end that the children of Israel may bring their sacrifices which they offer in the open

field, even that they may bring them unto the Lord, unto the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, unto the priest, and offer them for peace-offerings unto the Lord; and the priest shall sprinkle," etc. We admit that the chapter from which this passage is taken is not older Elohistic, but neither is it Jehovistic. Though it was not first written by the Elohist, there is no reasen for affirming that the laws it contains are not old, even as old as Moses himself. The substance indeed seems to be Mosaic, as Bleek has shewn, and even the form except in a few places. Its contents are by no means of the later type. With some critics we cannot see in Ex. xx. 24-26 anything contrary to the regulation quoted from Lev. xvii: "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: in all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee. And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it. Neither shalt thou go up by steps unto mine altar," etc. Here we understand the writer to say, that altars might be built in any place selected by God, for the language is, "in all places where I record my name," thus limiting the locality. The words do not imply that altars might be built wherever the people pleased; in several places at once; but that they should be erected wherever God chose to put his name. Wherever the tabernacle should be—according as the camp was shifted in the wilderness—there sacrifices should be offered. Understanding the passage thus, we cannot assent to the view of Knobel[1] that the older law relating to sacrifices allowed altars to be erected in all places of the land at one and the same time; that it permitted the laity to attend at the altar (Ex. xx. 26); and that the prerogatives of Aaron's sons were not recognised by it; the first-born possessing them (Ex. xxii. 28; xxiv. 5). These places hardly furnish valid evidence of what they are adduced to support. The old law as well as the Deuteronomic legislation, maintained a central place of public worship, at which sacrifices were to be offered. Wherever the tabernacle was, there only did the ancient legislation permit the appointed religious services; while the later legislation abiding by the same idea of unity pointed to the temple at Jerusalem, after the tabernacle had been superseded by the fixed structure. The three middle books of the Pentateuch hold that Jehovah might be worshipped at different places successively; Deuteronomy that he could be worshipped only at one place. Keeping in mind this legis-

[1] Exegetisches Handbuch on Exodus and Leviticus, pp. 350, 351.

lation respecting an authorised place of worship, either at the tabernacle or temple, let us see whether it was observed; as it would have been without doubt by the more pious of the people had it existed in a written code as now. Latitude may have been readily practised by the side of the older legislation, because the place for worship in it was variable. Good men may have seen nothing amiss, or contrary to its spirit, in the existence of sacrificial altars here and there. But had the legislation in Deuteronomy existed under the name of Moses they could not have mistaken its meaning or violated its repeated injunctions; for it expressly enjoins that the Israelites dwelling in their own land should destroy all places profaned by heathen worship, and serve Jehovah in the one place He himself should choose, that is, in Jerusalem. Supposing then the precise written legislation of Deuteronomy to have proceeded from Moses, observe the prevailing usage of the people in subsequent times. In the time of the Judges the people sacrificed at Bethel; where, though the ark of the covenant once was, the tabernacle was not (Judg. xx. 18, 23, 26; xxi. 4). They also sacrificed at Bochim (ii. 6); and at Mizpeh (Judg. xxi. 1–4). Gideon built an altar and sacrificed at Ophrah. Manoah sacrificed at Zorah; and Samuel repeatedly offered sacrifices at Ramah, Gilgal, Bethlehem, Mizpeh, and Bethel, where the tabernacle could not always have been at the time, for we know that it was for the most part, if not always, at Kirjath-jearim, in his day (1 Sam. vii. 2). In the days of David, we find the mount of Olives (2 Sam. xv. 32), Bethlehem (1 Sam. xx. 6), Gilop (2 Sam. xv. 12), Hebron (2 Sam. xv. 7 etc.), and other localities used for worship. Saul also built altars in different places, and sacrificed on them without scruple. In Solomon's time, the people sacrificed on high places before the temple was built (1 Kings iii. 2); and these spots continued as recognised stations for the divine worship long after the time of Solomon, under the theocratic kings Asa, Jehoshaphat, Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, (1 Kings xv. 14; xxii. 44; 2 Kings xii. 4; xiv. 4; xv. 4, 35). On mount Carmel there had been an altar which Elijah repaired, and on which he sacrificed. Such latitude do we find with regard to the place of worship; other positions being freely used for that purpose in addition to the main ones where the tabernacle and temple were.

We believe that the freedom in question—a freedom affecting not merely the place of worship but the persons sacrificing and the things offered up—seems incompatible with the assumption of our present Pentateuch having been written by Moses. For how could the principal men of the nation, the very teachers of the people in sacred things, sanction so great a violation of the divine

law, or act themselves in direct opposition to its letter and spirit? The case is intelligible if Moses be regarded as introducing various laws in practice, and others in writing, without setting forth a written *system;* leaving it to his successors to carry out and extend what he left. The basis thus laid was built upon in after times; so that it was differently elaborated and led to different sacrificial laws. More than one theory was formed, and referred back to Moses. These writers were partly correct in tracing back to him who laid a basis for all subsequent sacrificial rites, the variously developed and diversified practices.

The view now given is in harmony with such expressions of the prophets as that the ritual law is *the precept of men* (Isa. xxix. 13); and that the Israelites did not offer sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years (Amos v. 25). The older prophets generally undervalue sacrifices and ceremonial rites; shewing that the entire law had not then attained that general recognition or authority which it acquired after the Jehovist and Deuteronomist wrote. In the time of the later kings, the precepts contained in the Pentateuch were more closely complied with, as we see from the second book of the Kings and the Chronicles; because the written code had then appeared in its main features. It has been shewn that the legislation of the three middle books of the Pentateuch prescribes for the people one place of worship, viz., at the tabernacle in the wilderness, or the temple in Canaan. But it may be said that the latter is not intended. Be it so. Our argument does not require it. Granting the law in those books does not prescribe for the people, when they should take possession of Canaan, one place only for public worship, yet Deuteronomy enjoins sacrifices in one place; and surely this book provides for the settled state of the Israelites in their own territory. Nothing is clearer than that the idea of one central place for religious worship pervades the whole work. The writer inculcates it repeatedly. Could Deuteronomy then have been written by Moses? Was it left by him in its present state, all except the close? Then why was it so flagrantly disregarded? Why were different places used throughout the land for divine worship even after the temple was erected? Were they not all illegal, save Jerusalem. Undoubtedly they were, according to Deuteronomy. Yet pious prophets offer sacrifice on altars elsewhere erected; nor do they ever censure the high places devoted to Jehovah's worship but only those consecrated to idols. Pious kings allow the high places to stand, in which the people burn incense and offer sacrifice—even kings of Judah who take severe measure against all idolatary. How could they be said *to do right all the days of their lives,* if with a knowledge of Deute-

ronomy they allowed any place except the temple to be used for worship. And if kings were ignorant of this book, were the priests and prophets who instructed them also ignorant of its contents? Could Jehoash who "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord all his days wherein Jehoiada the priest instructed him" quietly allow the people still to "sacrifice and burn incense in the high places?" Could Jehoiada the priest, regent during the minority of the young king, suffer the high places to remain, contrary to the law of Moses? Could the priests, had they even been inclined to idolatry during the reforms of Josiah, have ventured quietly to celebrate the passover at the high places, without going to Jerusalem, had the law of Deuteronomy been in existence expressly forbidding it? Surely not. We infer, therefore, that this was not illegal. If so, the book of Deuteronomy had not been promulgated by Moses in writing, any more than the preceding parts of the Pentateuch.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

I. Contents.—The book of Joshua may be divided into two parts, chaps. i.–xii. and xiii.–xxiv; the former containing the narrative of the conquest; the latter that of the division of the promised land.

The first chapter begins with the divine appointment of Joshua as Moses's successor, that he might lead the people across Jordan to take possession of Canaan. Accordingly he prepares the people to pass over, and reminds the two tribes and a half of their promise, who pledge their loyalty to him. The second chapter contains an account of Joshua's sending out two spies from Shittim where the Israelites were encamped at Moses's death, to Jericho, in which they were received and concealed by Rahab, and whence they returned with good news. The third and fourth chapters narrate the miraculous passing of the whole people over Jordan, whose waters ceased to flow down, as soon as the feet of the priests that bore the ark rested in them, till all went through the dry channel. Joshua commanded twelve men to take twelve stones out of the river as a memorial, to carry them with them to their first lodging-place, which they did, and set them up at Gilgal. He himself erected a similar monument of twelve stones in the midst of Jordan. The knowledge of this wonderful passage struck terror into the kings of the Amorites and other Canaanite peoples. At Joshua's command all the people were circumcised; for the rite had been neglected during the wandering in the wilderness; on which account the place was called *Gilgal*. There too they kept a passover, and ate of the old corn of the land on the morrow after the passover, from which time the manna ceased. We have next an account of the taking of Jericho, which was accursed with all in it except Rahab and her family. The silver, gold, and vessels of brass and iron found there were set apart for the treasury of God; but no Israelite was to appropriate anything.

Yet Achan coveted and took a costly garment, with shekels of silver and gold; on which account Jehovah's displeasure was excited against the people, and they were smitten at Ai. The lot was cast. It fell on the guilty Achan, who confessed his sin and was stoned. The eighth chapter relates how Ai was taken by ambuscade, all its inhabitants destroyed, its king hanged on a tree, and the city turned into a heap of ruins for ever. Following the prescription in the book of the law of Moses, Joshua erected an altar on mount Ebal, and wrote on the stones of which it was built a copy of the law. The collected people having placed themselves on the two sides of the ark, half of them over against mount Gerizim, and half of them over against Ebal, Joshua read in their hearing all the words of the law—the blessings and cursings written in it. The ninth chapter relates how the Gibeonites obtained a league with the Israelites by craft. They sent ambassadors to Joshua at Gilgal, pretending that they belonged to a distant country. As the princes of the congregation swore to them that they should not be injured, they kept their oath, but condemned them to perpetual bondage —to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the whole congregation. In the tenth chapter it is told how, at the instigation of Adoni-zedec, king of Jerusalem, four other kings marched out together against the Gibeonites, who implored in consequence the assistance of Joshua. The captain of Israel's host went up therefore from Gilgal, slew the confederate kings at Gibeon, and chased them. Many were killed in their flight by great hailstones that fell from heaven. At Joshua's command the sun and moon stood still till the Israelites were avenged upon their enemies. After conquering seven other kings and subduing all the southern part of Canaan, Joshua returned to the camp at Gilgal. The eleventh chapter speaks of his conquests in the northern part of Palestine; and also of both northern and southern together, or the occupation of the whole land. He also extirpated the Anakim. In the twelfth chapter we have a list of the conquests which the Israelites made both on the east side of Jordan under Moses, and on the west under Joshua; to which is appended a list of the thirty-one kings subdued by the latter. When Joshua had become old, he was commanded to divide the land for an inheritance among the nine and half tribes which had not yet received their possessions. The parts still unconquered are specified, viz., the south-western, where the Philistines chiefly were, and the northern, about Lebanon. These however were distributed by lot, because Jehovah was about to drive out their inhabitants from before the Israelites. At the mention of the half tribe of Manasseh, it is remarked that the other half of the tribe had

already obtained its portion along with Reuben and Gad, from Moses. The thirteenth chapter closes with a specification of the boundaries of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. The fourteenth chapter commencing with a statement that the tribe of Levi had no separate inheritance, proceeds to shew how Caleb obtained Hebron, formerly called Kirjath-arba. The fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters give a more copious account of the inheritances allotted to the tribes. The boundaries of Judah are first stated (chap. xv.); then those of Joseph's sons (xvi. xvii.). It is remarkable that in the fifteenth chapter it is particularly noticed how Caleb got Hebron, though the circumstances had been given in the preceding chapter. So far five tribes had received their portions. But seven still remained. In the eighteenth chapter we are told how the tabernacle was set up at Shiloh; how Joshua commanded the people to nominate men from among them to go through the land and describe it, dividing it into seven parts; which they did accordingly. The lot and border of Benjamin are specified, from the eleventh verse till the end. The nineteenth chapter describes the lots of the remaining six tribes and Joshua's own inheritance, viz., Timnath-serah in mount Ephraim, where he built a city and dwelt. The twentieth chapter relates how the Israelites by Jehovah's command appointed six free cities of refuge, three on each side of Jordan, to which the manslayer might flee and be safe from the blood avenger. In the twenty-first chapter it is mentioned that forty-eight cities were given by lot from among the other tribes to the Levites. The chapter closes with the strong assertion that, "the Lord gave unto Israel *all* the land which He sware to give unto their fathers, etc. And He gave them rest round about, according to all that he sware unto their fathers; and there stood not a man of all their enemies before them; the Lord delivered all their enemies into their hand," etc. The twenty-second chapter states how Joshua sent home with a blessing the two tribes and half who had accompanied him beyond Jordan. On the way to Jordan they built a very large altar, of which the children of Israel heard, and prepared to make war upon them for promoting idolatry. But on being informed of the object for which it was erected, they were satisfied. The twenty-third chapter contains Joshua's exhortation to the assembled people, before his death. The twenty-fourth chapter speaks of another assembly of the tribes at Shechem, at which Joshua recounts God's benefits from the time their ancestor Abraham was chosen; renews the covenant between God and them, and sets up a great stone as a memorial. The book terminates with a statement of Joshua's death and burial, to which is appended the circumstance that Joseph's bones were buried at

Shechem in a piece of ground bought by Jacob, together with the death and burial of Eleazar.

II. UNITY, INDEPENDENCE, DIVERSITY OF THE BOOK. — We have already seen that the Elohim-document began with the creation of the world and of man, ending with the conquest and division of Canaan. The scope of it was to shew how the Israelites came into possession of the promised land; and therefore it could not but terminate with an account of the occupation of it. We may therefore suppose that the book of Joshua, or most of it, formed part of the document in question. The latter could not have concluded with the death of Moses (Deut. xxxiv. 9), but must have shewn the fulfilment of the ancient promises and so embraced the time of Joshua. It is also apparent, that the chief regulations of Joshua are indicated beforehand, and the narrative of his doings presupposed. Hence we infer, that the book of Joshua was never distinct from the law. Being partly included in the Elohim-document, it was never separate from it. We cannot therefore agree with such as maintain *the original independence* of Joshua; though they refer to its contents being rounded off and complete in themselves, as well as to its peculiar diction, differing, as it is alleged, from that of the Pentateuch.

The unity of the book is stoutly defended by all the critics who advocate its independent character, by Koenig, Steudel, and Keil. They allege that it is pervaded by one and the same idea; that its parts hang well together, without presenting contradictions or discrepancies in the narration of facts and in modes of thought and language. Let us examine the contents with the view of ascertaining their *unity* or *diversity*.

1. The conquest and occupation of the entire land is ascribed to Joshua in xi. 16-23, where we read: "So Joshua took all that land, the hills and all the south country, and all the land of Goshen, and the valley, and the plain, and the mountain of Israel, and the valley of the same, even from the mount Halak that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under mount Hermon: and all their kings he took and smote them, and slew them. . . . . So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses; and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to their divisions by their tribes" (xi. 16–23; comp. xii. 7, 8).

In contrast with this we read in Joshua xiii. 1-6: "Now Joshua was old and stricken in years; and the Lord said unto him, Thou art old and stricken in years, *and there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.* This is the land that yet remaineth: all the borders of the Philistines, and all Geshuri, from Sihor which is before Egypt even unto the borders of

Ekron northward, which is counted to the Canaanite: five lords of the Philistines, the Gazathites, and the Ashdothites, the Eshkalonites, the Gittites and the Ekronites; also the Avites: from the south, all the land of the Canaanites, and Mearah that is beside the Sidonians, unto Aphek, to the borders of the Amorites; and the land of the Giblites, and all Lebanon, toward the sun rising, from Baal-gad under mount Hermon, unto the entering into Hamath. All the inhabitants of the hill country from Lebanon unto Misrephoth-maim, and all the Sidonians, them will I drive out from before the children of Israel," etc. Such is the survey of many places still unconquered. Had the latter place referred to an earlier period in Joshua's life than the former, the two might be easily harmonised; but on the contrary, it is expressly stated that Joshua was *old and stricken in years* when so many districts were still unsubdued. No attempt that we have seen to harmonise this discrepancy presents any plausibility. Keil believes,[1] that the solution lies in xi. 23, "Joshua took the whole land, *according to all that the Lord said unto Moses;*" but we cannot perceive it. Joshua *took all the land* specified in xi. 16, 17, parts of which very land are mentioned as *untaken* in xiii. 2, etc. In the one chapter (xi) some places are represented as subdued which in the other are still unoccupied by the conqueror. This is not obviated by saying, that all the Canaanites were not smitten at once but only the majority of them; such as kept out of the way of Joshua being reserved for future extermination agreeably to the divine promises. It is not obviated by the assumption, that whereas the whole land *was to be given* to Israel according to promise, Joshua *substantially* gained possession of it by his victories. *To conquer* and *not to conquer* are more widely separated than this. It is not obviated by the assertion that after great campaigns are decided, petty wars of detail remain; for *seven tribes* were still to get their territory, shewing how much remained to be taken.

2. There is a discrepancy between x. 36, 38, xi. 21, and xiv. 12, xv. 14–17, compared with Judg. i. 10, 11. In the former places it is related, that Hebron and Debir were conquered, and the Anakim cut off from the mountainous district; but in the latter we see that the Anakim were again occupying these cities and not rooted out till after Joshua's death. We are unable to perceive any proper way of harmonising these places. Hävernick thinks[2] that after Joshua took Hebron and Debir he drove back the Anakim to the mountains, without destroying them. When Caleb received Hebron from Joshua, the mountain district was not free from these Anakim. They were in possession

[1] Einleitung, pp. 145, 146, second edition.
[2] Handbuch der Einleitung, II. 1. p. 19.

of strongholds, whence they could only be dislodged with difficulty. Not until such places were wrested from them, could it be said that they were wholly subdued. Hence a war began with three powerful tribes of Anakim, which was carried on after Joshua's death by Caleb and Judah. Thus one conquest was partial, leaving room for another which was complete. The same view for substance is given by Koenig,[1] who assumes two conquests of Hebron; while Stähelin conjectures that the writer speaks generally at first, but subsequently enters into details.[2]

We cannot approve of such critical shifts. As far as language can express it, Joshua's conquest of Hebron, Debir, and the Anakim was complete. Of Hebron we read, "they took it and smote it with the edge of the sword, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof, and all the souls that were therein; he left none remaining, according to all that he had done to Eglon; but destroyed it utterly, and all the souls that were therein" (x. 37). The language respecting Debir is similar. In like manner it is said of the Anakim, "And at that time came Joshua, and cut off the Anakims from the mountains, from Hebron, from Debir, from Anab, and from all the mountains of Judah, and from all the mountains of Israel: Joshua destroyed them utterly with their cities. There was none of the Anakims left in the land of the children of Israel: only in Gaza, in Gath, and in Ashdod, there remained" (xi. 21, 22). Surely this implies utter extermination of the Anakim, except from the cities specified, and is inconsistent with a partial conquest. It is certainly incompatible with xiii. 1–6. The true solution of the discrepancies in question lies in the fact of different documents and writers, as Knobel has rightly perceived.[3]

3. There is also a discrepancy between xii. 10, 12, 16, 21, 23, in which verses the kings of Jerusalem, Gezer, Bethel, Megiddo, and Dor are said to have been smitten by Joshua, and xv. 63 according to which Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Canaanites. In Judg. i. 29, Gezer is stated to have been still inhabited by the same people; and in Josh. xvii. 12 Dor and Megiddo are said to have been in the same position. After the death of Joshua, Bethel was taken by the house of Joseph (Judg. i. 22, 23). These texts agree with Joshua xv. 63.

The reply made to this by various critics, viz. that there is a distinction between *smiting the kings* and *taking their cities*, is more ingenious than satisfactory. Why should the fate of the kings be separated from that of the places they rule over? Besides, it is expressly stated that Joshua gave their territory

[1] Alttestamentliche Studien, I. p. 22.
[2] Kritische Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, p. 96.
[3] Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 399.

"from Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon even unto the mount Halak, that goeth up to Seir" as a possession to be divided among the tribes of Israel; implying that the places they ruled over were taken from them.

4. The ecclesiastical state of the people under Joshua appears to have been in accordance with the divine law. There was the ark of the covenant, priests, a high priest Eleazar, Levitical cities. Circumcision and the passover were observed. The tabernacle was set up, and the whole congregation assembled beside it. The Reubenites, Gadites, and half tribe of Manasseh "kept all that Moses the servant of the Lord commanded them" (xxii. 2). The whole congregation of the children of Israel were indignant that an altar had been built by the Reubenites, lest they should turn away from "following the Lord." But in Joshua's address to the people it is said, that idolatry prevailed among them (xxiv. 23); and this is confirmed by what we find in the period of the Judges, in Othniel's days (iii. 1-11.) A satisfactory reply to this has not been furnished by Keil saying that Joshua does not speak of gross idolatry, but merely of such hankering after strange gods as is consistent with the outward legality of the ecclesiastical condition in which the Israelites were at the time.[1] Joshua's words are, "Put away the strange gods which are among you, and incline your heart unto the Lord God of Israel." Surely this language implies *the existence* of gross idolatry among the people; *not* a bare *hankering after* strange deities, especially as it is added, "and incline your heart unto the Lord God of Israel" (xxiv. 23). Mere individual instances of disobedience to God's law do not exhaust its meaning. The warm expostulation of the whole congregation with the Reubenites and their associates for building an altar in addition to the altar of Jehovah, is inconsistent with the supposition of the people having foreign gods among them. Besides, it is related that the people assembled at Sichem "under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord" and "they presented themselves before God," implying that the tabernacle and ark were there. But we know from xviii. 1 that the tabernacle had been removed from its former place at Gilgal to Shiloh, where it remained for a long period after Joshua's death (1 Sam. iii. 21; iv. 3); and Shechem was a Levitical city of refuge.

This inconsistency has sorely puzzled commentators, who have indulged in all kinds of hypotheses for the purpose of removing it. Masius, Michaelis, and others endeavour to shew that in xxiv. 26 it is not implied that the sanctuary was at Shechem, because the noun מִקְדָּשׁ denotes *the holy place* which Abraham

[1] Einleitung, page 146.

had consecrated to the Lord (Gen. xii. 6, 7). This is nearly the same as Mede's view of "the sanctuary," meaning a sort of *oratory* or *house of prayer*, which the Ephraimites had erected—the spot being selected because the Lord had appeared there to Abraham. That sense of the Hebrew word is contrary to usage. Others boldly propose reading Shiloh for Shechem in the first verse of Josh. xxiv., but not in the thirty-second verse. This is entirely uncritical. Others again assume, that Shiloh was not a town at the time referred to, but merely the name of the place where the tabernacle was erected. If there were no town there, Shechem may have been of all the neighbouring places the most convenient for the general assembly of the people; and, as Horsley conjectures, the site of the tabernacle might have been much nearer to this ancient town of Shechem than the town of Shiloh was to the Shechem of Jerome's time. In opposition to this tissue of arbitrary conjectures it is expressly stated in another place, (viii. 33), that the ark was in the neighbourhood of Shechem. But here again a ready evasion of the difficulty occurs; and it is arbitrarily assumed that viii. 30-35 is misplaced. Accordingly some transpose the passage most unwarrantably to the end of the eleventh chapter; others, as Geddes, to chapter xviii. 1. Sound criticism rejects all such expedients. The only natural method of exposition is to maintain that there were different traditions respecting the ark's resting-places; giving rise to varying statements in the book of Joshua.

Such are some of the discrepancies that appear in the contents of the book before us. That they can be harmonised is perhaps possible; but it is very improbable.

It has been affirmed, that the discrepancies are owing to misapprehension of one fact, viz., that there were two distributions of territory, the first, of the conquered country in the southern half of Palestine; the second, some years after, of territory as yet only partially subdued, and which it was expected that the tribes would be able, with the help of their nearest neighbours, to clear for themselves. Admitting however this fact, we are unable to see the magic power ascribed to it in removing an immense body of special and false criticism. Let us see. The alleged second distribution begins at the eighteenth chapter. The first is noticed in the fourteenth chapter, fifth verse. We should be glad to know how this twofold distribution of territory reconciles xi. 23; "Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses," *the whole land* being previously explained as stretching from "the mount Halak that goeth up to Seir, even unto Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon under mount Hermon" (xi. 16, 17), with "the land that remained to be possessed," viz., "from Sihor which is before Egypt even unto

the borders of Ekron northward" (xiii. 2, 3). Or how does the twofold territorial division harmonise the conflicting statements already noticed respecting the localities of the tabernacle? It is nothing but groundless assertion—this wonderful property ascribed to the fact of a double distribution. Discrepancies in the book are not cleared away by it, any more than they are attributable to a want of perceiving it.

Diversities in the manner of conception and expression are also observable in Joshua.

1. In i. 4 the Euphrates is given as the eastern boundary of the land; whereas in xiii. 3 etc. the case is quite otherwise. It is not sufficient to say in answer to this that the boundaries are defined with geographical exactness in the latter place, while the passage in i. 4 has an *oratorical* character agreeably to its nature as a divine promise, and is more nearly defined by the clause; "all the land of the Hittites." Surely a divine promise should be as specific and definite as any historical statement. If it be *oratorically inflated*, it so far loses its marks of the divine.

2. In the historical portion of the work the extirpation of the Canaanites is enjoined; and it is related in praise of Joshua that he effected it as far as he was able (x. 40; xi. 14, 15); while in the geographical part it is narrated, without reproach, that whole tribes of the Canaanites were not eradicated, but merely compelled to be tributaries (comp. xv. 63).

A difference in the mode of expression is also observable in different parts of the work. Thus in some portions the use of the noun שֵׁבֶט *tribe* prevails, as in iii. 12; iv. 2, 4, 12; vii. 14, 16; xviii. 2, 4, 7; xxii. 7, 9, etc.; xxiii. 4; xxiv. 1; while in others מַטֶּה predominates, as in xiii. 15, 24; xiv. 1-4; xv. 1, 20, 21; xvii. 1; xviii. 11; xix. 1, 24, 40, 48; xx. 8; xxi. 4, etc.

Keil tries to account for this difference by making a subtle distinction in the meaning of the two words, the former denoting tribe as a *prevailing power*, the latter tribe according to its *genealogical ramification*.[1] But both are employed indiscriminately in the same sense, and not according to the distinction assumed—a distinction foreign to the writers of the book.

Again, the historical parts have the rare word מְחֻלָּקֶת *inheritance* (xi. 23; xii. 7; xviii. 10), which does not appear in the geographical sections. Similarly the geograpical portion has יַרְדֵּן יְרִיחוֹ *Jordan by Jericho*, xiii. 32; xvi. 1; xx. 8; a mode of expression wanting in the historical.

Moses is termed *servant of Jehovah* in the historical sections only.

[1] Einleitung, pp. 147, 148.

Again, in the historical parts occur the words כֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם *the priests the Levites* (iii. 3; viii. 33) or simply כֹּהֲנִים *priests* (iii. 6, 15; vi. 4, 6, etc.); but in the geographical sections the same persons are termed *sons of Aaron* (xxi. 4, 10, 13, 19). The former is a Deuteronomistic expression; the latter Elohistic. It is idle to say with Keil that the priests are regarded according to their genealogical descent, in the twenty-first chapter, while in other places they are viewed with respect to their office and position. Such explanations only betray the weakness of a cause.

In addition to these linguistic differences, the first or historical part of the work has a fulness of expression and harmonious rounding of periods, which contrast with the brevity and occasional difficulty of the second where we find repetitions and parenthetic remarks that interrupt and obscure the thread of the history. Thus the seventh and eighth verses of the twenty-second chapter are parenthetic, interrupting the connection. Diversity of contents will not account for such diversity of style.[1]

The preceding remarks will shew how unreliable is the view of those critics who hold the unity of the book. Its rounded completeness exists only in imagination; for there are many evidences of the loose coherence of its parts, the fragmentary character of its contents, and the difference of sources which have contributed to it. Discrepant statements, phrases, and style, shew too plainly the heterogeneous matter from which it has been compiled, and the absence of such pervading unity as characterises a complete mastery of materials. It is impossible for any impartial critic to defend with success either the independence or unity of the work. Those in whom the apologetic feeling predominates may try to shew both; as Hävernick and Keil have done. Who can believe in the unity, when viii. 30-35 disturbs the connexion—(for before the first division of land the Israelites had not penetrated as far as Ebal and Gerizim, but had got no farther than the district of Gibeon, x. 41)—and occupies a wrong place? Or who can believe in the alleged unity, when xv. 45-47 is opposed to xiii. 1-6; for it is plainly implied in the former place that Ekron, Ashdod, and Gaza had been conquered by the Israelites, especially as the sixty-third verse gives what Judah could not subdue, whereas in the latter, Ekron and other Philistine cities, Ashdod, Askalon, Gath, are counted to the Canaanites and regarded in the same light as they, *i.e.*, as still unconquered, agreeing with xi. 22?

[1] See Hauff's Offenbarungsglaube und Kritik der bibl. Geschichtsbücher, p. 132 et seqq.

III. SOURCES AND AUTHORSHIP.—The Elohist is again visible, as the following sections shew :—

iv. 15–17, 19.
v. 10–12.
xiii. 15–33.
xiv. 1–5.
xv. 1–13; 20–44; 48–62.
xvi. 1–9.
xvii. 1–10.
xviii. 1, 2; 11–28.
xix., xx.
xxi. 1–40.
xxii. 9–11; 13–15, 21, 30–33 *a*.

In most places, however, the Deuteronomist appears, as the manner of thinking and expression shews. A comparison with Deuteronomy is the best mode of making this fact palpable to the reader.

שֹׁטְרִים *officers* i. 10; iii. 2; viii. 33; xxiii. 2; comp. Deut. i. 15; xvi. 18; xx. 5, 8, 9; xxix. 9; xxxi. 28; יָד חֲזָקָה iv. 24; comp. Deut. iv. 34; v. 15; vi. 21; vii. 8; ix. 26; חֲמֻשִׁים i. 14; iv. 12; comp. Ex. xiii. 18; Judg. vii. 11; בֵּית יְהוָה vi. 24; ix. 23; compare Deut. xxiii. 19. *The angel of Jehovah* is identical with *Jehovah himself*, v. 13, etc., vi. 2. The entire annihilation of the Canaanites is emphatically enjoined, and the verb הֶחֱרִים frequently applied, iii. 10; viii. 26; ix. 1, 24; x. 28, 35, 40; xi. 3; xii. 8; compare Deut. iii. 6; vii. 2; xx. 17; הִשְׁאִיר viii. 22; x. 28, 30, 33; xi. 8; comp. Deut. iii. 3; ii. 34; xxviii. 55; כֹּהֲנִים or הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם iii. 3, 6, 8, 13; iv. 10, 11; vi. 4, 8, 12, 16; iv. 3: comp. Deut. xvii. 9, 18; xviii. 1; xxiv. 8; xxvii. 9; נָתַן לִפְנֵי x. 12; comp. Deut. ii. 31; יָרַשׁ i. 15; xii. 6; comp. Deut. ii. 5, 9, 12, 19, etc.; שָׁמַר לַעֲשׂוֹת i. 7; comp. Deut. xv. 5; xxiv. 8; xxviii. 1, 15; xxxii. 46.[1] Whole passages appear which agree in a great degree verbally with Deuteronomy. Thus we read in viii. 30–35, "Then Joshua built an altar unto the Lord God of Israel in mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of the Lord commanded the children of Israel, as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of whole stones, over which no man hath lift up any iron: and they offered thereon burnt-offerings unto the Lord, and sacrificed peace-offerings. And he wrote there

[1] See Stähelin Kritische Untersuchungen, u. s. w. p. 86 et seqq.

upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses, which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel. And all Israel, and their elders and officers, and their judges, stood on this side the ark, and on that side before the priests the Levites, which bare the ark of the covenant of the Lord, as well the stranger as he that was born among them: half of them over against mount Gerizim, and half of them over against mount Ebal; as Moses the servant of the Lord had commanded before, that they should bless the people of Israel. And afterward he read all the words of the law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the law. There was not a word of all that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them." Here is related the fulfilment of the command given in Deut. xxvii.: "Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in mount Ebal, and thou shalt plaister them with plaister. And there shalt thou build an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones, and thou shalt offer burnt-offerings thereon unto the Lord thy God. And thou shalt offer peace-offerings and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly." The whole twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy should also be collated with the passage before us.

In like manner, the commencement of Joshua (i. 1–9) is almost verbally the same as passages in Deuteronomy.

Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses. From the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee: I will not fail thee nor forsake thee. Be strong and of a good courage: for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land which I sware unto their fathers to give them (i. 3-6).	Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread, shall be your's: from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea, shall your coast be. There shall no man be able to stand before you: for the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you, etc. And the Lord, he it is that doth go before thee; he will be with thee, he will not fail thee, neither forsake thee: fear not, neither be dismayed. Be strong and of a good courage: for thou must go with this people unto the land which the Lord hath sworn unto their fathers to give them; and thou shalt cause them to inherit it (Deut. xi. 24, etc.; xxxi. 7, 8).
The Lord your God, he is God in heaven above, and in the earth beneath (ii. 11).	The Lord; he is God in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath (Deut. iv. 39).

Only unto the tribe of Levi he gave none inheritance; the sacrifices of the Lord God of Israel made by fire are their inheritance, as he said unto them (xiii. 14).	Therefore shall they have no inheritance among their brethren: the Lord is their inheritance, as he hath said unto them (Deut. xviii. 2).
And as soon as the sun was down Joshua commanded that they should take his carcase down from the tree, and cast it at the entering of the gate of the city, and raise thereon a great heap of stones (viii. 29). "And it came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun that Joshua commanded and they took them down off the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had been hid, etc." (x. 27).	His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day (Deut. xxi. 23).
Nevertheless my brethren that went up with me made the heart of the people melt: but I wholly followed the Lord my God (xiv. 8).	And the officers shall speak further unto the people, and they shall say, What man is there that is fearful and faint-hearted? Let him go and return unto his house, lest his brethren's heart faint, as well as his heart (Deut. xx. 8).
Until the Lord have given your brethren rest, as he hath given you, and they also have possessed the land which the Lord your God giveth them: then ye shall return unto the land of your possession and enjoy it, which Moses, the Lord's servant, gave you on this side Jordan, toward the sun-rising (i. 15).	Until the Lord have given rest unto your brethren, as well as unto you, and until they also possess the land which the Lord your God hath given them beyond Jordan; and then shall ye return every man unto his possession which I have given you (Deut. iii. 20).
For the Lord fought for Israel (x. 14). Because the Lord God of Israel fought for Israel (x. 42).	For the Lord your God, he shall fight for you (Deut. iii. 22).
And the coast of Og king of Bashan, which was of the remnant of the giants, that dwelt at Ashtaroth and at Edrei (xii. 4).	And all Bashan, unto Salchah and Edrei, cities of the kingdom of Og in Bashan. For only Og king of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants (Deut. iii. 10, 11).

In consequence of these and other phenomena, the present form of Joshua may be assigned to the Deuteronomist. His manner and style are seen in the book. Like the Jehovist he is full and diffuse, especially where a hortatory tone is adopted, as in i. 1–9, the basis of which however is Jehovistic. Chap. viii. 30–35 seems to be entirely his. In other parts he has rather worked upon the Jehovist, as in i. 16–18; iii:, iv., ix. 27, and perhaps x. 12-15, which the Jehovist got from the book of Jashar.

Taking the two parts of the whole book, the Deuteronomist appears more in the first than the second. In addition to the Jehovist whose narrative is the chief basis of i. 1-xiii. 14, he appears pretty plainly here; the diction being uniform and the

succession of events tolerably clear. Few traces of the Elohim-document are perceptible, except those already specified.

Here it may occur to some, that there is a gap in the Elohim-document, perfectly unaccountable, and sufficient to destroy the very idea of such a writing. In Deuteronomy xxxiv. 1-9, there is an account of Moses's death, which is the last trace of the document till Joshua iv. 15-17. What a strange connection is here? Moses died on mount Nebo; priests are commanded by Joshua to come up out of Jordan. Thus with a sudden and violent leap the old Elohist magically transports the people of Israel, who were above 600,000, with their women children and cattle, to the middle of the Jordan. At v. 10-12, the next piece of the Elohist, the people are in the camp at Gilgal, where the passover is celebrated. Is it supposable then that any rational writer would have passed over all other events except these?[1] To this we may reply, that the historical in the Elohist is exceedingly brief. Whether he really passed over these wonderful events in silence we cannot certainly affirm; but if he did, it is probable that they did not seem so miraculous to him as they appeared to a later age. If he did not, his notices must have been considered imperfect by succeeding generations, after the miraculous had gathered about them; and they were therefore suppressed to make way for later and wonderful views of them. Nothing positive can now be said of the Elohist's being without a description of Canaan's conquest; for the Deuteronomist may have had the knowledge of it from other sources which he preferred. The absurdities therefore which Keil supposes the assumption of an Elohim-document to lead to, because it betrays such remarkable omissions, exist in his own idea. He should have known that its history is brief.

From xiii. 15 and onward, evidences of the Elohist are clearer and more numerous. But he has been handled very freely; a later writer or writers mixing up their own matter with his, adding, eliminating, or abridging. In xviii. 4-9, it is related that Joshua sent out three men from each of the seven tribes to survey the land and bring back the description in a book. Accordingly the messengers passed through the territory still unoccupied, and "described it by cities into seven parts in a book." Here a geographical document is said to have been used. That it was exactly of the nature and extent which the descriptions of the territories allotted to the tribes in the present book of Joshua point out, is quite improbable. The Elohim-document did not contain all that was in it, as the notices of the catalogue

[1] Keil, Commentar ueber das Buch Josua, Einleitung, p. xxviii. et seqq.

became vague and scanty from Issachar (xix. 23); and in regard to both Zebulun and Issachar, the borders are reckoned according to cities whose situation can be determined but imperfectly. In 1 Chron. iv. 28-30 is a list of the places belonging to Simeon not taken from that in Joshua xix. 1, etc. The same remark applies to the list of the Levitical cities in 1 Chron. vi. 39-66, compared with Joshua xxi. There were different copies of the original document, some older, others younger, presenting varieties. None perhaps preserved the exact primitive description. We know that some cities are not mentioned—*ex. gr.* Bethlehem is wanting in xv. 33-35. But we need not dwell on the point, because the compiler of the book drew mainly from the list incorporated into the Elohim-document. Chap. xiv. 6-15, is a Deuteronomistic insertion.

Does the Jehovah-document appear in the book? According to Stähelin the Jehovist was the compiler of the whole, who, incorporating his materials with the Elohim-document and working upon it, produced what is now called the book of Joshua.[1] It cannot be denied that there is considerable resemblance between the Jehovist and Deuteronomist; but that they are identical cannot be shewn. Enough of difference exists between them to prove, that the one was posterior to the other. Yet we may readily discover traces of the Jehovist in addition to the Elohist in the book. The twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters bear the plainest marks of the Jehovist, except the concluding verses of the last. Nor is he absent from other places, as from the twenty-first chapter, though the Elohist is chiefly in it. In chaps. v. 13-vi. 1, he also appears, and in xiv. 6-11.

To these observations it may be added, that in the historical sections we find *the officers and judges* on every important occasion, who formed a kind of aristocracy, and had attained to the dignity they enjoyed by their personal qualities. This political arrangement is a part of the later legislation contained in the Pentateuch. The earliest legislation, as found in the Elohist, speaks of *heads of houses, of fathers*, and *elders*, i.e., *the first-born* of the family. But the Jehovist and Deuteronomist recognise official persons who attained to their pre-eminence by choice. They speak of *Shoterim* as well as *Shophtim*. As the kingly power increased, the *heads of the tribes*, who in the original constitution under Moses and Joshua possessed large executive power, being in great measure irresponsible rulers, were pushed into the back ground; and the *Shoterim* and *Shophtim* became prominent. The latter were foreign to the time of Moses and

[1] Kritische Untersuchungen, u. s. w. p. 94 et seqq.

Joshua; under both of whom the Hebrew constitution was the same. In consequence of the Elohim-document, the book speaks of *the heads of the fathers of the tribes* (xiv. 1; xxi. 1), who are also termed *princes* (xvii. 4; xxii. 14, 32); but this is inconsistent with other parts not Elohistic; although it corresponds to the circumstances of the people in the time of Joshua himself.

If then traces of the Deuteronomist, Elohist, and Jehovist are visible in the work, how did it receive its present shape? Did the Deuteronomist compose it, or was he in a manner the redactor? The book existed in substance before the Deuteronomist as a part of the combined Elohistic and Jehovistic documents. We have already seen that the Elohim-document reached down to the taking possession of the land of promise. To it belonged the account of burying Joseph's bones in Palestine (Josh. xxiv. 32). We believe that the redactor had acted very freely with the part of the narrative following Moses's death. Certainly both were united by him before the time of the Deuteronomist, who took and employed the existing account in his own manner, inserting pieces here and there, and acting independently according to his custom. He was therefore the final redactor of the present work rather than its author, the greater part existing before his time. It is true that strong marks of his manner and style appear, especially in the first part; but not so much in the substance as the expression.

Knobel treats the composition of Joshua in the same way as that of the preceding books. Besides the Elohist he finds copious traces of the documents he calls the *Right-book* and *War-book*, and but a few fragments of the Jehovist and Deuteronomist. The last two, however, nearly disappear as authors beneath his critical procedure. We believe that most of what is assigned to the War-book belongs to the Jehovist; while the greater portion of his *book of Jashar* is the junior Elohist's, worked up by the Jehovist with his own document. Knobel has unwarrantably robbed the Deuteronomist of his due, as he has done to the Jehovist. As the Deuteronomist had the combined Elohist and Jehovist before him, and stood nearer the latter in time, he resembled him the more. References in places of Joshua to the first four books of the Pentateuch are natural only because the former is a continuation of the latter—such as Josh. xxiii. 13 and Num. xxxiii. 55; Josh. ii. 9 and Ex. xxiii. 27. The remark that Joshua was *divinely approved in the sight of Israel* (Josh. iii. 7; iv. 14, 24) reminds the reader of Ex. xiv. 31, with which also may be compared Num. xvi. 28. Josh. iv. 13, 16 refers to Ex. xv. 8; Josh. iii. 5 to Ex. xix. 11. Josh. v. 15 alludes to Ex. iii. 5, and Josh. xiv. 6-11 to Num. xiii., xiv. Joshua is termed Moses's מְשָׁרֵת i. 1, as in Ex. xxiv. 13. Josh.

iv. 6, 7, 21 reminds of Ex. xiii. 14. Josh. v. 1 speaks of the Canaanites *by the sea*, which expression occurs only in Num. xiii. 29. Josh. v. 13 alludes to Num. xxii. 23. Josh. vii. 9 resembles Num. xiv. 13, etc. Josh. x. 21 may be compared with Ex. xi. 7; Josh. x. 8 with Num. xxi. 34; Josh. ix. 10 with Num. xxi. 21, 33, etc. Josh. xi. 20 may be compared with Ex. ix. 12. *Shinar* in Josh. vii. 21, occurs only in Gen. x. 10, xi. 2, etc., xiv. Compare too Josh. xxiv. 12 with Ex. xxiii. 28. Such are the principal correspondences between the writer of Joshua and Jehovistic sections in the first four books of the Pentateuch.

We meet of course with *the same kind of correspondences* between the writer of Joshua and the Elohists, older and junior. Thus the rare expression חֲמֻשִׁים *equipped* Josh. i. 14; iv. 12, occurs in Ex. xiii. 18.

After such general agreement of language in the book before us with the Pentateuch, especially with the Jehovist, the expressions and forms of words which are said to be peculiar cannot render a different time and author probable any farther than they shew the Deuteronomist to be later than the Elohist and Jehovist, the writer of Deuteronomy and redactor of Joshua possessing the documents that constitute the body of the first four books, and using their succeeding parts as a literary man might be supposed to do. It is incorrect to say, that the book of Joshua is distinguished from the Pentateuch by a peculiar phraseology. It should be properly compared with Deuteronomy, next with the Jehovist, and lastly with the Elohist; the resemblance becoming fainter the farther we recede from the age of the Deuteronomist himself, unless there be a counteracting element. Every critic will expect to find a few expressions and word-forms unknown to the Pentateuch and peculiar to the book of Joshua itself; but not so many as to detract materially from that *general likeness* which cannot be denied. The following have been pointed out as unknown to the Pentateuch; the orthography of יְרִיחוֹ twenty-six times, instead of יְרֵחוֹ eleven times in the Pentateuch; סִיחוֹן or עוֹג מַמְלְכוֹת Josh. xiii. 12, 21, 27, 30, 31 instead of ם״ or מַמְלֶכֶת ע״ Num. xxxii. 33; Deut. iii. 4, 10, 13. קַנּוֹא Josh. xxiv. 19 for קַנָּא Ex. xx. 5; xxiv. 14; Deut. iv. 24; v. 9; vi. 15; דְּמוֹ בְרֹאשׁוֹ ii. 19, for דָּמוֹ בוֹ Lev. xx. 9, 11-13, 16. אֲרוֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ iii. 11, 13; *treasure of the house of Jehovah*, vi. 19, 24; *the heart melted and there was no more spirit in one*, ii. 11; v. 1; *the heart melted and became as water*, vii. 5.[1] On the other

[1] See Keil's Commentar, Einleit., pp. xxvii., xxviii.; and his Einleitung, p. 144.

hand, archaisms belonging to the Pentateuch are said to be wanting in Joshua, because they had disappeared in the progress of the language. Thus הוּא for הִיא, הָאֵל for הָאֵלֶּה are not found. It is a remarkable idiom of the Pentateuch that הוּא is of the common gender. It is not however peculiar to those books; for it also occurs in 1 Kings xvii. 15; Job xxxi. 11; Is. xxx. 33, where it is wrongly pointed and should be הוּא The Pentateuch has the feminine הִיא as well as הוּא, shewing that even then הוּא was going out of use as a feminine. Hence the absence of it in Joshua proves nothing. The pronominal form הָאֵל can scarcely be called an archaism. It occurs in the Pentateuch alone; but אֵל is also found in 1 Chron. xx. 8.

IV. DATE.—Very few notices directly bearing on the date of the book are found in itself. We rely on the contents and colouring for the date assigned. This is so pressingly felt by Herzfeld,[1] that although attributing the composition of the work to Samuel, he considers the Levitical and Deuteronomistic matter in it as the addition of a redactor in the time of the exile—a hypothesis both arbitrary and clumsy.

Having already determined the time of the Deuteronomist, viz., the reign of Manasseh, the time of the book before us is of course the same. Of later diction there are various evidences in the work; though there are no such chaldaisms as would refer it to the time of the captivity. Thus עֲבוּר v. 11, 12, a word occurring no where else, belongs to the later Hebrew. So also נְכָסִים xxii. 8, which is found in 2 Chron. i. 11, and Eccles. v. 18; vi. 2. אוֹתְכֶם for אֶתְכֶם Josh. xxiii. 15; Ezek. xxiii. 46, etc. אוֹתִי for אֹתִי Josh. xiv. 12; xxii. 19, the latter characterising the age of Jeremiah and contemporary writers (comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 24). The last two are called archaisms by Häverick and Keil, without the slighest authority. הֲמִסְיוֹ Josh. xiv. 8 is an *Aramaean* form, not an archaism, as Keil asserts. Both Gesenius and Ewald call it Aramaean, and not the earliest form retained by the Chaldee.[2] The use of the article as a relative pronoun with verbs, representing either the subject or the object is also a mark of the later age of Hebrew, Josh. x. 24; 1 Chron. xxix. 17; xxvi. 28; 2 Chron. xxix. 36; Ezra viii. 25; x. 14, 17. This has no parallel in Genesis, as Keil asserts[3] quoting xviii. 21, 23, etc. because the article in all stages of the language was employed with a participle, and the examples

[1] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 287.

[2] Gesen. Lehrgebäude, p. 432; Ewald, Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache, p. 276, fifth edition.

[3] Einleitung, p. 150.

adduced are of *participles*, which is aside from the point. It was from the use of the article as a relative before participles that its employment for the same purpose with verbs, was derived. הִשְׂכִּיל *to conduct a thing prosperously*, Josh. i. 7, 8; 2 Kings xviii. 7; Jer. x. 21; Prov. xvii. 8. In x. 21, the proverb "no dog moved his tongue against Israel" (Ex. xi. 7) occurs in an abbreviated form, without כֶּלֶב *dog;* shewing a later time; for proverbs are abridged in the course of use. Let us now see whether any thing in the book is opposed to the date already established.

In xv. 63 we read: "As for the Jebusites the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the children of Judah could not drive them out: but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Judah at Jerusalem unto this day." On comparing these words with 2 Sam. v. 6-9, where it is related that David took from the Jebusites the strong hold of Zion, it has been inferred that the book was written before David's seventh year. It is clear that some one before David speaks in Josh. xv. 63; but this shews nothing more than that another document was used there. In xvi. 10 the Canaanites are said to have still dwelt in Gezer, a town which was destroyed in Solomon's reign (1 Kings ix. 16). Here again the passage has reference only to the age of a certain document, not to the age of the compiler of Joshua. It has also been supposed, from ix. 27, that the place for the temple was not yet chosen, as it was in David's reign, because of the words, "in the place which He (Jehovah) should choose." But the connexion shews that the time of Joshua regulates the nature of the words, not that of the writer of the book. In the days of Joshua the place for God's house was still to be chosen. This was not so in the time of *the writer himself*, as we gather from another place where his stand-point in Joshua's day is ignored, viz., xxi. 9-19. Here all the cities belonging to the priestly division of Kohath's family are in the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Simeon. Surely this implies that the centre of religious worship was then at Jerusalem, where the priests could attend conveniently as their duties demanded. Such distribution, before the temple was erected at Jerusalem, is inconceivable. Why have the family of Kohath no cities in Ephraim, in which the tabernacle stood when Joshua was alive? Why are they confined to the two or three tribes nearest to Jerusalem? To this no answer can be given by such as suppose the distribution in question to have taken place in the time of Joshua, or before the temple was built. It evidently presupposes the services of religion to be at Jerusalem; after Judah and Benjamin had become an independent kingdom. Those who think that the

Almighty interfered in this matter because the lot was used, will of course explain the arrangement as having been made under His immediate direction, with a distinct reference to future circumstances. But the Omniscient one has established general laws, with which he does not interfere on any occasion which the superstitious feeling of his creatures may wish. It has been thought by some critics that the quotation from the book of Jashar points to a period after David (x. 13 compared with 2 Sam. i. 18). We must acknowledge, however, that this argument is very uncertain; for the collection of songs of which that anthology consisted may have existed in part before David inserted in it his elegy on Saul and Jonathan. Nor can we rely on the fact of the appellations *Jerusalem* (x. 1) and *mountains of Israel* (xi. 16, 21) first appearing in David's day. The language in vi. 26 where Joshua pronounces a curse on him who should rebuild Jericho, corresponds to the time of Ahab, *i.e.*, 923 B.C. Hiel the Bethelite built Jericho in the reign of that king; and two sons of his died in consequence of the curse. So it is related in 1 Kings xvi. 34. The accidental death of two sons reminded the writer of the Kings of an old tradition respecting Joshua's cursing the rebuilder of Jericho; whence a prophecy was put into the mouth of Israel's captain. The prophetic curse was subsequent to the death of Hiel's offspring.

After this discussion it is scarcely necessary to shew that Joshua himself did not write the book. The following arguments refute that notion:—

1. The phrase *to this day* (iv. 9; v. 9; vi. 25; vii. 26; viii. 28, etc.; ix. 27; xiii. 13; xiv. 14; xv. 63; xvi. 10, and xxii. 3, 17; xxiii. 8, 9) proves that the book did not appear contemporaneously with the occurrences described. Some interval of time is implied in it, probably not less than thirty years. It is not in opposition to this that Rahab is said to dwell in Israel "even unto this day" (vi. 25), because the Jehovist used older documents. It is true that we find the first person plural *we* in chap. v. 1; but the reading of the *kri* is *they*, and is confirmed by the LXX. and Vulgate, the Targum of Jonathan, the Syriac and Arabic, and thirty-seven MSS. עִבְרָם the original reading became עִבְרֵנוּ by some mistake in course of time. *Us* in v. 6 must have arisen in the same manner. Various MSS. of Kennicott and De Rossi, with the Syriac and Arabic, read לָהֶם instead of לָנוּ.

2. Some transactions recorded in the work occurred after Joshua's death. Thus the taking of Hebron by Caleb, and of Debir or Kirjath-sepher by Othniel (xv. 13-17) was subsequent

to that event (comp. Judg. i. 9-13). Leshem also was taken by the Danites (xix. 47) after the decease of Joshua.

How long after Joshua the work appeared may be inferred from its composition and style. It could not have been written soon after by one of the elders who survived Joshua, as Keil assumes,[1] for the places on which he relies for confirmation do not bear him out. The first person plural *we* in v. 1, 6, does not prove that the writer was one of the Israelites that crossed the Jordan with Joshua, as has been already stated; neither does vi. 25 imply that Rahab was still alive when the book was written. If there were nothing else, the account of the two monuments in chapter iv., and the narrative of Ai's capture suffice to prove a very considerable space of time between the occurrence of the events and the composition of the book, during which traditional elements became incorporated with the history. The monument consisting of twelve stones set up by Joshua in *the middle* of Jordan, where they could not be seen for the stream; and the similar memorial of passing the Jordan erected at Gilgal, appear to have arisen out of one and the same in the progress of oral transmission, especially as it is said the stones in the river remained *unto this day* (iv. 9). There is also an indistinctness as well as obscurity in the whole narrative that points to a much later period, especially in the eleventh verse compared with 15-18 verses of the same chapter; for the former reads, "And it came to pass when all the people were clean passed over, that the ark of the Lord passed over, and the priests, in the presence of the people:" while the latter apparently resumes the narrative at a prior point, "And the Lord spake unto Joshua, saying, Command the priests that bear the ark of the testimony, that they come up out of Jordan," etc. As to the capture of Ai, two accounts have been mixed up together, so that two ambuscades appear consisting of 30,000 and 5,000 men respectively; the latter being the true number of the only ambuscade that was. And the etymology[2] of Gilgal (v. 9) likewise disproves any composition of the book near to Joshua's time; for it is Jehovistic and incorrect. The word means *circle, district,* without referenee to the Israelites being reproached by the Egyptians on account of the rite of circumcision. It is superfluous at the present day to argue that, as Joshua is said to have written an account of the transactions "in the book of the law of God," *i.e.*, the words he had then uttered and the covenant into which the people had entered, (xxiv. 26), he who did so would also record the events in which he had performed a leading part. The Deuteronomist follows the same method in

[1] Einleitung, p. 151.

[2] See Bleek's Einleitung, p. 313 et seqq.

Joshua as in Deuteronomy, *i.e.*, he represents Joshua as *writing;* just as he had set forth Moses as writing the body of laws in Deuteronomy.

V. HISTORICAL CHARACTER AND CREDIBILITY.—The historical character and credibility of the book can be properly judged only by the nature of its contents. That Joshua led the Israelites into the promised land after the death of Moses; that he conquered a great part of the territory belonging to the Canaanites, and distributed it among the various tribes; that the tabernacle was set up at Gilgal and Shiloh; and that there were two distributions of territory, the former of the conquered parts in the southern half of Palestine, and the second of other territory, cannot be disbelieved. The events recorded in the book must have taken place. Whether they always happened *in the manner* described is another question. The traditional and mythical are perceptible. Hence we consider the contents unhistorical *in part.* This is exemplified in the method by which it is said the people crossed the Jordan. As the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the water, the flood divided, so that there was dry ground in the midst of the river on which the priests stood, till all the people had passed over dryshod. As soon as the soles of the priests' feet touched the dry land on the brink of the river, the waters returned to their former place and overflowed all their banks as before. Here a miracle is made out of a natural event; for an army could pass over the fords of Jordan without much difficulty, apart from any marvellous interference of Jehovah. David's and Absalom's troops crossed it, as we read in 2 Sam. xvii., xix, where neither difficulty nor miracle is hinted at. So also Judas Maccabeus crossed it. The description has been moulded after the crossing of the Red Sea. The priestly element is prominent in it; for it is the presence of the ark and the priests which divides the flood. It will be observed too, that there were twelve stones set up by Joshua in the middle of the river, in addition to the twelve which were to be erected at Gilgal for a monument. According to the words (iv. 8), these other stones were placed in the bed of the river while the twelve men selected from the tribes were carrying the first twelve out of the river, and while the priests were still standing in it (verse 10). The object of this second memorial is to magnify the priestly miracle; for it is said that the latter twelve stones were erected "in the place where the feet of the priests which bare the ark of the covenant stood." It is even stated that they remained there "unto this day." Well might Horsley ask, "For what purpose were the stones erected where they would be invisible; and by what means were they secured against the impetuosity of the stream?" and

regard the ninth verse as *an interpolation*, which is most uncritical.[1] The whole description of the passage across the Jordan is unhistorical and legendary. All that is certain is, that the people under Joshua's leadership forded the Jordan, as David's troops afterwards did. The mode in which the city of Jericho was taken by the Israelites is a legend dressed out in the same miraculous way, and represented as the immediate effect of Jehovah's interference. Seven trumpets were blown (though the law prescribes but two) because the writer represents the city as compassed about seven days, and seven times on the seventh day. "And it came to pass at the seventh time, when the priests blew with the trumpets, Joshua said unto the people, Shout! for the Lord hath given you the city . . . . . And it came to pass when the people heard the sound of the trumpet, and the people shouted with a great shout, that the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city" (vi. 16, 20). We are not informed in what way the Israelites really stormed the city; but it was probably in their usual mode—viz., by enclosing the enemy or their fortifications in a circle, and then pulling down upon them their own buildings. One thing is very likely viz., that a large army like that of Israel would have been able to take Jericho without a miracle; since Oriental fortifications are by no means strong or impregnable.

In denying the miraculous in these cases, we neither question nor deny *the possibility* of miracle. But there is an *economy* in miracles to which expositors should attend. History abundantly shews how prone after ages are to magnify the exploits of their ancestors.

As in the Pentateuch so in Joshua we find Jehovah speaking directly to man, and interfering in the events that happen. He discomfits the Amorites and slays them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, chasing them along the way to Beth-horon, and casting down great stones from heaven upon them; so that more were killed in that way than by the sword of Israel (x. 10, etc.). He also directs the lot to fall upon Achan, as we read in the seventh chapter; and sends *the prince of the angels* to fight for Israel (v. 13–15). Such mythology must not be taken for literal history, as some have assumed it to be. The later priestly spirit has been already noticed in connection with the Jordan passage and the conquest of Jericho; and etymologising, like the Jehovist's, is exemplified in the names Gilgal and Achor (v. 9, vii. 26).

VI. STANDING STILL OF THE SUN AND MOON.—The standing

[1] Biblical Criticism, vol. i. p. 249 et seqq. ed. 1820.

still of the sun and moon at Joshua's command is a poetical hyperbole, originally inserted in the book of Jashar. As the passage exhibiting it is much debated, we shall glance at the various views that have been entertained respecting it. But it is necessary to quote it at length.

"Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. Is not this written in the book of Jasher? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man: for the Lord fought for Israel. And Joshua returned and all Israel with him, unto the camp, to Gilgal" (x. 12-15).

The first point to be examined is, how far the citation from the book of Jashar extends. All must admit that the words of that poetical anthology are found in—

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon,
And thou, moon, in the valley of Ajalon.
And the sun stood still
And the moon stayed
Till the people had avenged themselves
Upon their enemies.

But it is not easy to say whether the quotation extends farther than this and includes the following :—

So the sun stood still
In the midst of heaven
And hasted not to go down
About a whole day.
And there was no day like that
Before it or after it,
That the Lord hearkened
Unto the voice of a man,
For the Lord fought for Israel.
And Joshua returned,
And all Israel with him,
Unto the camp to Gilgal.

The point is, whether the question of the historian, "Is not this written in the book of Jasher," terminates the quotation by stating whence it is taken; or whether the citation does not proceed to the end of the fifteenth verse, *after this inserted notice.*

The fifteenth verse creates great difficulty here in the way of such as find the termination of the poetical words in the middle of the thirteenth verse; because it is out of place till the forty-third verse, where indeed it is repeated. Hence it is inferred,

that it must have belonged to the book of Jashar. The author would scarcely repeat himself; but on the supposition that the fifteenth verse was taken from the national anthology, he has merely borrowed from it at the forty-third verse.

Another consideration urged on behalf of the longer quotation is the connexion between the sixteenth and eleventh verses. The former begins with וַיָּנֻסוּ, *and they fled;* the latter with וַיְהִי בְּנוּסָם, *and it came to pass as they fled.* Some words of the fourteenth verse are also repeated in the forty-second.

These phenomena make the assumed length of the quotation very probable. The strongest objection to the view in question is, that the statement of its being taken from the book of Jashar is thus made to stand in the middle of the passage quoted; whereas similar formulas stand elsewhere at the beginning or end, as in Num. xxi. 14, 27, and frequently in the books of Kings and Chronicles. But Keil[1] replies, that the cases are not analogous; for that the references to sources at the end of the biography of the kings of Israel are not appended to *verbal extracts* from documents; and that the cited work in Num. xxi. 14, 27, as well as in 2 Sam. i. 18, though named before the excerpts from it, is interwoven with the historical narrative itself. Another objection is, that part of the quotation is thus made to consist of prose; for when it is granted that the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth verses are poetical, the fifteenth verse still remains. But perhaps the book of Jashar contained some prose interwoven with its poetical pieces.

On the whole, we are inclined to believe that the quotation included verses 12-15. Were it not for the fifteenth verse we should certainly suppose it to have terminated in the middle of the thirteenth. But the difficulty of supposing the fifteenth to have proceeded from the compiler himself is so great, as to enforce the assumption that it formed a part of the book of Jashar. For we cannot agree with Calvin, Masius, Le Clerc, Ilgen, and others who think the verse *a later gloss*, appealing to the oldest MSS. of the Septuagint, the Alexandrian and Vatican, which want it; since such evidence is insufficient, only shewing that the translators, feeling the difficulty, chose to cut a knot which they could not untie. Neither can we assent to Drusius, Cornelius a Lapide, Calmet, Buddeus, who render the verb *began* or *purposed to return*, as if Joshua was on the point of doing so but changed his intention on hearing that the five kings were concealed in the cave at Makkedah. If the language in verse forty-three denotes an *actual return*, surely it is arbitrary to

[1] Commentar ueber das Buch Josua, p. 179, note.

render it otherwise in the fifteenth verse, from which it is literally taken.

After this preliminary discussion let us review the leading opinions respecting the occurrence described in the passage.

1. The fathers, and most of the older theologians, took the words in their literal sense, believing that the sun stood still at Joshua's command for an entire day. This view is found in Jesus Siracides (xlvi. 4) who asks, "was not one day as long as two?" Josephus says, that *the day was lengthened*, in order that the night might not come on too soon and be an obstruction to the zeal of the Hebrews in pursuing their enemies. Such a miracle as the stoppage of the sun is still probably upheld by the large mass of christians, who think they are on the side of faith in so doing.

2. Others are inclined to hold, that the standing still of the sun was optical; and that it was the earth which stopped in its diurnal motion. So Mosheim and Lilienthal.

3. Others have thought, that the miracle might be explained from natural causes, by unusual atmospheric phenomena supplying the place of the sun and moon after they had ceased to shine. In half poetical imagery this is represented as if the sun and moon themselves had continued above the horizon longer than usual. There are various shades of this opinion, from that of Le Clerc, who assumed an unusual refraction of sunlight, or some other extraordinary light which presented the appearance of the sun and moon, to Whiston's *parhelion* or mock-sun consisting of aerial phosphori.

4. Others take the whole description to be figurative and poetical.

This last view is preferred by those who are averse to multiply needless miracles. It is especially recommended by the fact, that the passage is quoted from a poetical book consisting of songs and lyrics. Why then should it be explained otherwise than in harmony with the work it is taken from? The bold language of Oriental poetry need create no prejudice in favour of the literal and historical, because similar examples are not wanting. Thus the psalmist's victory over the enemies of the theocracy is described under the figure of a great tempest accompanied with an earthquake. In the triumphal song of Deborah, "the stars in their courses," are said to have fought against Sisera (Judg. v. 20). Habakkuk says: "The sun and moon stood still in their habitation: at the light of thine arrows they went, and at the shining of thy glittering spear" (iii. 11). With such poetical analogies we are justified in adopting the figurative and poetical acceptation of the passage, and ask farther, if Joshua really performed the miracle of causing the

sun and moon to stand still, why is it nowhere else mentioned in the Bible? All the early miracles are repeatedly alluded to by psalmists and prophets, to shew forth the power and goodness of God. The passage through the Red Sea and the Jordan are referred to, though they were merely local and limited in their operation. But this most unusual miracle must have extended to the whole world. All the inhabitants of earth must have witnessed its effects. Why then is there not a word of allusion to it, when less miracles are often noticed? And do we not read, "there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses . . . . . *in all the signs and wonders* which the Lord sent him to do" (Deut. xxxiv. 10, 11); which is scarcely correct if Joshua caused the sun to stand still? It is very remarkable that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews in giving examples of the effects of faith in the Old Testament, passes this over, though he notices the falling of Jericho and the story of Rahab—events connected with the history of Joshua, but certainly far less important than the miracle of the sun standing still. We conclude therefore that the event was not interpreted as a miracle by the Hebrews themselves in subsequent times. "If the words are not from the author of the book," says Hengstenberg, "then it is only a carnal love of wonder, which may be well set off against a carnal dread of miracles,—or a carnal spirit of contradiction running parallel to a carnal pliability towards the spirit of the times, and which is ever the more active, the more glaring the contrast,—that could here insist upon the strict and literal acceptation of the figurative mode of expression.[1] The battle was raging at Gibeon, where Joshua's words were uttered. The enemies of Israel were being smitten. The poet therefore makes Joshua express the wish that the sun may not go down, the day not come to an end, till he has utterly routed them. The wish is fulfilled; and the poet, in the same figurative strain, expresses it by saying that the defeat was so complete that the day seemed prolonged. If both sun and moon were visible at the same time when the poetically-clothed wish was expressed, as is most natural to suppose, the time of this remarkable word must have been in the forenoon of the day, when the sun was east or south-east from Gibeon, and the moon stood over the valley of Ajalon, near her sitting.

VII. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CANAANITES.—*The right of the Israelites to Palestine* has been justified on various grounds. Let us notice the chief of them. But it is needful to shew first the nature of that destruction which the Israelites were enjoined to carry out in relation to the inhabitants. Was it conditional

[1] Evangelische Kirchenzeitung for November 1832, No. 88; translated in the American Biblical Repository for 1833, p. 726.

or absolute? Was it commanded the Hebrews only in cases of obstinacy and resistance? It has been said that peace was offered to all the Canaanite cities, and only if the offer were rejected, should the inhabitants be destroyed. In proof of this Deut. xx. 10 is appealed to: "When thou comest nigh unto a city to fight against it, then proclaim peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the people that is found therein shall be tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no peace with thee, but will make war against thee, then thou shalt besiege it," etc. The fifteenth verse however shews, that this language does not refer to the Canaanites, but to foreign enemies: "Thus shalt thou do unto *all the cities which are very far off from thee*, which are not of the cities of these nations." Immediately after, the Canaanites are expressly excepted from the operation of this lenient policy. "But of the cities of these people which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth, but thou shalt utterly destroy them—viz., the Amorites," etc. (xx. 16, 17). Another passage, adduced for the same purpose, is Josh. xi. 19, 20, where, after the conquest of the country, we are told "that there was not a city that made peace with the children of Israel, save the Hivites the inhabitants of Gibeon; all other they took in battle. For it was of the Lord to harden their hearts, that they should come against Israel in battle, that he might destroy them utterly, and that they might have no favour, but that he might destroy them," etc. This passage, it is asserted, implies that the Canaanites might have had peace, had they thought it proper to accept the proposed terms. To this Hengstenberg well replies, that even granting the preservation of the Canaanites in the event of their submission to have been legitimate according to the passage, it will not avail; because the passage itself teaches that God had so ordered that such an event neither should nor could happen. A condition whose fulfilment is made impossible by him who appointed it is a nonentity.[1] If the Israelites spared the Gibeonites because the latter sought for peace, that is no reason for concluding that they acted according to the command of Moses: the nature of the command must not be determined merely by their conduct in obeying it, since their obedience may have been imperfect. Besides, why did the Gibeonites resort to an artifice in order to obtain what was accessible to all the Canaanites? We cannot, with Le Clerc, think that they did what was unnecessary on account of groundless apprehensions; because the narra-

[1] Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. p. 474.

tive shews that Joshua and the princes of the congregation were blamable in sparing the lives of the Gibeonites. The preservation of Rahab was a peculiar and exceptional case, as was also that of a family at Bethel (Judg. i. 25); whence nothing can be inferred in favour of the view proposed. With such clear passages before us as Ex. xxiii. 32, 33; xxxiv. 12, 13; Deut. vii. 1-5; xx. 15-18, we cannot doubt that *total extermination* is enjoined, without covenant, contract, or mercy. "Thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them."

Having shewn that the extermination enjoined upon the Israelites was absolute and unconditional, we proceed to review various attempts which have been made to justify such war of destruction. What right had the descendants of Israel to root out the Canaanites and take possession of their country?

1. Michaelis thinks, that the Israelites who dwelt in the land from time immemorial had never surrendered their rights to it, and only demanded it back from the Canaanites as unlawful possessors. The Phenicians were not the original occupiers of the land, but gradually extended their traffic into it. At last they spread over the country, and succeeded in expelling the old inhabitants, the nomad Hebrews. When the Israelites had been some time in Egypt, these Canaanites had appropriated the entire country. That the former intended to return thither at some future time was generally known, even in Egypt.[1]

This view rests on a false foundation. The Canaanites were in the land before Abraham; and it is a mere assumption that they invaded what was the possession of the progenitors of the Israelites. Hengstenberg[2] has refuted the notion that the Phenicians or Canaanites originally resided, either near the Red Sea as Michaelis thinks, or in any other place than the territory where the earliest record locates them at the time Abraham immigrated from Chaldea.

Ewald modified this view so far as to say, that though the Canaanites had got possession of Palestine as its original inhabitants, they had not occupied the whole. The pasture lands lay open to those who wished to appropriate them, which was done by the ancestors of the Israelites. But during the sojourn in Egypt the Canaanites unjustly occupied these pastures; and when the returning Hebrews asserted their rights, the Canaanites would not acknowledge them. Hence the Israelites took possession of the country, partly in virtue of their ancient possession of some of it, and partly by conquest.[3] The same

[1] Commentaries on the laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 153; Art. xxxi.
[2] De rebus Tyriorum, etc., p. 93 et seqq. See also Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. p. 479.
[3] Die Composition der Genesis, p. 276 et seqq.

distinguished critic has somewhat modified this view—at least in the way of stating it—in his history of the Hebrew people, without however any material change.[1] It is contradicted by the description given of the early patriarchs, who are called *strangers*, and possess no landed property. It is also opposed by the minute account of Abraham's purchase of a burial-ground from the sons of Heth. What need to purchase this place, if the pasture lands were the property of the Hebrews? Why too should Jacob purchase a field from the Shechemites?

2. Hess, following Faber, wishes us to go back to the state of the world at that time, and the ideas of right and wrong then prevalent. The right of possession was by no means so definite, in relation to certain kinds of property, as it is now. The *meum* and *tuum* held good chiefly respecting movable articles, such as cattle and household furniture. But lands were not called or considered as property. Right of possession depended merely on power. According to this theory, to deprive one of his movable goods without a good reason was unjust; but to encroach on neighbouring tracts was not unjust, even though force were employed, provided no definite treaty existed fixing the exact *meum* and *tuum*. Thus the Israelites had the same right to Canaan as the original possessors themselves. They had a right to any country they wished to take.

We cannot sufficiently reprobate such loose notions of morality. If the ideas of the age respecting property were such as are here represented; does that justify the right of the Israelites to Canaan? If the Israelites thought so, is their idea of right and wrong in the matter the criterion for us? But indeed the purchase of property by the patriarchs refutes the hypothesis. They declare themselves to be strangers in the land, and by purchase recognise the rights of the Canaanites to the soil. "What reason," asks Hengstenberg, most pertinently, "for distinguishing the relations of whole nations to one another in this respect from those of individuals? If in the latter case, he who forcibly takes possession of another man's property, without noticing whether he has formally recognised it as his own or not, is called a robber and a thief,—why not in the former instance? What reason is there for distinguishing in the case of nations, between movable and fixed property? Moreover the trivial reason, that in the former there was the labour of acquisition is not applicable here. For the Canaanites had really applied themselves most industriously to the improvement of the soil, which, more than many others, as its present state sufficiently indicates, required culture to make it what the

[1] Geschichte d. v. Israel, vol. ii. pp. 310, 311, second edition.

Scriptures testify it once was, 'a land flowing with milk and honey.' It is founded in the arrangements of Providence, of which the recognition is implanted in the human breast, that every land, in short everything which hitherto has had no owner, becomes the lawful property of a nation from the instant possession is taken. From that moment it is to be regarded as a gift of divine Providence, so that whoever seeks to deprive them of it fights against God."[1]

3. Hengstenberg, following the general view of the church from the time of Augustine, thinks that the Israelites had no human right to Palestine, but that their right rested wholly on the gift of God. No injustice was done by this to the Canaanites, who by their great wickedness had rendered themselves unworthy to be possessors of the land any longer; God having given it to them conditionally, as in the case of all other nations. The Israelites were sent against them as ministers of the divine justice; so that their destruction differed only in form from that of Sodom and Gomorrah. God's giving Canaan to the Israelites was at once an act of grace and justice.[2]

The critic then adduces Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 14–17, to shew that the occupation of Canaan by the Israelites is described as a free gift excluding all human right. He also quotes in favour of the idea that such conquest is an act of God's justice against the Canaanites, the passage in Gen. xv. 13-16, where the words occur, "But in the fourth generation they shall come hither again: *for the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full,*" from which it is inferred, that the filling up of iniquity would justify the divine act—an act that would have been unjust under existing circumstances.

Another proof that the conquest of Canaan was an act of the divine justice against the Canaanites is found by the critic in the fact, that the conduct of the Israelites towards the Canaanites is always designated by the word חֵרֶם shewing that the war of extermination had for its highest object the vindication of the divine glory which had been dishonoured by the Canaanites.

A third proof is contained in the passages where God declares to the new inhabitants of the land, that their apostasy from Him would deprive them of its possession; such as Lev. xviii. 24, 28; Deut. xii. 29-31; xxviii. 63, 64.

Notwithstanding all the labour bestowed by the learned writer on this point, we feel dissatisfied with his reasoning. It is unsound on the following grounds. In common with many others, Hengstenberg has mistaken the true character of the Bible-language. When God is said to promise the land of

[1] Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. pp. 489, 490. [2] Ibid, p. 491 et seqq.

Canaan to the Israelites, it is the spontaneous consciousness of the writer and his nation that speaks. The consciousness of the divine belonging to each successive age is reflected in the sentiments uttered: their highest ideas of morality, goodness, and justice are mirrored forth in the form of direct reference to the Supreme God, and as emanating from him. This has been already explained at length. By not apprehending the religious pragmatism of the Biblical writers, in virtue of which everything is referred to God as its immediate author—a pragmatism which, overleaping secondary causes, attributes works and words *directly* to the great Ruler of all that resulted from the ordinary course of His providence according to the laws he has established—critics have been compelled to resort to ingenious apologies in their attempted solution of Scripture difficulties like the present. When therefore Palestine is spoken of as a gift to the Israelites, to which they had no claim on the score of their own merit, or when the wickedness of the Canaanites is allowed to arrive at such a height as that it becomes a righteous thing in Jehovah to destroy them, we see in such representations the moral and religious consciousness of the age at which the writers lived. So far it was right and true; for Palestine was the gift of God to the Israelites in establishing a theocracy according to His purpose. A perfect morality is not *necessarily* set forth; indeed according to the gradual discipline of nations it were unphilosophical to look for it prior to a certain period. Had the purest ideas of God and his righteous administration existed *then*, the New Testament need not have been written, because the highest religious culture would have been already attained. The writers through whom God spake in that they were enlightened by His Spirit according to their circumstances, and idiosyncrasy, did not set forth those absolute ideas of moral rectitude which admit of no farther development; neither did they always pourtray the divine Being in His purest aspect. Hence they presented no *absolute* standard of religion and morals: it was only *relative*.

If these observations be correct, it will appear that we cannot at once pronounce the Supreme Being just in doing *directly* certain things, simply because the Old Testament writers say so. Neither can we believe that he commanded actions to be done merely because such is the literal sense of the language employed in the Bible. The religious and moral consciousness of the age reflects itself in such language. God does not speak *directly* and *specially* through man, so that the ideas uttered are a perfect image of His perfect mind and the language expressing them the completest dress in which they could be clothed. He speaks through men in the way of their moral and religious intuitions,

conditioned, as they must be, by the epoch of humanity and all related circumstances.

We could not believe it just in the Supreme Being *directly* to commission the Israelites to take possession of Canaan and utterly destroy all the inhabitants without mercy; because it is contrary to the immutable law of morality implanted in the human mind by Himself—viz., *to do unto others as you would that others should do unto you.* And if the precept be a part of the moral law, *thou shalt not kill,* God would not have contradicted his own law by explicitly commanding the Israelites to commence an offensive war against the unoffending Canaanites, and to kill all, without distinction of sex or age.

It is usual to refer to analogies in nature, for the purpose of shewing the justice of this exterminating war, and its harmony with the perfections of God. Both Watson and Paley do so. "Why do you not maintain it," asks the former, "to be repugnant to his (God's) moral justice that he should suffer crying or smiling infants to be swallowed up by an earthquake, drowned by an inundation, consumed by a fire, starved by a famine, or destroyed by a pestilence? The word of God is in perfect harmony with his work: crying or smiling infants are subjected to death in both."[1] Here there is no analogy. In the case of the earthquake, flood, fire, or pestilence, we see nothing more than the effects of unknown causes. The laws of nature by which such disasters happen are hidden; and therefore nothing can be inferred from them against that law of moral equity implanted in us which says, *not to do to another what you would not have another do to you.* Here it is otherwise. God is supposed to enjoin *the Israelites* to deprive the Canaanites of their territory and destroy them without mercy. The Israelites were responsible beings as well as the Canaanites. The same principle of moral equity was implanted in them as in us. Did they violate it in this instance? Surely they did. But it will be said, that they acted contrary to it according to the express command of the Sovereign Ruler of the world, who can dispense with his own laws, even with that moral principle to which we are referring. He *can* do so. But still the point of debate is, Did he so in this instance? Here the evidence is not convincing; for the Scripture language should be explained in harmony with other places, in which the Deity is represented as *speaking* or *commanding* because the religious consciousness of the nation, or rather the best men belonging to it, had reached no farther development. If earthquakes, floods, or pestilences, were rational responsible agents, having a certain law implanted within them,

[1] Apology for the Bible, Letter 1.

the comparison of Watson would hold good: apart from that it is inappropriate. There is a great difference between God's *permitting* certain events to happen in nature, which are disastrous to many of his intelligent creatures, and his *commanding* one people to seize upon the territory of another and root out all the inhabitants. It is of no avail for expositors to insist upon the incorrigible wickedness of the Canaanites as having at last drawn down their destruction upon them, God suspending the stroke till their crimes reached a pitch no longer to be endured. All this may be admitted, without in the least degree accounting for the moral justice involved in the fact of *expressly enjoining* and *sanctioning* the Israelites to undertake a war of extermination. *The manner* of destroying the wicked peoples is of great importance; although Paley seems to think otherwise.[1] The instrumentality employed for murdering the inhabitants of the land and taking possession of it, enters into the very essence of the injustice implied. Not unconscious agents in nature, but human beings capable of knowing good and evil, on whose heart Jehovah had written the great principle of moral equity between man and man, were executors of the divine will. For that very reason, we cannot regard them as acting in accordance with immutable justice or christian morality, and therefore agreeably to the divine command, else the Deity dispenses with a law of nature in man which is the expression and mirror of his own character. As the reflex of his own character we consider it inviolable, even in relation to the Deity, because he cannot deny himself. "Morality," says Von Ammon, "rejects every war of extermination. That passages are found in the Old Testament which favour such atrocities, cannot excuse this kind of warfare, since such principles are never approved in the New Testament; and a truly religious morality can only acknowledge that command as truly divine, which will abide the test of justice and morality."[2] This witness is true. It is therefore beside the mark to adduce the theocratic constitution as a special warrant for the employment of the Israelites as ministers of divine justice in the work. God indeed *could* charge his subjects with carrying out His purpose of war and extermination, but not in harmony with His own perfections and the moral nature He had implanted within them. There was no special fitness in entrusting this duty to the Israelites, as Macdonald asserts.[3] In all human beings, responsible as they are to their Creator, there is a special unfitness; because reason and conscience are opposed.

What then, some may ask, becomes of a *divine revelation* in this

[1] Sermon on the destruction of the Canaanites.
[2] Handbuch der Sittenlehre, iii. 2, p. 61.
[3] Introduction to the Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 64.

case? Does not the explanation you furnish altogether destroy the reality of such a revelation? We do not think so, and offer the following remarks towards the right understanding of what a *revelation proper* really is. It is the expression of man's religious consciousness. So far as such consciousness is first awakened and enabled to behold *directly* certain spiritual objects at a particular period of the world—so far as the eye of the soul is at once opened to perceive spiritual truths otherwise unknown—there is an *immediate revelation*, which may be outwardly expressed by speech or writing. Thus the establishment of the theocracy, and consequent training of Israel, took place in virtue of such a divine revelation within the mind of Moses. A divine impulse led to the founding of it. Here there was a pure spiritual intuition so ordered by Jehovah as to be properly and truly supernatural. *The idea was divine.* But the carrying out of it could only be effected in humanity, and in adaptation to the relations of the time; which is tantamount to the assertion that it could not be without a mixture of the rude spiritual and moral conceptions which then prevailed. After the original idea was revealed, it became deteriorated by contact with mental idiosyncrasies and infirmities inherent in the relations of humanity at the particular time and place. The carrying out of such immediate revelation was left in a measure to the spiritual apprehension of him who had received it; and human instrumentality works in harmony with the development of the age it belongs to. Hence in the arrangement of the external conditions, institutes partaking of the rudeness of their time cannot be avoided; and commands are issued as divine, which may be repugnant to the moral perceptions of mankind. These commands can only be regarded as *indirect* emanations of the divine love and holiness, in distinction from the *immediate* and *direct*. Their base is immediate revelation—pure ideas supernaturally originating in the soul; but after being built up on such a base they cease to be *entirely* pure and holy, or worthy of the Supreme Being. They become deteriorated by the conditions under which alone they can be outwardly realised. According to the Biblical view, things belonging to the chain of instruments necessary to carry out immediate revelations or pure intuitions, are represented as happening by God's command. Such is the robbery of the Egyptians, commanded by Moses in the name of God. Such too is the war of extermination against the Canaanites, which cannot be justified from the moral standpoint of Christianity. It was not *an immediate*, but *an indirect* revelation so to speak. The establishment of the Israelitish theocracy which God willed, could not be effected without the expulsion of the Canaanites, in the given circumstances. Similar examples of conquered or des-

troyed peoples are presented in history; and we freely blame the human instruments that effected their ruin. But at the same time, the superintending hand of God may be perceived, who makes use of the wrath of men to accomplish his purposes. When a nation becomes corrupt and weak, it must give place in the Providence of God, to a stronger. Those that have grown old in superstition and idolatry, make way for such as have a more spiritual vitality. In a certain sense, the spirit of God is a spirit of revenge, casting down and destroying every thing opposed to the progress of man's education in the knowledge and fear of the Lord.

If the Old Testament contained *immediate* revelations *expressed* in their original purity and perfection as direct emanations of the Supreme love, the doctrine of development could have no place in it. But the human conditions apparently inseparable from the communication of such intuitions to the apprehension of others, (the chief of which is the finite human vessels the intuitions lodge in), render *progress* a prominent element of their manifestation. *In themselves, abstractly considered*, they are incapable of spiritual development: as humanly conditioned they are imperfect and progressive. The finite adjuncts make them so. Hence *Mosaism*, by which we mean the entire doctrine of religion, and the leading view of the world contained in the Pentateuch, was susceptible of spiritual development; as we see from the prophets and other wise men of the nation. The idea of the Supreme God of this world was gradually evolved out of its symbolical limitations in a purer state. The narrow view taken of the government of the world was enlarged by the world being no longer regarded as a property belonging to the Hebrew people, but as a future kingdom presided over by the God of nations; and a freer ethical view that insisted upon a living spirit of goodness, opposed itself to the morality of holiness by works. It is true that the stiff and symbolical forms of Mosaism withstood this development, and were always drawing the spirit of the people back again into the material. But the ideal religion of prophets and poets prevailed more and more—a religion of the heart that succeeded the temporary symbolical religion. Notwithstanding this character belonging to Mosaism, the idea of the theocracy and its establishment was an *immediate revelation* to Moses. The germ of Mosaism was thus a pure and supernaturally excited intuition.

It is of chief importance to us that *the actuation* of a proper revelation should be *pure* and *complete*, because a revelation is only effectual in proportion to the perfection of the means that lodge it in the living consciousness of men. The means of making the primary spiritual intuition that comes directly from

God himself, available for man's good—all that appears along with it, and which has been termed *indirect* revelation—constitute what we term its *actuation*. This correspondence of perfection did not take place under the Old Testament. Not till Christ the Son of God appeared in the world, was there seen a pure revelation in connexion with a perfect form of manifesting it. As soon as perfect humanity existed, pure spiritual intuitions had all the mediating conditions necessary for their complete realisation among men—all that could cause them to become the highest life of human beings formed in the image of God, that they might be brought into entire harmony with the divine will.

It will be seen from what has been said, that the distinction often made between *revelation* and *inspiration* is unnecessary. They merely differ as two aspects of a united process. We do not find a *pure revelation*, *i.e.*, a perfectly spiritual intuition by itself, without its *actuation*, or apart from all the means, conditions, and circumstances that manifest it. Popularly speaking therefore, *revelation* includes both; completeness attaching to the one when taken by itself, and incompleteness to the other. It is possible by analysis to separate the process, and confine the term inspiration to one part of it; but such division is arbitrary and useless, because the constituents of the process never appear apart in the Bible. They are always together *as one mode of intelligence*. For when *revelation* is understood to be a *direct communication* from God to man of ideas which he could not have of himself, it is made to the latter through his own reason and conscience acting according to their natural laws, and acted upon in harmony with such laws. When persons receive these communications they are *inspired*. One who has *revelations* is so far *inspired*. The sayings or writings of inspired men are all the revelations we have; and such are imperfect and progressive, because of the imperfect agency employed with them. *In their actuation* they lose somewhat of their original perfection and purity; and since all our knowledge of them is from *their conditioning*, they and their conditioning become blended together. Hence it is useless to limit *inspiration* to the *conditioning* of *revelations*, *i.e.*, of purely spiritual intuitions. If we say that it refers to that actuating energy of the Holy Ghost by which men divinely selected *speak* or *write* God's word, what can we know of such power except from the actual phenomena of the Bible? What utility is there in speculating, with divines, respecting the power an inspired man had of imparting such truth as he apprehended? One inspired reported the truth according to his peculiar idiosyncrasy. He followed his own manner of doing so—a *human* not divine manner because he was still a

man partaking of the development of his age, or probably anticipating a future and higher stage of it. Some of the sacred writers were superior to others in their impartation of divine truth. They differed as authors do now. Some gave forth truth in a less complete state than others, because they did not grasp it so firmly or clearly. They enunciated it just as they were able; or as they proved faithful to their vocation. God may be said to have helped them, as he enlightened them by His Spirit. If, as has been correctly said, infallibility does not admit of degrees, they were not infallible. The attribute of infallibility belongs to Christ alone, and cannot be predicated of a mere man. All that is necessary to say respecting the preaching and writing of inspired authors is, that they served their intended purpose. The men reflected their spiritual consciousness in a way to answer the end of God, who had disciplined them. Of course what they uttered and wrote was divine truth—divine not as *contrasted with* human truth but as *tantamount* to it. Their message was *divine* because it was thoroughly *human*. Their ideas were from God, because they were the ideas of minds influenced by the Spirit of God. Their communications were both *human* and *divine*—in origin divine. We receive their messages as both, without setting the divine in opposition to the human or *vice versâ*; the one being essentially *equivalent* not *adverse to* the other.

Let theologians then distinguish as they may between *revelation* and *inspiration*, the two are so combined as to be inseparable in their phenomena. To us who can only judge by the phenomena, there WAS ONE process. If inspiration be restricted to the spiritual influence exerted on the faculties of men, and revelation to the subject-matter communicated; if the sayings and doings of inspired men are the revelation; we affirm that the inspiration is of a kind to render the revelation imperfect and incomplete, *in itself considered;* though it is sufficient to serve the great end for which it was designed. The revelation is imperfect, because conditioned by the inspiration; and we know that the inspiration, coming as it does through men at different stages of the world's history, must necessarily partake of the imperfection belonging to finite beings living at periods of a lower or higher civilization.

VIII. THE TAKING OF AI.—In Josh. viii. 3, etc., we read that the leader of the Israelites chose out of his whole army 30,000 mighty men of valour, and sent them by night to lie in ambush not far from the city of Ai. Accordingly they went forth and took up their place between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of Ai. In the twelfth verse it is also said that Joshua took about 5,000 men, and set them to lie in ambush between Bethel and

Ai, on the west side of the city. Here the historical narrative is confused and intricate. Apparently two parties were ordered to lie in ambush; the first consisting of 30,000, and the second of 5,000, the former perhaps at a greater distance from the city than the latter. But this is not at all likely. For,

In the first place, 30,000 men could not be concealed in the neighbourhood of Ai an entire day without being observed by the inhabitants.

2. The place where the 5,000 are stationed is said to be the same as that where the 30,000 were posted, viz., between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of the city.

3. In the execution of Joshua's command there is mention of but one ambush, verses 12, 13, 14, 19.

4. According to this hypothesis, Joshua spent the night in which he posted the 30,000 in ambuscade, with the rest of his army in the camp (ver. 9); and on the following morning went up to the heights north of Ai and pitched his camp there, so that there was but an inconsiderable valley between his camp and the city. If he sent forth the 5,000 from this place, as the narrative would suggest, he must have done so on the night succeeding that on which he had dispatched the 30,000; but the thirteenth verse states that on the same night in which the army and the liers in wait had taken up their positions—the night, which according to ver. 9, he had passed in the camp among the army,—*i.e.*, the night preceding the morning when he went up on the heights before Ai, he went into the midst of the valley where he was noticed in the morning by the king of Ai and attacked. The night referred to in vers. 9 and 13 seems to be the same, for it is described in the same words—a circumstance causing the two verses to be contradictory.

Since then two parties in ambush cannot be assumed without creating insuperable difficulties, what solution can be proposed?

Keil after Calvin, Masius, Poole and others, thinks there was but one ambush party consisting of 5,000 men; the 30,000 being the army, the same who are called *the people* in ver. 3, and *the people of war that were with Joshua* (ver. 5–11), who pitched on the north side of Ai, as the ambush of 5,000 did on the west. Let us then see how the narrative proceeds. The third verse runs thus: "So Joshua arose and all the people of war to go up against Ai: and Joshua chose out 30,000 mighty men of valour, and sent them away by night." As the twelth verse, "and he took about 5,000 men, and set them to lie in ambush between Bethel and Ai, on the west side of the city," is considered supplementary to the third; the sense of the third is, that out of the 30,000 men of valour 5,000 were sent away by night to lie in ambush. From the third till the eighth verse Joshua tells the

5,000 what he and the army with him intended to do, as well as what *they* were to do. In the ninth verse the execution of his orders is related; which leads the historian to intimate what Joshua did with the rest of the army (last half of ver. 9), and describes their being led up on the north before the city. After thus explaining the position of the ambuscade and the camp of the remainder of the army, he gives by way of supplement the strength of the ambuscade, viz., 5,000 men; and in conclusion, in order to give a complete picture of the arrangements made for the conquest of Ai, he states once more the position of both divisions of the army, in the thirteenth verse. Keil admits that there is a little inexactness in the narrative as thus interpreted, which he attributes to the peculiarities of oriental description.[1] And well he may, for the interpretation is most lame. What reader would suppose that the words of the third and fourth verses, "So Joshua arose, and all the people of war, to go up against Ai: and Joshua chose out thirty thousand mighty men of valour, and sent them away by night, and he commanded them saying, behold ye shall lie in wait against the city, even behind the city," etc., denote that not 30,000 but a small part of them, viz., 5,000 were selected and sent to lie in ambush? Surely *them* in the third verse refers to the 30,000; else the pronoun is put without or before its antecedent, which limps after it in the twelfth verse. The antecedent, we are told, is to be gathered out of the following words, a thing not unusual in Hebrew, as appears from Ex. xiv. 19; Num. xviii. 9, and xxiv. 17; Ps. lxxxvii. 1; cv. 19, and cxiv. 2; Prov. vii. 8, and xiv. 26. None of these examples is analogous. The Old Testament indeed presents no parallel.

The only probable solution of the difficulty seems to be that which takes the twelfth and thirteenth verses to have belonged to another document than viii. 1-11, and 14-29. This is preferable to the conjecture that the verses were an old marginal gloss which afterwards got into the text. They embody another tradition older and more reliable. The number 30,000 is an exaggerated one; for so many men could not lie concealed in ambush a day and night without being noticed by the citizens of Ai.[2]

[1] Commentar ueber das Buch Josua, p. 136.
[2] Knobel, Exeget. Handbuch, xiii. p. 389.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

I. JUDGES, THEIR OFFICE AND NUMBER.—The book of Judges receives its name from certain persons termed שֹׁפְטִים, κριται (LXX. and Acts xiii. 20) who occupied the chief place among the Israelites, or certain tribes of them, from the death of Joshua till Samuel, inclusive. Located as the children of Israel were under Joshua among the Canaanite races, they were not so securely settled as to be free from invasion. Indeed their scattered residences made them liable to the constant attacks of peoples who looked upon them as foreign oppressors, or robbers of their territory. They were not so far united as to make common cause together against the Canaanites. All that they had done was to drive back the latter, and take possession of their cities and fields as far as they could. They had thus obtained a partial footing in the land. But they had by no means conquered it, or rooted out its inhabitants. On the contrary, these inhabitants were only subdued in part and driven out of some towns, to collect their remaining strength in others. In such circumstances, the Israelites could not avoid all intercourse with the races around them. Too often they contracted marriages with the heathen; and shewed their strong inclination towards a sensual religion by embracing prevalent forms of idolatry. That the native tribes should repeatedly endeavour to subdue the invaders of their territory was nothing less than natural. It was only to be expected that they should take advantage of their partial disunion to recover what they had lost. And they did so accordingly, punishing the remiss and faint-hearted Israelites who had not vigorously executed the divine command by exterminating the idolatrous races. Often did they succeed in overthrowing the Israelites and imposing a heavy yoke upon them. But the latter were not without heroic men, who, fired with patriotic feeling, gathered together armies and routed the natives. Vindicating as they did the rights of the chosen people, they obtained the appellation of *Judges*. They did not administer justice,

They were not civil rulers, as the term *judge* would seem to imply. They were *military leaders*, who put themselves at the head of the people, or several tribes of them, from time to time. Sometimes they were called from without to do so: at others they acted from the impulse of their own minds. And when they had taken vengeance on the enemy by force of arms, or by personal strength, prowess, and cunning, they either retired again into private life, or continued to occupy the position of leaders till their death, leaving their sons to inherit a like headship. Eli and Samuel were somewhat different from the preceding judges. Both were at the head of civil affairs, and did not personally go forth to battle. *They* filled the judicial office properly so called. Thus the entire succession of judges from Othniel to Samuel formed a natural transition to the kingly state in which the military and civil authority was united in one person. These judges have often been compared with the Carthaginian *Suffetes*, or rather *Sufetes*. The name appears to be the same; and it is well known that the Carthaginians being a Phenician colony employed the same language for substance as the Hebrew. It is true that there was some difference in the office of the *judges* and *Sufetes*; but the similarity is sufficient to justify a comparison. In like manner they have been brought into juxtaposition with the *archons* of the Greeks and the *dictators* of the Romans.

The history of the book must not be considered as a comprehensive or complete history of Israel generally, from the death of Joshua till that of Samson or later. It is fragmentary. Particular occurrences are narrated. Isolated deeds only are given. The dominion over Canaanitish and Philistine races was partial and temporary. The fortunes of the tribes were various; for while some were in a peaceful state, others were enslaved. Accordingly, the book contains no more than parts of the history of single tribes at different times. The usual condition of slavery in which the Israelites are depicted is, that they were tributary to some of the heathen races. Sometimes, however, they are represented as suffering in their possessions and threatened in their persons, as in vi. 1, etc. etc. They had also considerable intervals of rest and peace. The *general* picture is that of a rude, unsettled nation, living in a state of lawlessness and mutual jealousy, divided by petty interests and ambition so as to prevent such cordial union as might lead to something great and noble affecting the common weal. The fear of Jehovah had not penetrated the people, else they would have presented a very different picture. Cruelty, murder, brute force, treachery, robbery, stand out from the canvas. Whenever a few tribes *did* unite under one judge, it was for a temporary end.

It must not be concluded, therefore, from the phrase "he judged Israel," that the whole people are meant. One or more tribes are intended.

These remarks shew, that the period of the judges cannot with much propriety be termed *the heroic age* of the Israelites. Heroes *did appear* during it, who were animated with patriotic zeal, and performed brave deeds. The warlike talent was in the foreground. Wonderful strength and courage were exhibited. But the heroes appeared at distant intervals, and only led a few tribes together. They did not unite the whole people under one banner, nor consolidate all their interests after victory. And their weapons were not always the noblest. Cunning and treachery were occasionally employed. Yet they were immensely superior to the heroes of heathenism; and care should be taken not to put their exploits in the same class with pagan myths.

The exact number of the judges cannot be ascertained. The following list is the best we are able to give:—1. Othniel; 2. Ehud; 3. Shamgar; 4. Deborah; 5. Barak; 6. Gideon; 7. Abimelech; 8. Tola; 9. Jair; 10. Jephthah; 11. Ibzan; 12. Elon; 13. Abdon; 14. Samson; 15. Eli; 16. Samuel. The last two names belong to the first book of Samuel, leaving fourteen in the book of Judges. But these fourteen should be reduced to twelve; for Barak cannot well be reckoned, since he was merely associated with and subordinate to Deborah. In like manner Abimelech, son of Gideon, was *king* of Shechem in Ephraim, and can scarcely be considered one of the usual judges; for his history is given in connexion with that of his father to complete the family picture. In 1 Sam. xii. 11, Bedan occurs as the name of a judge, probably as another appellation of Barak, which latter is the reading of the Syriac, LXX., and Arabic. It is less likely to mean Samson, as the Targum, Kimchi, and others suppose, taking it to be either a contraction of Ben-Dan, son of Dan or Danite, or meaning *into Dan* with reference to Judg. xiii. 25. It is unlikely that Bedan is a corrupt reading for Abdon, as Ewald conjectures; or that he is identical with the Jair mentioned in Judg. x. 3. Of six the accounts are copious —viz., Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson; but of the other six, Shamgar, Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon and Abdon, little more is given than their names, and the number of years they were judges.

II. CONTENTS.—The book may be divided into three parts, viz., i. 1–ii. 5; ii. 6–xvi. 31; and xvii.–xxi.

The first of these is introductory, and *practically* announces the chief theme of the book. The struggle between the Israelites and the earlier inhabitants of the promised land after the death of Joshua is briefly detailed, shewing that the former did

not refrain from carrying out the command of Jehovah to destroy the Canaanites, which is represented as one of the conditions of His covenant with them. Of the tribes west of Jordan, however, eight are specified which did not expel the inhabitants from their territory (chap. i.). Accordingly a prophetic messenger shews the consequences of allowing the Canaanites to remain and continue their idolatrous customs in the land. Unworthy as the Israelites shewed themselves to be of the divine protection, it is announced that they should be unable to drive out the nations because of their being forsaken of God. The punishment of disobedience to the divine command should be allowed to overtake them in repeated disasters inflicted by their enemies (ii. 1–5).

The second part, *i.e.*, ii. 6-xvi. 31, constitutes *the proper* book of Judges, the rest being adventitious or auxiliary. It contains a history of the Israelites from the death of Joshua till that of Samson, shewing how they constantly fell into idolatry and were therefore punished by the hand of foreign tyrants; while Jehovah, compassionating their distressed state, raised up a series of heroic deliverers to free them from the yoke of servitude. This alternation of subjugations by foreign powers in consequence of apostasy and of successive interpositions on their behalf, forms the body of the work. A series of historical pictures is presented to the reader, in which the prominent figure is a divinely raised personage who rescues the people from oppression, and brings them back to their allegiance to God. While these judges or leaders lived and ruled, the Israelites were free, rendering due obedience to their Great Head: after their death apostasy and its natural punishment followed.

It is first stated that Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, oppressed the children of Israel for a term of eight years, at the end of which the Lord raised them up a deliverer in Othniel, Caleb's younger brother. Forty years of peace succeeded. In consequence, however, of the evil conduct of Israel, Eglon, king of Moab, was the divine instrument in reducing them to servitude, in which state they lived eighteen years, till Ehud, a Benjamite, basely assassinated Eglon, and delivered the people; giving quiet to the land for eighty years. After him was Shamgar, who slew six hundred of the Philistines with an ox-goad, and delivered Israel. The next tyrant who oppressed Israel was Jabin, king of northern Palestine. At this time Deborah judged Israel, who sent a message to Barak, of the tribe of Naphtali, to meet her near mount Tabor with ten thousand men. Accordingly Sisera, Jabin's general, encountering this host was defeated, and obliged to fly on foot. After he had hid himself in the tent of Jael the wife of Heber the

Kenite, she killed him during sleep by means of a nail driven through his temples. The narrative respecting Deborah and Barak is followed by a triumphal ode.

The history of Gideon is next presented, but in a much more detailed form than that of any other judge. The Israelites having been oppressed by the Midianites seven years and at last crying to the Lord for help, a deliverer was sent in the person of Gideon, who, while threshing wheat in a wine press for the sake of concealment from the plundering Midianites, was accosted by the angel of the Lord calling upon him to save Israel from the hand of the Midianites. In answer to the request of Gideon, fire was made to rise up out of a rock, and consume the present he had laid upon it. After this he was exhorted to overthrow an altar erected by his father to Baal, and build another in its place for sacrifices to Jehovah. The Spirit of the Lord coming upon him, he blew a trumpet to gather his kindred, and sent messengers to call together the northern tribes. As new doubts came into his mind he ventured to ask a twofold sign, and received from it the required satisfaction that God would save Israel by his hand; a fleece of wool being saturated with moisture the first night while all around was dry; and being dry a second night, while there was dew on all the earth beside. Early in the morning the hero, at the head of 32,000 men furnished by four tribes, encamped at the well of Harod, near the battle field. But he did not engage in the fight with so great a host; for he was divinely directed to propose to the people that whoever was fearful might return to his home. In pursuance of that permission no less than 22,000 returned. Still the army was too great to allow it to be seen and said that the Lord, not themselves, had conquered Midian. Hence Gideon was again divinely instructed to bring the people to a river's side to drink, and to select such only as raised the water to their mouth in the hollow of the hand. As these were no more than three hundred, the rest were dismissed. Going down by the Lord's command to the host of Midian in the valley, with his servant, he came so near as to hear a soldier relate to his companion a dream, which the latter interpreted as indicative of an overthrow by the sword of Gideon. Encouraged by the sign he returned to his men and divided them into three companies, giving every man a trumpet in his right hand, with a lamp enclosed in an empty pitcher in the left. At midnight they came to the outside of the camp, and standing round about it, blew the trumpets and brake the pitchers at once, crying, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon," which so terrified the Midianites that they shouted and fled. Various northern tribes pursued them. The Ephraimites seized upon the fords of the

Jordan to intercept the way. Two princes of the enemy were taken and slain. Here the narrative is interrupted by an account of the Ephraimites expostulating with Gideon for not summoning them at first to the war, and so depriving them of their share in the honour of victory. But he pacifies them by a prudent answer. In pursuing a part of the Midianites under Zebah and Zalmunna who had crossed the Jordan, Gideon came to two cities, Succoth and Penuel, who refused to supply his army with needful refreshment. After slaying with his own hand the two kings of Midian who had been taken prisoners, he returned and punished the cities most severely. Refusing to be invested by the people with hereditary kingly authority, he merely requested to have the earrings which had been taken in war; and they were willingly given, amounting in weight to one thousand seven hundred shekels of gold. Of these he made an ephod and put it in his city Ophrah, by which means Israel fell into an unlawful worship of Jehovah. For thus an *image*-worship of the true God was established by Gideon, which became a snare to himself and his house. After judging Israel for forty years, he died in a good old age. As soon however as he was dead, the people lapsed into the idolatrous worship of Baal.

With the assistance of the Shechemites, Abimelech son of Gideon murdered all his seventy brothers except one, and caused himself to be made king. This furnished occasion for Jotham's parable and its application, who, having rebuked the men of Shechem and foretold their ruin, fled beyond his brother's reach. After three years, enmity arose between Abimelech and the Shechemites. Gaal, aspiring to the throne, united with the latter, and the city of Shechem was fortified against Abimelech, who, proceeding against his rebellious subjects destroyed their city, levelling it with the ground and slaying all the people. Afterwards when he laid siege to Thebez, he lost his life by a millstone hurled down on his head by a woman from a tower.

The accounts of the next judges, Tola and Jair, are very brief. The former judged Israel twenty-three years, and was buried in Shamir on mount Ephraim. Jair was a Gileadite, who judged Israel twenty-two years. The Israelites having again fallen into gross idolatry and forsaken the Lord; the Philistines and Moabites were allowed to subdue and oppress them for eighteen years. In this extremity they cried to the Lord for help, who referred them to the gods they had preferred. On their repentance, He compassionated them, and heard their cry. Accordingly they proceeded to embody a force and look out for a commander. Jephthah having been expelled from his father's house because he was the son of a harlot and had no claim to

the privileges belonging to his father's legitimate sons, collected about him a number of loose men prepared for war or plunder, and went to Tob in Syria, to the north-east of Palestine. To him therefore, as the captain of a band of freebooters, the Gileadites applied. He consented to take the command on condition that he should be the head of the people if the expedition proved successful. A covenant between them to that effect was solemnly ratified before the Lord in *Mizpeh*, by which can only be meant Mizpeh of Gilead, where we must suppose the existence of a sanctuary dedicated to Jehovah. After sending messengers in vain to the king of the Ammonites, and representing by them the right of Israel to the undisturbed possession of their country, Jephthah advanced towards the enemy, marching first east and then south-west to their borders. But before engaging in battle, he made a vow to Jehovah which was certainly contrary to the Mosaic law. It is true that in the immediately preceding context we read: "Then the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah," etc. etc. (xi. 29); but that is no warrant for inferring that the Spirit always impelled him to do right or restrained him from wrong. "If thou shalt without fail deliver the children of Ammon into mine hands, then it shall be that whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." The Ammonites were defeated; but as Jephthah returned from the field, his only child and daughter came forth to meet him with timbrels and with dances. The distressed father felt the obligation of his oath, and the maiden yielded herself a sacrifice. With her associates, she went up and down the mountains for a time bewailing her virginity; after which, returning to her father, she was put to death.

The Ephraimites complained to Jephthah that they had been neglected in the summons to war. But he charged them with remissness; and gathering all the Gileadites together, attacked and routed the malcontents; preoccupied the fords of Jordan, which the escaped Ephraimites would naturally attempt to pass; and slew forty-two thousand. It is said that Jephthah judged Israel six years. Ibzan of Bethlehem judged Israel seven years. After him Elon, a Zebulonite, judged Israel ten years. After him Abdon, a Pirathonite, judged Israel eight years.

The history of Samson forms an episode in the book, rather than a constituent part of it. He was not a military leader placing himself at the head of the Israelites and emancipating them from a foreign yoke. Though it is said at the close of the narrative (xvi. 31) that he *judged* Israel twenty years, his life is not described in a way to lead the reader to infer that he

belonged to the proper series of judges. His character is unique; his actions peculiar. His birth was ushered in with marvellous circumstances. The angel of the Lord appeared to his mother and told her that though she had been hitherto barren, she should bear a son who should be a Nazarite to God from his birth, and should begin to deliver Israel from the hand of the Philistines. When her husband was informed, he entreated of the Lord the favour of a second appearance of the angel, which was granted accordingly. On this occasion the direction before given to the mother respecting her regimen was repeated. Manoah the father prepared an offering to the Lord upon a rock, and the angel disappeared in the ascending flame of the altar. When the child was born he was named Samson. After he had grown up he went down to Timnath, and became enamoured there of a Philistine maid. His parents however were averse to the marriage, and endeavoured in vain to turn away his mind from it. On the way to Timnath he slew a lion. Passing by the place on his return, he saw a swarm of bees and honey in the lion's carcass, and took away part of the combs of honey. At the nuptial feast he proposed a riddle to his thirty companions, founded on the swarm of bees making honey in the lion's carcass. When the allotted time for its solution was near its termination, and his companions were in perplexity, they enticed his wife, who by her importunity obtained the answer for them before the expiration of the allotted period. Immediately after hearing the solution he went down to Ashkelon and slew thirty men; whence he procured the means of paying the forfeit, and returned to his father's house. After a time he revisited his wife's family, and, finding that she had been given in marriage to another, determined to take vengeance on the Philistines, which he did by catching 300 jackals, tying them together two and two by the tails with a firebrand between, and turning them loose into the standing corn. In revenge for such an outrage, the Philistines burned his wife and her father, for which Samson inflicted a terrible slaughter upon them. As the Philistines encamped in Judah and alarmed the men of this tribe, three thousand of the latter went to the top of the rock Etam to bind Samson and deliver him up to the enemy. Having obtained a promise that they would not kill him, he delivered himself into their hands and was given to the Philistines. But he snapped the cords asunder, and, finding the new jawbone of an ass, slew a thousand with it. Being thirsty, he prayed to God, who clave a hollow place in the jaw, whence water issued for his refreshment. At Gaza, whither he had gone, he was waited for at the gate by a party of the Philistines, who expected to catch him in the morning. But he

arose at midnight and carried away the doors of the gate and the two posts on his shoulder, transferring them to the top of a hill not far from Hebron. Delilah dwelling in the valley of Sorek, was Samson's next love. Bribed by the Philistines, she endeavoured to extract from him the secret of his wonderful strength; but was three times deceived with false replies. At length, wearied out with her importunities, he told her the real secret; of which she soon availed herself by betraying him into the hands of the Philistines, after his locks had been cut off during sleep. He was therefore taken and deprived of sight, bound with fetters of brass, and made to grind in prison. But his strength returned with his hair; and he was resolved to exert it against his oppressors. At a great festival held in honour of the national god Dagon to rejoice over the terrible enemy delivered over to the Philistines, he grasped with his arms the two middle pillars which supported the house, and pulled it down, slaying more at his death than he had done in his life.

The third division of the book as it now stands may be regarded as a kind of appendix or addition to the preceding. There is no proper connexion between it and the history of the judges. Neither is there any internal bond between the two narratives themselves which form the appendix.

A rich Ephraimite woman, who had dedicated to the Lord 1,100 shekels of silver to make a graven image and a molten image, had been pilfered of it by her son Micah. But he confessed the theft and restored the money to his mother; of which she took 200 shekels and made what she had intended. Micah had a house of gods, made an ephod and teraphim, and consecrated one of his sons as priest. He afterwards hired a young Levite belonging to a distinguished priestly family to perform religious worship, congratulating himself that he had thereby secured the favour of God. In those days the Danites sought a place of settlement, and sent out messengers to examine the land. They came and lodged in Micah's house. Having requested the Levite to consult the Lord whether their journey should be a prosperous one, they were assured that it would succeed. Proceeding forward they arrived at Laish in the north of Palestine, where they observed a favourable place of settlement. Returning therefore to their own people, they encouraged them to go up against Laish. Accordingly six hundred men, well armed, set forth, and arrived at the house of Micah, where the party who had been entertained before took Micah's images, the ephod, and the teraphim. The priest was easily induced to accompany the Danites. When Micah and his neighbours followed to get back his priest and property, they

were only insulted and threatened. After the Danites had come to Laish, they slaughtered the inhabitants and burnt their city.

The nineteenth chapter commences another history of a different nature. A Levite of the northern parts of mount Ephraim passed the night as he returned home from Bethlehem-judah with his concubine in Gibeah, and was hospitably entertained by an Ephraimite sojourning in the place. But the inhabitants of Gibeah attempted to treat him most shamefully, and actually abused his concubine to death. The Levite, wishing to make known the outrage and excite universal indignation on account of it, cut the body into twelve pieces, which he sent to the twelve tribes of Israel. Hence the congregation of Israel was gathered together to sit in judgment on Gibeah, and resolved to destroy the guilty city. Before carrying out their purpose they endeavoured to obtain satisfaction in a milder form. They sent a message to the tribe of Benjamin, demanding that the evil doers should be given up. When this was refused, war commenced under the divine direction; but the Benjamites were victorious in two successive battles, killing no less than 40,000 of Israel. In another conflict, however, they were defeated, with the loss of 25,100 men. Six hundred fled to the wilderness, and abode in the rock Rimmon four months. On this the people bewailed the desolation, and concluded to preserve the tribe of Benjamin from extinction; which was effected by procuring wives for the remnant, to whom they were unable to give their daughters in marriage in consequence of an oath. War was declared against Jabesh-gilead whose inhabitants had not come to the general mustering for battle; and accordingly 12,000 of the bravest men were sent to slaughter them, including the married women, reserving 400 virgins who were given to the remnant of the Benjamites. The remaining 200 were advised to surprise and seize the virgins that danced at the annual feast of the Lord in Shiloh. Acting upon such advice of the elders of Israel, the children of Benjamin took for wives the maids they caught, and returned to their inheritance. The record adds: "In those days there was no king in Israel: every man did that which was right in his own eyes."

III. Observations on chapters i. 1-ii. 5.—The first chapter gives a history of the conflicts waged between the Israelites and the occupants of Canaan, after the death of Joshua. It contains a very brief summary of the results of all the attempts of the separate tribes against the Canaanites. Beginning with Joshua's death the survey is exceedingly compressed and general —so much so as to be occasionally obscure, the parts presenting but a loose connexion with one another. How long a period it embraces cannot be definitely ascertained; but i. 27, 28, 30, 33

refer to the time of Solomon; so that the events narrated belong to several centuries. Bertheau thinks that the history in it is a continuation of that which is broken off in the twelfth chapter of Joshua.[1] This is true to a certain extent. The writer of the book of Judges did not consider it in that light, though an interpreter may so look upon it. The book of Judges existed before that of Joshua as we shall see immediately; and it is therefore impossible that the first chapter of which we are speaking was *written for the purpose* of forming a continuation of the former part of Joshua's book. It *does* exhibit a valuable sequel, filling up a gap in the history of the chosen people.

The nature of the first chapter has not been well apprehended by some critics. Thus Studer[2] and others call it the work of a careless compiler, who united fragments, and perhaps mere extracts of different narrations into one external piece. This severe judgment is founded on its supposed want of plan and internal contradictions. Among these contradictions are specified verses eight compared with the twenty-first, and ten with the twentieth. Let us see. The eighth verse runs thus: "Now the children of Judah had fought against Jerusalem, and had taken it, and smitten it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire." But in the twenty-first verse we read: "And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem, but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." The two places refer to different times. Soon after Joshua's death, Jerusalem was conquered by Judah and Simeon. It would appear, however, that the Jebusites were not expelled. They were still in the city along with Judah. They may have inhabited it with Benjamin; the tribe on whom it mainly devolved to expel them. The latter passage refers to the period immediately before David; while the former relates to a time soon after Joshua. During the interval, the city was never thoroughly taken from the Jebusites. They were never entirely expelled; as they recovered their footing after defeat, and maintained a position within it. This is a more natural solution than Hävernick's which distinguishes one part of the city from another, implying that though Judah and Simeon took Jerusalem, they did not take the fort of the Jebusites on mount Zion. When therefore it is said that the Benjamites did not drive out the Jebusites, the language is thought to refer to the Jebusite occupation of *mount Zion*, not of the city generally of which they had long been dispossessed.[3] Another alleged contradiction in the first chapter is

[1] Das Buch der Richter und Rut, Einleitung, pp. ix. x.
[2] Das Buch der Richter erklärt, u. s. w. pp. i. 423, 434 et seqq.
[3] Einleitung II. i. p. 72.

contained in the tenth compared with the twentieth verse: "And Judah went against the Canaanites that dwelt in Hebron (now the name of Hebron before was Kirjath-arba), and they slew Sheshai, and Ahiman, and Talmai." In the twentieth verse we read: "And they gave Hebron unto Caleb, as Moses said: and he expelled thence the three sons of Anak." According to the former verse, Judah and Simeon had defeated the three races of the Anakim; but their total destruction was reserved for Caleb, the possessor of the Hebron territory.

There is considerable similarity between this chapter and passages in the book of Joshua, sometimes amounting even to verbal coincidence: at other times there are slight variations. Compare, for example, Judg. i. 10-15 with Josh. xv. 14-19; 20 with Josh. xv. 13; 21 with Josh. xv. 63; 27, etc., with Josh. xvii. 12, etc.; 29 with Josh. xvi. 10. To account for this, Hävernick supposes that the writer of the book of Joshua, *i.e.*, the Deuteronomist, borrowed from Judges; while, on the contrary, Stähelin thinks that passages were transferred from Joshua to Judges, specifying as examples i. 11, 15, 27, 28. As to i. 18, the latter conjectures that it was deduced from Joshua.[1] Bertheau follows him, alleging that the passages in question suit the place and context in Judges i., but not in Joshua. The former hypothesis is more probable. The whole chapter is in a different tone from that of the Deuteronomist. We think it most likely that the writer of Joshua did not follow the present book of Judges but the common source of both, which may have been the Jehovah-document.

The prophetic word in ii. 1-5 wears an isolated and fragmentary appearance, as if it had no connexion with the preceding chapter. It forms a good introduction to the body of the work. Although the paragraph has little connexion with the first chapter, it is suitable in its present place *as introductory* to the following chapters. It is hypercritical in Bertheau to attribute these verses to another writer than the preceding.

IV. Observations on ii. 6–xvi.—The second division of the work has an unity which shews that it proceeded from one writer. Thus we meet with certain recurring formulas as "the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord" (ii. 11; iii. 7; vi. 1), or, "the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord" (iii. 12; iv. 1; x. 6; xiii. 1), "The land had rest" (iii. 11, 30; v. 31; viii. 28). Peculiar expressions occur, as זָעַק or צָעַק *to call together* or *summon* (iv. 10, 13; vi. 34, 35; vii. 23, 24; x. 17; xii. 1, 2), מָכַר בְּיַד *to sell into the hand* (ii. 14; iii. 8; iv. 2, 9; x. 7); שֹׁלֵף חָרֶב *drawing sword*

[1] Kritische Untersuchungen, p. 102.

(iii. 22; viii. 10, 20; ix. 54; xx. 2, 15, 17, 25, 35, 46); כָּנַע *to be subdued* (iii. 30; iv. 23; xi. 33). In short the style, manner, and theology are the same. The causes and consequences of events are clearly and theocratically exhibited.

According to Stähelin the writer of the portion in question was the Jehovist. This is inferred from the similarity of style and manner, as well as of plan, in relation to the book of Joshua. But it has been shewn by De Wette,[1] that there are so many peculiarities of manner and expression as outweigh the coincidences pointed out in the Pentateuch and Joshua compared with this portion of the book of Judges. There is sufficient independence in the ideas, words, and representations of the latter to attest its non-Jehovistic and non-Deuteronomistic authorship. The resemblances, so industriously collected by Stähelin, arise out of the essence of the theocracy, and can be accounted for by the writer's age, his acquaintance with the national traditions, and his general object.

Did the author of ii. 6-xvi. use written sources? This is a question which has been differently answered. Bertholdt, De Wette, Bertheau, and Bleek, think that he did; while Stähelin and Hävernick see nothing to necessitate the supposition. It is true, as Stähelin remarks, that the same kind of diction and manner pervades the whole,—that there is no such difference of style and narration as is apparent in the Pentateuch and Joshua. But traces of written documents are still discernible here and there. Certain diversities in language, contents, and mode of representation *do* appear in the various narratives. Thus it is not improbable that the accounts of Othniel and Ehud, in the third chapter, were derived from a written source. The minute traits and allusions which make the narrative so picturesque, and peculiar terms here and there, different from the well-known words at the commencement and end, marking the writer's own hand (see in vers. 16, 22, 23, compared with 12, 15, 29), warrant the inference. The song of Deborah could scarcely have been handed down in the mouths of the people from one generation to another; and was therefore drawn from a peculiar source. It may have belonged to a collection of old historical poems—to the book of Jashar perhaps. Whether the historical introduction iv. 4–24 was prefixed to it there, is problematical. Several differences between the ode itself and its historical preface are rather against the hypothesis. De Wette[2] specifies verses 6, 14, etc. (compd. with iv. 5, 10), and verse 23. These however do not signify much, and are outweighed by opposite considerations of more importance—such as the fact,

[1] Einleitung, p. 242. [2] Ibid., p. 243.

that the poem severed from its historical explanation would scarcely be intelligible, and the close connexion manifestly subsisting between them. It is difficult to conceive the independent existence of the history; because, as here given, it is based on the ode. In addition to this, Bertheau has acutely remarked,[1] that peculiar phrases and words appear in iv. 4-24, which the writer seldom or never uses elsewhere, such as שמיכה verse 18; ותצנח verse 21; משכת in a rare sense, verses 6 and 7; ויהם found both here and in Ex. xiv. 25, Josh. x. 10 in the immediate neighbourhood of poems or poetical passages, and therefore apparently borrowed with the poems themselves from one and the same source. The sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters, relating to Gideon, betray their indebtedness in various points to historical tradition embodied in a written document. The ninth chapter unmistakeably shews, that it was taken from a larger history containing an account of Shechem and its rulers in the time of the judges. Jotham's fable (ix. 3–15) bears the stamp of authenticity. The story of Jephthah belonged to a larger history relating to the Israelites east of Jordan (xi.-xii. 6). The history of Samson in xiii.-xvi. was not the subject of a special document, but was taken from a larger one narrating the Philistine wars. This appears from the phrase *he shall begin to deliver* in xiii. 5, implying that the narrative *was continued in Samson's successors*. Bertheau conjectures, that the short accounts in 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22; xxiii. 8-39, were from the same document. The imitation of Gen. xvi. in Judg. xiii. is apparent to every reader. The verses ii. 6-9, are repeated in Josh. xxiv. 28-31 with slight variations, shewing that the thread of the history is resumed in the same words, or nearly so, with which it had been broken off.

From these remarks it is obvious, that the body of the present work was mainly derived from older written materials, of which it is now impossible to obtain a more definite knowledge. How far the author moulded the documents at his disposal, or incorporated them in the form and language they already presented, cannot be determined—except in a very few instances. Speaking generally, it does not appear that he made extensive alterations, or left any deep impress of his own upon them. He extracted such accounts as suited his purpose, incorporating them into the general narrative by appropriate words at the commencement and end. Hence he was more a compiler than an independent author. It may be, as Ewald thinks,[2] that an older book of judges continued down much later than Solomon, and from which some specified verses in 2 Chronicles

[1] Das Buch Richter, u. s. w. p. 75.
[2] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 202 et seqq.

were taken, formed the basis of all this division, with the exception of the part relating to Samson; but we will not undertake to affirm it.

Jahn and others have thought that two authorities were used in the account given of Samson; the sketch of his adventures with Delilah being taken from another source than the preceding.[1] This rests on no other basis than the termination of the fifteenth chapter, where we read: "and he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines, twenty years," as is stated at the close of narratives relating to the other judges. It has also been remarked, that xvi. 12 is like a repetition of xv. 13, 14. We see no necessity for entertaining this hypothesis. Surely it is a sufficient explanation of the concluding verse of chapter xv. to say, that the writer intended to conclude the history of Samson with the enumeration of the seven exploits just given; but afterwards saw occasion to add five others, without disturbing the closing formula.

V. OBSERVATIONS ON XVII–XXI.—The third division, which is an independent part of the book as it now is, consists of two historical narratives, detailing events belonging to the commencement of the judges-period. The writer might have placed them before ii. 6, had he been guided solely by their contents; and accordingly Josephus assigns them that position in his chronologically arranged account; but they are suitable where they now stand, a resting-point having been presented after the death of Samson and immediately before the appearance of Samuel, of which the writer thought it best to avail himself by inserting a history that served to prepare the way for a kingly government, and so put a stop to the lawlessness of the people doing what was right in their own eyes. The two histories do not present much internal union, and consist of different materials. Auberlen indeed has tried to shew, not only in them but also in Ruth, a typical significance and similarity of plan, but without success.[2] They betray the hand of one writer. It is often remarked in both, that there was then no king in Israel (xvii. 6; xviii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 25). We find the use of the perfect in describing what belongs to the same time as the preceding, as in xviii. 7; xx. 43; numerous infinitives with the prefix ל xviii. 9; xix. 15; xx. 10; sentences introduced by the pronoun הֵם or הַמָּה at the beginning of the discourse, xviii. 22, 27; xix. 11, 22. Single expressions which are not frequent elsewhere often recur, as נָכֹחַ xviii. 6; xix. 10; xx. 43; יִטַב לֵב xviii. 20; xix. 6, 9, 22; מַחְסוֹר דָּבָר xviii. 10; xix. 19;

[1] Einleitung, vol. ii. p. 191.
[2] Studien und Kritiken for 1860, p. 536 et seqq.

הִרְבִּיק xviii. 22; xx. 42, 45; שֵׁבֶט and מִשְׁפָּחָה in juxtaposition, xviii. 19; xxi. 24: וַיּוֹאֶל ל׳ and הוֹאֶל xvii. 11; xix. 6, etc. In the two narratives also, Levites settled in Bethlehem-judah play an important part. These and other characteristics attest identity of authorship in chaps. xvii.-xxi.

What now is to be said of the writer of these chapters in relation to the body of the work, *i.e.*, ii. 6—xvi? It is clear that diversity of authorship must be asserted. The prophetic survey of history which pervades the second division is wanting here. Theocratic ideas couched in appropriate expressions, and shewing the point of view taken, are not found, as in the preceding portion. The writer never betrays a theological interest; the nearest approach to it being in the appellation bestowed on Israel, "the people of God," which is only occasional (xx. 2). The diversity is so obvious that one wonders at its denial by Keil. The narration presents another standpoint. In accordance with this is the absence of such characteristic phrases and words as have just been adduced to shew identity of authorship in chaps. xvii., xviii. and xix.-xxi. The frequent use of the perfect with וְ preceding separated from it by one or more words betrays a linguistic peculiarity which cannot be found in ii. 6-xvi.

As far as we are aware, Ewald was the first who perceived that similarity between this part of the book and the first,[1] which leads to the inference that the writer of both was the same person. In both the tribe of Judah is prominent; whereas it is not spoken of in the second part. In both the *congregation of Israel* taught by the divine oracle executes the will of God, and not *the judges*. In them too the tribes are geographically distinguished, and their different wars carefully noted. Common to both also are the expressions מִי יַעֲלֶה וְגו׳ i., 1; xx. 18; שָׁאַל בַּיהוָה i. 1, and xx. 23, 27, and the answer to the oracle i. 2; xx. 18, יָאַל לָשֶׁבֶת i. 27, 35, and xvii. 11; שָׁלַח בָּאֵשׁ i. 8; xx. 48. הִכָּה לְפִי חֶרֶב i. 8, 25, and xx. 48. נָתַן לְאִשָּׁה xxi. 1; and i. 12. חָתַן xix. 4; i. 16. The use of the preterite with וְ preceding has been referred to before. This identity of authorship in chaps. i., xvii.-xxi. proves diversity of authorship in i.-ii. 5, and ii. 6-xvi.; it having been already shewn that the writers of ii. 6-xvi. and xvii.-xxi. were different. Independently of this, it is perceptible that the first chapter did not proceed from the same writer as ii. 6-xvi. because there is a double commencement with the death of Joshua (i. 1 and ii. 6-10) as well

[1] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i., p. 186 et seqq.

as a twofold account of the parts which had not been conquered; a more full one in the first chapter, and a shorter in iii. 1-6. The same author would not have proceeded thus. Besides, the same materials are differently presented; for in the first chapter with the first five verses of the second, the ancient inhabitants are represented as still unexpelled because the Israelites preferred living with them to destroying them in obedience to the divine command; while in ii. 11–iii. 6, God is said to permit many of the Canaanites to remain, as a punishment of the Israelites for not obeying his voice.

VI. UNITY, AUTHORSHIP, AND DATE.—The attempt of Keil[1] to shew the unity of the whole work in opposition to these peculiarities is unsuccessful. The nature of the contents, the desire of describing vividly, and the different sources whence the writer drew, are insufficient to account for them on the principle of unity of authorship. Nor is it enough to say, that the whole book has its singularities of diction. The main point is, why are *certain* peculiarities of expression found in the first and third divisions, not in the second? And why too is the point of view taken by the writer of the first and third so different from that of the chief compiler? These particulars cannot be explained on the supposition of one author throughout.

Believing as we do that the book proceeded from one compiler or editor in its present state, with the first chapter at the beginning, and the so-called appendix (chaps. xvii.–xxi) subjoined, it is not easy to fix the age he lived in. The song of Deborah bears in itself the marks of antiquity, and may have been written soon after the time of the prophetess herself. Supposed Aramaeisms in it and the use of ב prefixed are no proper marks of a late date, as has sometimes been asserted. The former are genuine poetic peculiarities; while the latter points to northern Palestine as the district of its birth. But the age of the lyric is quite different from the age of the last author or compiler of the whole.

It is necessary to speak of the different parts separately, *i.e.*, of the time when i.-ii. 5, xvii.–xxi., and ii. 6–xvi. were written. The portion i.-ii. 5 has an inherently vivid character which favours its composition soon after the events described occurred. It is graphic and lively, as though no great interval had elapsed since the things happened. The twenty-first verse of the first chapter agrees, for we read there that "the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem *unto this day*," shewing that the time was before David. So also the twenty-ninth verse where we read that the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraimites, implying a period prior to that of

[1] Einleitung, p. 157, second edition.

Solomon, to whom Pharaoh gave the place after he had destroyed the Canaanite inhabitants (1 Kings ix. 16). As to xvii.–xxi. it must be referred to the time of the kings, because it is remarked in different places that there was "no king in Israel in those days," (xvii. 6. xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25). Thus Israel enjoyed the benefits of kingly rule when the events here described were committed to writing. And it is probable that the kingly rule had not been long established; the manner in which it is introduced leading to that supposition. Perhaps the reign of Saul is referred to, or the beginning of David's. But it may be thought that xviii. 30, "until the day of the captivity of the land," עַד יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ is in favour of a later date, because the words appear to refer to the captivity of the ten tribes by the Assyrians, either under Tiglath-pileser (2 Kings xv. 29), or Shalmaneser (2 Kings xvii. 6). Hengstenberg, Hävernick, and Welte refer them to the unfortunate war with the Philistines, in which the ark was carried away by the enemy (1 Sam. iv.), *i.e.*, the time of Eli and Samuel. But the appeal to 1 Sam. iv. 21 is wholly inapposite unless it could be shewn that הָאָרֶץ signifies *the ark of the covenant*, and that the removal of the ark from Jerusalem is equivalent to the removal of Israel itself. As little can the words be referred to the carrying away of the Israelites by the Philistines. The Assyrian date, however, though apparently the most natural interpretation, can hardly be adopted, because there is reason to suspect the correctness of the reading. The expression is singular and rather poetical. It would scarcely have been used by the writer of the context. It is improbable that Jonathan the grandson of Moses (not of Manasseh) and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan, after the ten tribes separated from the other two, as the thirtieth verse affirms; and the thirty-first verse disagrees with the thirtieth as it stands, for it states or implies that the time during which Micah's image was set up in Dan was that in which the house of God or tabernacle was at Shiloh; whereas in the thirtieth, Jonathan and his sons are said to have been priests to the tribe of Dan worshiping that image till the captivity of the land. In other words, Jonathan and his posterity were priests in this idolatrous worship of the Danites till the tabernacle was removed from Shiloh, *i.e.*, till Eli's time (ver. 31); while they officiated in the same worship till the Assyrian captivity centuries after (ver. 30). We adopt Houbigant's conjecture, and read הָאָרוֹן for הָאָרֶץ, which brings out the sense, "till the captivity of the ark," *i.e.*, by the Philistines in the time of Eli. Both verses state that the Danites practised the idolatrous worship of a graven image while the

ark, of the covenant was in Ephraim at Shiloh. This opinion is preferable to that of Studer and Hitzig, who suppose the thirtieth verse a later addition. It is in harmony with the date already assigned to i.–ii. 5 and xvii.–xxi. The time assumed is prior to that fixed upon by Stähelin and Ewald, who nearly agree in supposing that the portion appeared in the reign of Asa or Jehoshaphat, *i.e.*, about 700 B.C. Both of course assume the later insertion of xviii. 30, which stands in the way of their hypothesis. In relation to the expressions in xvii,–xxi., which Stähelin[1] has enumerated to shew that they no longer belong to the flourishing period of the language, such as נָשָׂא נְשִׂים, xxi. 23; קְצוֹת xviii. 2, *the entire body of the people* (comp. 1 Kings xii. 31; xiii. 33); שׂוּם יָד עַל פֶּה *to lay the hand upon the mouth,* xviii. 19 (comp. Job xxi. 5; xxix. 9); עָנָה *to begin to speak,* xviii. 14; אָמַר בְּאָזְנֵי xvii. 2 (comp. Job xxxiii. 8; Isaiah xlix. 20); חָשָׁה *to be quiet,* xviii. 9 (comp. 1 Kings xxii. 3; 2 Kings ii. 3, 5; vii. 9; Neh. viii. 11); מַגֵּיחַ xx. 33, the root of which appears for the first time in Micah iv. 10; נָגַע *to reach to somewhat,* xx. 34, 41, they agree as well with the one date as the other. With respect to ii. 6-xvi. the character and tone are very different from the preceding and following parts. The portion is theocratic and levitical, resembling in parts the books of Samuel and Kings, as well as Chronicles in a less degree. Hence it is later in age, or rather its redaction is later; for it contains materials as old as any in i.-ii. 5 or xvii.-xxi., if not older. The constituent parts of it are authentic records of a pretty early date. But the redactor, *i.e.*, the compiler of the whole book, must be placed in the time of the later, not the earlier, kings. This appears most plainly from ii. 6-23, which is pervaded by a moralising reflectiveness resembling 2 Kings xvii. 7-23. The phrase, too, "till this day," in various places, as vi. 24, x. 4, xv. 19, shews that some time had elapsed between the events narrated and the age of the writer. But the compiler must have lived before the Deuteronomist, else it would have been intimated that altars erected and sacrifices offered in different places were illegal and displeasing to Jehovah. It is related that pious men offered sacrifices here and there without any hint of the kind (comp. vi. 24, 26; xi. 31; xiii. 19).[2] Probably the compiler belonged to the period of Ahaz. He was not of Israel, but a Levite of Judah. The introductory part, i.-ii. 5, as well as the two appendixes, he seems to have found in a state not very different from their

[1] Kritische Untersuchungen, u. s. w. pp. 146, 147.
[2] Bleek, Einleitung, p. 346.

present one. But the materials contained in the body of the work were somewhat elaborated. This date is considerably prior to the time in which Ewald puts the final redactor, viz., the second half of the Babylonish captivity. We cannot, however, adopt his various hypotheses respecting the origin and composition of the book, ingenious though they are.

If our view be correct, the Talmudic account of Samuel's writing the book, cannot be maintained, though Jahn, Paulus, and Welte incline to it. Herbst's[1] hypothesis that all except the appendixes (which he puts after the Assyrian captivity in consequence of xviii. 30) was composed in Solomon's reign, and originated in the polygamy of that monarch, is equally untenable.

VII. PRIORITY OF THE BOOK TO THAT OF JOSHUA.—We have already said that the book of Judges preceded Deuteronomy and Joshua. This appears from the following passages, Judg. i. 12–15, compared with Josh. xv. 16–19:

"And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kirjath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. And Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife. And it came to pass, when she came to him, that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she lighted from off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wilt thou? And she said unto him, Give me a blessing: for thou hast given me a south land; give me also springs of water. And Caleb gave her the upper springs and the nether springs" (Judg. i. 12-15).

"And Caleb said, He that smiteth Kirjath-sepher, and taketh it, to him will I give Achsah my daughter to wife. And Othniel the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb, took it: and he gave him Achsah his daughter to wife. And it came to pass, as she came unto him, that she moved him to ask of her father a field: and she lighted off her ass; and Caleb said unto her, What wouldest thou? Who answered, Give me a blessing; for thou hast given me a south land; give me also springs of water. And he gave her the upper springs, and the nether springs" (Josh. xv. 16-19).

Again, Josh. xvii. 15–18, is an enlargement of Judg. i. 19. In the latter passage, however, what is attributed to Joseph in Josh. xvii. is incorrectly transferred to Judah.

In the same manner, what is circumstantially related in Josh. xiii. 1–6 is from the shorter form in Judg. iii. 3.

So also Judg. ii. 2–5 gave rise to Josh. xxiii. 12, 13.

Another example of the same kind appears in Judg. ii. 6–9, compared with Josh. xxiv. 28–31.

Hävernick,[2] who maintains the priority of Judges to Joshua, adduces in evidence of his opinion the fact that the text of Joshua explains that of Judges by small insertions or omissions, as in the case of the names Sheshai, Ahiman, Talmai, of whom it is remarked that they are *the sons of Anak, the children of Anak* (Josh. xv. 14, compared with Judg. i. 10). The words

[1] Herbst's Einleitung, Zweyter Theil, p. 120.
[2] Einleitung II. i. p. 58.

הַקְּטֹן מִמֶּנּוּ are omitted in Josh. xv. 17, because they create difficulty. Hävernick, however, is hardly correct in saying that the writer of the book of Joshua uses more regular and common grammatical forms instead of the more difficult ones in the book of Judges, as תְּנָה for הָבָה־לִי, and עליות for עֵלִית, תַּחְתִּיוֹת for תַּחְתִּית. הָבָה often occurs as a hortatory adverb, Gen. xi. 3, 4, 7; xxxviii. 16; Ex. i. 10; so that it is unlikely to have been exchanged for תְּנָה. The other two forms are simply feminines singular, though joined with a plural feminine; and it is a mistake to say that they stand for their regular plurals.

VIII. CHARACTER OF THE HISTORIES.—The descriptions of the book are commonly natural and graphic, bearing on their face the impress of historical truth. The picture given of the tribes is one that shews an unsettled, transition-state of the Israelites in their political relations as well as their civil customs. It is by no means a favourable history; yet it agrees well with all that we know of the chosen people and the Canaanite races. Traces of barbarism are strongly marked. No apology is offered for the sins and crimes of the select race. Their character is drawn in a way perfectly natural in the times and influences. The most fearful crimes are related without blame being attached to the perpetrators. The spirit of war prevailed; and a very imperfect civilisation was at once its cause and consequence. Wild roughness, cruelty, revenge were common. Internal strifes and foreign oppressions, disorder and disaster, deeds of heroism and intervals of prosperity, are depicted with great verisimilitude. The organisation of the Jewish community, imperfect as it was; the government unsettled, preparing the way for the establishment of kingly rule; the neighbouring nations chafing under the invasions of the Israelites and retaliating by predatory excursions or more deliberate attacks, are set forth in fresh colours by the original writers of the book. There is therefore no room for doubting that the historical traditions of the nation, written and oral, but chiefly the former, are faithfully given. Here however a question arises as to *the character* of such traditions. Are they genuine history? Do they contain simple, unadorned truth, and nothing else? *For the most part* we should reply, judging from the contents of the book itself. Sometimes indeed this cannot be said. The history of Samson is strongly tinged with the mythological and romantic. His birth is ushered in by remarkable presages recorded in the thirteenth chapter. His whole character savours of the exaggeration with which the traditions of later times embellish remote heroes. The deeds he performs

exceed human strength, and are represented as supernatural. Though depicted as vicious and wayward, employing his wonderful power of body in ways unprofitable and extraordinary, he is represented as praying to God for relief from thirst after the exploit of slaying a thousand men with the jaw-bone of an ass, and receiving water out of a hollow place in the jaw miraculously cleft to allow a fountain to spring forth. The presence or absence of his strength is said to depend on the length of his hair. In short, the character of Samson is such a singular compound as can only be accounted for on a principle common to the early history of most nations, which embellishes with the marvellous the old champions who were instrumental in their deliverance from oppressors. The legendary is begotten by popular tradition, and exalted in process of time into the miraculous. The history of Gideon is also embellished with mythological exaggerations, which should not be construed as literal history. This is observable in the sixth and seventh chapters, where the miraculous is largely abundant. Not that there is any thing of the *really* miraculous there. It is only *that sort of the marvellous* with which the later traditions of a nation adorn its old heroes, giving them superhuman prowess and divine omens for all important undertakings. As has been well remarked, "miracles have their laws as much as any other occurrences; laws deduced from those divine perfections, which under the fit circumstances cause them to be wrought. A miracle, under certain conditions, is a perfectly credible event. When we undertake to allege its actual occurrence, we must be prepared to shew the previous existence of such conditions; divest it of these, and we have no longer any ground of defence. When I undertake to assert, that God has, in any instance miraculously deviated from that regular course of action which his wisdom and goodness have led him to adopt, I cannot expect that any reasonable man will listen to me, unless I first shew that, under existing circumstances, the deviation alleged was called for by the same wisdom and goodness, and suited to accomplish their designs. Are the marvellous acts recorded in Judges,—those of Samson, for instance—of a description to abide this test, or is the only defensible theory of miracles utterly inapplicable to the maintenance of the credibility of those relations? The plea of the advocate of miraculous agency would be; 'the acts in question, how extraordinary soever, are such as, under the circumstances, the divine wisdom and benevolence should stand engaged to perform.' The principle is sound; but the application, in the present instance, is impossible. The objector would reply; 'the acts in question are such as *cannot* be supposed to have proceeded,

under the circumstances, from the divine wisdom and benevolence.'"[1]

These observations will help the reader to see in what light the miraculous character of many relations in the book should be viewed. Popular tradition magnified into the marvellous and superhuman the deeds of heroic men and patriots. Subtracting the legendary and mythological from the contents, there is little to detract from historical truth and credibility. By far the greater part of the work is genuine, unadorned history, bearing on its face all the authority which one can rationally demand. In some cases numbers are exaggerated; but that is of no consequence. Thus at the last census, before the invasion, the tribe of Ephraim numbered 32,500 warriors; whereas in the war with Jephthah and the Gileadites 42,000 are said to have perished. Thus it must have been nearly exterminated. Again 25,000 Benjaminites are said to have perished; on which account the tribe was almost extinguished. The number appears incredibly large. It has been affirmed, that some events are inconsistent with others in the same book; and some with representations in other books of better credit, in proof of which reference is made to i. 21 compared with i. 8; iii. 1, 2 with ii. 20-23; x. 3, 4 with Num. xxxii. 41; i. 8 with Josh. xv. 63; i. 1, 10-15, 20 with Josh. x. 36, 37; xv. 13-20; i. 1, 17 with Josh. xii. 14; i. 1, 22-26 with Josh. xii. 16; xvi. 1, 2; xviii. 1 with Josh. xix. 40-46; xviii. 29 with Josh. xix. 47. But a close examination of these places proves their consistency.

IX. Song of Deborah, ch. v.—The song of Deborah is a very old specimen of Hebrew poetry, which may challenge comparison in sublimity and beauty with the lyrics of any other language. It is the fresh expression of a high religious rapture arising from the victorious exaltation of Israel above Sisera. Ever and anon the reader is transported into the midst of the battle, where he sees its progress vividly pourtrayed. The transitions are very bold and animated, the entire description lively and forcible. The first eleven verses may be regarded as introductory. The time is come to praise Jehovah; and Deborah cannot forbear to sing praise to Him, referring to the high prosperity of the people at a former period; their degradation in the immediate past; and the present elevation of Israel. She calls upon all who rejoice in victory to praise Jehovah (2-11)—Deborah and Barak especially, the two heroes of the day, are enjoined to give expression to their joy, the one in song, the other by a solemn procession at the head of the captives; and the former at once gives vent to her feelings in words. She

[1] Palfrey's Academical Lectures, vol. ii., pp. 213, 214.

describes the mustering of the troops from all quarters, pours forth contemptuous sarcasm against the tribes that stand aloof; and then transports us into the midst of the fight, closing with a bitter pathos respecting Sisera's mother (12-31).

The lyric may be divided into three groups of strophes, consisting of three verses each. The second verse is not counted, because introductory to 3-11; just as 12 is introductory to 13-31, and is also excluded, with the thirty-first corresponding to it. Subtracting these three verses, we have in the first series of strophes containing verses 3-11, the following, viz., 3-5 first strophe; 6-8 second strophe; 9-11 third strophe. The second group of three strophes consists of verses 13-21, and begins with verses 13-15*c* first strophe; 15*d*-18 second strophe; 19-21 third strophe. The third group, containing verses 22-30, consists of strophe first, verses 22-24; strophe second, 25-27; strophe third, verses 28-30. Thus each series of strophes consists of three verses multiplied by three. In like manner the introduction, 3-11, contains the same—three verses multiplied by three.

The following is proposed as a better translation than that of the received version:—

Then sang Deborah, and Barak son of Abinoam on that day,
saying:
That the leaders led in Israel,
That the people were willing,
Praise ye Jehovah!
Hear, O kings,
Give ear, O princes,
I will, I will sing to Jehovah,
I will sound the harp to Jehovah, God of Israel.
Jehovah! when thou wentest forth from Seir,
When thou marchedst from the land of Edom,
Quaked the earth, and the heavens poured down,
Yea, the clouds poured down waters.
Mountains rocked before Jehovah's face,
That Sinai before Jehovah's face, the God of Israel.
In the days of Shamgar, son of Anath,
In the days of Jael, untrodden were the ways,
And the wanderers along beaten highways went through
winding byepaths.
Princes failed in Israel, they failed,
Till I, Deborah, arose,
Till I arose, a mother in Israel.
They chose new gods.
War was then in their gates;
Was buckler seen or lance
Among forty thousand in Israel?

Mine heart is for the rulers of Israel,
For those who willingly offered themselves among the people.
Praise ye Jehovah!
Ye that ride upon white asses,
Ye that sit on rich divans,
Ye that walk along the way,
Sing.
For the rejoicing of those who divide the spoil between the draw-wells,
There they celebrate the benefits of Jehovah,
The benefits of his princes in Israel.
Then descend to their gates the people of Jehovah.
Awake, awake Deborah;
Awake, awake, uplift the song,
Arise, Barak,
Lead forth thy captives, son of Abinoam.
Then (said I): "Go down, ye remnant, against the mighty;
Ye people of Jehovah, go down against the strong."
From Ephraim (came those) whose seat is under Amalek;
After thee Benjamin, among thy peoples;
From Machir came down princes,
And from Zebulun those bearing the marshall's staff.
My princes in Issachar were also with Deborah,
Yea, Issachar, the support of Barak
Rushed into the valley at his feet.
At the fountains of Reuben was great debating,
Wherefore sat'st thou still among the folds?
To listen to the lowing of the herds?
At the fountains of Reuben was great debating.
Gilead rested beyond Jordan;
And Dan, why remained he among ships?
Asser dwelt at ease on the sea-shore,
And rested by his bays.
Zebulun is a people that in scorn of life met death,
And Naphtali on the heights of the field.
Kings came, they fought,
Then fought the kings of Canaan
By Taanach on the waters of Megiddo;
Spoil of silver they took not.
From heaven they fought,
The stars out of their courses fought with Sisera.
The torrent Kishon swept them away,
That torrent of battles, the stream of Kishon.
So trample thou, my soul, on the mighty.
Then stamped the horses' hoofs
From the haste, the haste of his riders.

Curse ye Meroz, saith the angel of Jehovah,
Yea, curse ye her inhabitants,
For they came not to the help of Jehovah,
To the help of Jehovah with the heroes.
Blessed above women be Jael,
The wife of Heber the Kenite,
Above the women blessed, that dwell in tents.
Water he asked, she gave him milk,
In a lordly vessel she brought curdled milk.
She stretched out her hand to the tent pin,
And her right hand to the workman's hammer,
And she smote Sisera, she clave his head,
Bruised and brake through his temples.
At her feet he sank down, he fell, he lay;
At her feet he sank down, he fell;
Where he sank down, there he fell dead.
Through the window she looked out,
The mother of Sisera called through the lattice;
Why delays his chariot in coming back?
Why tarry the wheels of his chariots?
The prudent among her noble ladies answered her,
Yea she herself gave answer to herself;
Will they not find, divide the spoil?
One, two maidens to each chief?
A spoil of many-coloured robes for Sisera,
A spoil of many-coloured, broidered robes,
A many-coloured robe, two broidered garments for the neck of a spoiler.
Thus perish all thine enemies, Jehovah!
But let them who love him be as the going forth of the sun in his strength.
And the land had rest forty years.

The blessing pronounced by Deborah on Jael (ver. 24), for the treacherous murder of Sisera, has greatly perplexed a class of theologians who come to the study of the Bible with peculiar and hereditary notions. Deborah as a prophetess was inspired. She received communications from the Lord. Jehovah revealed himself to her. But though an inspired prophetess, she spoke according to the ideas of morality prevalent among the Hebrew people in her day. Her inspiration did not make her infallible in word or deed. The Spirit of God in his rational creatures never lifts them up into the region of Deity himself; but enters into their mind with a purifying and elevating influence agreeably to the principle of development which runs through all revelation. They were gradually led onward to clearer conceptions of the truth. The morality of the Old Testament was

progressive, incomplete, imperfect. It was simply the reflexion of the purest existing morality. To say that it was *a standard* morality for all time, or even for the time of its manifestation, is to mistake its character. In the case before us, some have resorted to the expedient that this song has been preserved only as a historical monument, and is not inspired as most of the Scriptures are. But the ode partakes of inspiration equally with the song of Moses in Ex. xv. or any of the Psalms. Both Deborah and the writer of the lyric were inspired. That circumstance, however, does not necessarily make what she utters accordant with the unalterable perfections of Jehovah. She was not infallible; for infallibility does not admit of degrees. The sentiments she is made to express in commendation of Jael's deed are objectionable, because contrary to the moral law. Hence it is absurd to justify them; and impious to say that she spoke thus *in the name of Jehovah;* as if Jehovah could approve what is opposed to His own nature. It amounts to a *libel on the* character of the Most High to say with some that Jael was moved by a *divine impulse* to execute the deed; as if He could *prompt* his accountable creatures to do any thing contrary to His immutable perfections. It is true that He has a right to dispose of His creatures as he pleases; but that is a different thing from His *suggesting* to a rational creature to do a thing expressly condemned in the moral law. An act of foul treachery cannot be justified by the miserable shifts of divines who would rather sacrifice principles on which the existence of a moral creation rests, than abandon a favourite notion of *inspiration.* Why should *we* approve of an act *merely* because Deborah a prophetess applauded it; especially when the act is repugnant to the noblest feelings we have derived from God himself?

X. JEPHTHAH'S VOW.—The vow of Jephthah has been variously explained by commentators. The point itself is not of much importance to readers of the Bible at the present day; though a great deal has been written upon it. Let us briefly notice the leading views taken of the vow.

1. Dr. Randolph renders Judges xi. 31 thus: "Whosoever cometh out of the doors of my house to meet me, when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, shall surely be the Lord's; and I will offer to Him a burnt-offering." Auberlen[1] advocates the same rendering. Two things are specified in the passage so understood. First, that Jephthah should dedicate to Jehovah the person who should first meet him coming from his house; secondly, that he should also offer a burnt-offering to

[1] View of our blessed Saviour's ministry, vol. ii. p. 166 et seqq.

Jehovah.[1] To this interpretation Hebrew usage is adverse. The pronoun הוּ appended to the verb הַעֲלִיתִי can only mean *the offering*, not *the Being to whom the offering is made*. Parallels are found in 1 Sam. vii. 9 and 2 Kings iii. 27, where the same verb, with the pronominal suffix, followed by the same noun occurs, and where the sense can only be, *offered him* or *it for a burnt-offering*. Hence the proposed interpretation cannot be accepted, however simple or plausible it appears. We admit that the construction is grammatically possible, for examples justify it, as Gesenius shews. Auberlen adduces Judg. i. 15; Is. xliv. 21; Ezek. xxix. 3, xxi. 32. But the *same word and suffix* elsewhere, forbid the interpretation.

2. The English Bible makes the vow run thus: "Whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me," etc. etc., "shall surely be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." This view accords with the notion of Josephus, who represents Jephthah as promising to offer in sacrifice *whatever living creature* should first meet him. The Targum of Jonathan agrees. We do not think, however, that it is so natural as the rendering *whosoever* instead of *whatsoever*, implying that Jephthah thought of a *human being* belonging to his house, rather than of any living, *irrational* creature.

3. A third opinion is presented in the marginal rendering of the English Bible: "Whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house," etc. etc., "shall surely be the Lord's, or I will offer it up for a burnt-offering." Kimchi is said to have been the first who proposed this translation. Lilienthal, Saalschütz, and Cassel adopt it. According to it Jephthah had a choice between two things, and could act as the case might require. If the thing which came forth from the doors of his house were fit for a burnt-offering, he could make it one; if not, he could consecrate it to the divine service. Thus there was an alternative. It cannot be denied that the conjunction וְ may be rendered *or*. The Hebrew language had very few conjunctions, and therefore *one* had to fulfil the office of *several* in other languages. In the present case there is evidently no necessity requiring the disjunctive sense. On the contrary, the sense is rather embarrassed by it. The first clause, "whatsoever cometh forth out of the doors of my house shall surely be the Lord's," is complete in itself, *comprehending* all that the second clause is here supposed to promise—viz., that the thing should be devoted to the Lord in a manner suitable to its nature—it should either be put to death or not agreeably to the law. Besides, we object to the general rendering "whatsoever" instead of "whoso-

[1] Studien und Kritiken for 1860, pp. 541, 542.

ever" as less natural. The whole is like an expedient to get rid of a difficulty.

4. Another translation is, "whosoever cometh out of the doors of my house to meet me when I return in peace from the children of Ammon shall be the Lord's, and I will offer him up for a burnt-offering." This is the most natural translation of the Hebrew words. It is confirmed by the LXX. and Vulgate. Jephthah is thus supposed to have had in his thoughts *a human being, a man,* more distinctly than any other being coming forth from his house. He vows that *whoever* of his household should come forth to meet him should be *the Lord's.* But this was indeterminate, because the first-born were already the Lord's, as also such as were set apart for the service of the sanctuary. Hence he obviates all doubt or uncertainty by adding, *and I will offer him up for a burnt-offering.* The idea that a human sacrifice was *intended* by Jephthah is the plain sense of his vow.

Did he actually offer his daughter as a burnt-offering? It is conceivable that he did not actually execute the vow, in the sense which was intended at its utterance. Accordingly some suppose that in the interval of the two months' respite which he besought, he had come to the conviction that the vow in its literal sense was not obligatory. He did to her *what was equivalent* to his original vow—what was accepted in lieu of it; that is, he devoted her to perpetual virginity in the service of the sanctuary. We believe that *this* fulfilment of the vow was a new idea till the time of Moses Kimchi. The ancient Jews and Christians never thought otherwise than that the daughter *was sacrificed*; and therefore they did not hesitate to censure the father for such an act. Since Kimchi, many Protestant scholars have embraced the new view. It has even been defended by Bush and Hengstenberg. The grounds however on which they rest are insufficient, and the plain sense of the record is adverse. Thus it is alleged—

(*a*) That *it is not expressly stated* she was offered up for a burnt-offering; on the contrary it is said of the father, "He did with her according to his vow, and she knew no man," as if the latter phrase were intended to be explanatory of the manner in which the doing of the vow was accomplished—viz., by devoting her to a life of celibacy. If she were really put to death, it is asked, why is the fact of her death not once spoken of? But if she were only doomed to a state of perpetual virginity, the reason of the expression, "he did with her according to his vow," is obvious.[1] To this reasoning it may be replied, that if the true sense of the vow be, that whoever came

[1] Bush's Notes on the Books of Joshua and Judges, pp. 317, 318, New York, 1838.

forth from Jephthah's house was to be offered for a burnt-offering, it was not necessary to say, "he offered her up for a burnt-offering to the Lord," because "*he did with her according to his vow*" was precisely equivalent. The proper sense of the one takes along with it that of the other, so as to render superfluous any statement to the effect that *he offered her up for a burnt-offering to the Lord.* Because he plainly vowed to offer her up for a burnt-offering to the Lord, it was unnecessary to repeat the words. *He did with her according to his vow* varies the expression, while it bears the same sense. The phrase, *and she knew no man*, mentions *the consequence* of her being offered, and shews the greatness of the sacrifice she submitted to. She cheerfully bore the reproach of having arrived at a marriageable age without being married.

(*b*) We are also told that it does not appear by whose hands such a sacrifice could have been offered. Not by the high priest, because of the explicit prohibitions of the Mosaic law. Not by Jephthah himself, for this would have been a transgression of the Levitical law. Not at Shiloh in the tribe of Ephraim, where the tabernacle was at this time; because after the conclusion of the war with the Ammonites we find Jephthah engaged in a bitter war with the Ephraimites. Hence he could not have gone into the heart of that tribe to offer such a sacrifice, even if it had been lawful.[1] In answer to this we remark, that although human sacrifices were strictly forbidden by the law of Moses, there is nothing in the transaction to shew that Jephthah did not transgress the law. In the time of the Judges the law was not strictly or commonly followed. The people generally were by no means religious or orderly. Indeed they were the very reverse. We do not hesitate therefore to affirm, that Jephthah himself may have sacrificed his daughter. His character does not contradict that supposition, for he was evidently a rough soldier or bandit. The thing is related as *extraordinary.* It was an unusual occurrence, the memory of which had sunk deep into the hearts of the people, and appeared worthy of perpetuation by a yearly festival in the nation. The national deliverance had been purchased at a dear cost; and there was much of the heroic in a daughter who consented to die for the deliverance of her people.

(*c*) A thing so horrible as the sacrifice of a daughter could not have been the subject of a national feast of honour and joy. So Hengstenberg affirms,[2] as if the people of Israel could have looked at the thing from our stand-point—a people who lived among the Canaanites and fell into their idolatrous worship,

[1] Bush's Notes on the Books of Joshua and Judges, p. 318.
[2] Die Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. pp. 147, 148.

part of which consisted in human sacrifices; or as if the festival had been instituted in remembrance of Jephthah's deed, rather than the daughter's conduct. Besides, it is not intimated that the festival was a *joyful* one. It was the opposite.

(*d*) The same critic states, that Jephthah's daughter only bewailed her *celibacy*, whereas in the immediate prospect of death, she would have thought of death alone, or at least of death *before every thing else*. The record however is very short; and the words of the daughter, which cover over and conceal as it were her impending death, are really more eloquent than mere complaints and exclamations, as Bertheau has remarked.

(*e*) Jephthah vows his daughter to the Lord; but of vows in relation to human sacrifice, we (or rather the Mosaic law) know nothing. Such is another argument of Hengstenberg's.[1] But the law in Lev. xxvii. 2-8 which prescribes the redemption of persons devoted to God, *i.e.*, persons designed for sacrifice, presupposes the frequency of such vows. It is true that they could be redeemed with money, according to the Mosaic law; but the history given in the Book of Judges shews how often the law was broken.

(*f*) It has been asked, supposing that Jephthah at the time of making his vow had no distinct recollection or knowledge of the law in Leviticus which permitted a ransom to be given for the devoted person, Is it conceivable that when the execution of it was postponed for two months, and the affair had become notorious throughout the nation, being the subject of general discussion and great lamentation, there was no person in Israel who once thought of this law? Would not the agonised father, besides devoting to it his own intensest study, consult the priests on the subject? And would not the priests acquaint him with the provisions of the law in reference to a case of casuistry like the present? And what would naturally be the result? Could he fail to come to the conclusion that such a sacrifice as he first intended was not only unlawful, but in the face of the numerous pointed prohibitions against it, would amount to nothing short of downright murder?[2] This and similar reasoning proceeds on an erroneous or very imperfect view of the times and the law. It supposes that the latter was *written* just as we now have it; though all internal evidence is adverse. It had *not* then been committed to writing, and may not have been known. As to the agonised father consulting the priests and their making him acquainted with the law, the thing is very improbable; for the priests were ignorant, and Jephthah was not a person likely to become agonised or distracted for the

[1] Die Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. p. 147.
[2] See Bush's Notes on Judges, p. 319.

space of two months. Many readers seem to have a very imperfect apprehension of the father's disposition. Dwelling upon the idea that he was *pious*, they join with this the phrase, "then the Spirit of the Lord came upon Jephthah" (xi. 29), and infer that he could not commit such a deed as sacrificing his daughter, or even utter a vow including human sacrifice. They forget the nature of the period in which he lived—a degenerate and lawless one—the district in which he was brought up, beyond Jordan, far from the tabernacle; the heathen race with whom he must have been associated, as well as the freebooters of his own nation who lived by rapine and violence, and to whom he was well known. In such circumstances it is only natural to think, that his knowledge of good was very limited, and his piety greatly debased by superstition. The Spirit of God did not prevent him from falling into grievous sin, or miraculously transform his disposition at once. It gave him a strong impulse to undertake the deliverance of Israel, and braced him for the work. His piety was that of his own day and time *not of ours*.

In reviewing the whole account, we cannot hesitate to believe that Jephthah offered up his daughter in sacrifice in accordance with his vow, thinking that such an offering was propitious to Jehovah. In that he was mistaken. He acted as the rugged leader of such freebooters as he had before been wont to lead would naturally do. Having promised, under a superstitious impulse, he would not draw back or retract, even though his only daughter was the victim.

XI. Chronology of the Book.—The chronology of the book is surrounded with difficulties. This arises from various causes. It is most likely that some judges were contemporary, ruling over different districts at the same time and not in succession. Again, the dates of particular events are not always given (comp. iii. 31), and it is not unlikely that there is a chasm between the books of Judges and 1 Samuel. Besides, round numbers are occasionally employed, as is inferred from the fact that forty appears four times.

From Othniel to Samson is 410 years, reckoning all the numbers expressly given. It is apparent, however, that this number is too great, because Jephthah reckons 300 years from the conquest of eastern Jordan to his own time (xi. 26); whereas from Joshua's death till Jephthah's own day about 300 years elapsed, according to this book. Again, 1 Kings vi. 1 makes the interval from the Exodus to the foundation of Solomon's temple 480 years. The contemporaneousness of several judges is a very probable hypothesis for reducing the whole period. Bertheau, dissatisfied with this solution, proposes

another, according to which two methods of computation are mixed up with one another in the book; one indefinite, according to the generations of man reckoned at forty years each; another definite and specific.[1] Both methods may be united, the contemporaneous one and Bertheau's. Six periods of forty years each—viz., Othniel forty, Ehud eighty, Barak forty, Gideon forty, the servitude under the Philistines forty, into which Samson's falls—make 240 years. The other numbers are parallel ones, indicating times contemporaneous with these leading ages. The number 240 agrees pretty well with 480 in 1 Kings vi. 1, and 300 in Judg. xi. 6. Bunsen supposes that the Judges-period was not so long—only 187 years;[2] while others who attach authority to Josephus and St. Paul in this matter (Acts xiii. 20) are disposed to extend the period over 450 years, to the violation of 480 in 1 Kings vi., which is thus arbitrarily altered. The *usual* computation of the whole period from Joshua to Eli is 299 years, which is at least more probable than the estimate of Hales and others. Keil's investigations,[3] ingenious and elaborate though they be, have contributed nothing towards a satisfactory settlement of the question; and it is better to abandon the attempt than make assumptions in place of absent data.

[1] Das Buch der Richter und Rut, Einleitung, p. xviii. et seqq.
[2] Bibelwerk I., 1. p. ccxxxiii. et seqq.
[3] In the Dorpat theologische Beiträge, II. p. 303 et seqq.

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

I. CONTENTS.—The contents of this book are these—

In consequence of a famine in Palestine, Elimelech of Bethlehem-judah, with his wife Naomi and their two sons, emigrated to the land of Moab. After the father's death his sons married wives of the country, Orpah and Ruth. The sons died also, and the widowed parent Naomi resolved to return to her own land. But though she dissuaded her daughters-in-law from accompanying her, Ruth refused to stay behind. The two came to Bethlehem, where they were gladly received. Ruth was allowed to glean during the barley harvest in the fields of Boaz, a rich kinsman of her mother-in-law's husband, who took notice of her and directed his servants to be generous to her. "So she kept fast by the maidens of Boaz to glean unto the end of barley harvest and of wheat harvest, and dwelt with her mother-in-law."

By the advice of Naomi Ruth went and modestly laid herself down at the feet of Boaz her kinsman, seeking an opportunity for intimating to him the claim she had upon him as the kinsman of her deceased husband. He acknowledged the right of a kinsman to her, but said that there was a nearer one whose title must first be disposed of. Having sent her away with six measures of barley, he called the next kinsman into judgment, who refused to assert his right by purchasing the reversion of Elimelech's estate. After this he proceeded to buy the inheritance himself, according to the legal forms of the time, and to marry Ruth. So Boaz espoused the widow of Elimelech's son who bare to him Obed, David's grandfather. A brief genealogy traces the line of David through Boaz, to Pharez son of Judah.

II. PLACE OF THE BOOK IN THE CANON.—Many believe that the book before us was originally connected with that of Judges, of which it formed an integral part, as much so as chaps. xvii.-xxi. But it cannot be shewn, with any probability, that it was as closely connected with Judges as these last chapters. It is likely that it was simply put after the Judges. Josephus

regards them as one book, the whole number of canonical books, twenty-two, requiring this mode of reckoning. Melito of Sardis testifies that the Jews of his day counted them together; Origen appeals to the tradition of the Jews in favour of the same fact; and in Jerome's day the prevailing reckoning proceeded on the same assumption, though some counted them separately. Such traditions do not reach up to a high antiquity. Nor is Jewish tradition unanimous on the point. In the Talmud indeed, Ruth occupies the first place among the Ktubim immediately before the Psalms. In Hebrew MSS. again, it stands among the five Megilloth, immediately following Canticles. Thus it was afterwards taken out of its original place, and now forms one of the twenty-four books into which the Old Testament has been divided by a constant Jewish tradition since the Talmudic time. The Septuagint translators reckon the book to that of Judges without a separate title. In modern times Luther restored it to its original place.

III. TIME OF THE EVENTS NARRATED.—As is stated in the first verse, the history of Ruth belongs to the time of the Judges and towards the conclusion of it; as is inferred from the genealogy at the close, according to which Obed, Ruth's son by Boaz, was grandfather of David. Thus Ruth lived about 100 years before her great descendant. With this general conclusion we are obliged to rest satisfied, being unable to obtain a more specific date. Some indeed have attempted to ascertain the time more nearly, among whom we may specify Ussher[1] and Hengstenberg;[2] but their reasoning is precarious. They bring the famine which caused Elimelech and Naomi to emigrate to the land of Moab, into connexien with the devastation of Palestine by the Midianites as far as Gaza, when no sustenance was left for Israel (Judg. vi. 1-4). This destruction is supposed to have been the cause of the famine mentioned in Ruth i. 1. The Midianites oppressed the land seven years (Judg. vi. 1), with which agrees the return of Naomi in about ten years (Ruth i. 4) to the district of Bethlehem yielding an abundant harvest, since a few years are necessary for the restoration of the soil long wasted. It is easy to see that such reasoning is uncertain. According to the history of Gideon, he had little connexion with the territory of Judah. The Midianite camp was in the plain of Jezreel; and though their hostile operations extended as far as Gaza, it is not implied that the district of Bethlehem came within the sphere of their ravages, since the way from the plain of Jezreel and Gaza does not lead over the mountains of Judah. Thus the occurrences of our

[1] Chronologia Sacra, pars i. cap. xii.
[2] Die Authentie des Pentateuches, vol. ii. pp. 111, 112.

book cannot well be brought into the time of Gideon, *i.e.*, about 175 years before the commencement of David's reign, but must belong to the period of the Philistine dominion, when either Abdon or Elon was judge. Josephus places the history of the book after Samson, when Eli was judge;[1] but this is too late, notwithstanding the observations of Welte in its favour.[2] The various opinions which refer it to Ehud, or Shamgar, or Barak, or Abimelek, or Ibzan are mere hypotheses. The genealogy in iv. 18-22 is incomplete. From Perez to David inclusive ten members of the series are given. Hence six members are wanting between Nahshon and Salmon, according to accounts in the historical books. From Perez to David was about 950 years. It is impossible to explain the reason of this imperfection in the genealogy. It may have been owing to the incomplete data at the writer's disposal as Eichhorn conjectures;[3] or to design, as Keil thinks,[4] it being usual in genealogical tables to mention only the principal persons. The former appears to us more probable. The object of the author plainly appears from the genealogy at the close, which is to throw light upon the origin of David the great king of Israel. As the history of that monarch is the centre of Israel's history, the sacred historians were careful to adduce whatever tended to place it in a more prominent view. Hence many things and persons are noticed which derive their significance only from their connexion with him. The book before us supplies a considerable gap in the accounts of David's ancestors furnished by the books of Samuel. Those accounts would be very incomplete without the narrative of Ruth. The book was written to exalt the royal house of David by presenting its origin in a clear and simple light. For though the maternal ancestor of it was a poor Moabitess belonging to a people hostile to Israel, yet she was counted worthy of being the progenitor of David himself, because of her firm confidence in the God of Israel to whom she turned from the heathenism of her people. If the writer had thought greatness to consist in outward splendour, he would not have chosen this subject. But he had evidently a higher and truer view, considering the honour of a royal house to lie more in the piety of its ancestors than their worldly preeminence. With these ideas of the author's object we cannot approve of the opinion of Bertholdt[5] and Benary,[6] as if the intention was to set forth in a beautiful family picture the obligation of the marriage-duties prescribed among the Hebrews, and the union thence arising. It will appear from what has

[1] Antiqq. v. 9, 1.
[2] Herbst's Einleitung, zweyter Theil, p. 133.
[3] Einleitung. vol. iii. p. 462.
[4] Einleit., p. 413, second edition.
[5] Einleitung, vol. v. p. 2357.
[6] De Hebraeorum Leviratu, page 30.

been advanced that we attach no weight to the doubts of Augusti and Bertholdt respecting the genealogy at the close of the book. There is no proper reason for thinking that an interpolator began with the words "he is the father of Jesse, the father of David" (iv. 17).

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.—It is difficult to discover the time when the book was written and the person who composed it. In his day the Israelites must have had kings, for this is implied in the commencing words: "now it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled." And as David is mentioned, it cannot have been before him. It is true that he is not called *king*, and therefore it might be supposed that it was composed before he came to the throne. In that case it might be assumed with some of the older critics, that Samuel or Eli was the writer; though there is little probability in believing that the latter survived David's birth. There can be no doubt that the writer lived after David: and the only point of difficulty is to define *how long*. That it was a considerable time after may be inferred from the following considerations:—

(*a*) In former times in Israel it was a custom in redeeming and changing property for a man to take off his shoe and give it to his neighbour, in ratification of the transaction (iv. 7, 8). This is explained by the writer in such a manner as shews that it had gone out of use in his day. Hence a considerable time must have elapsed between the transaction and its record. Such civil usages are generally laid aside by degrees; and the author must have felt that his contemporaries could not have understood the matter without an explanation.

It has been affirmed by Palfrey that the writer seems to have misinterpreted a provision of the law respecting the rights and liabilities of the nearest kinsman of an Israelite deceased, whence the critic infers either that he lived at a time when that rule had gone into disuse, or that, not professing to write history, he did not feel bound to be precise in his statement of legal requisitions.[1] This assertion is based on a comparison of Ruth iii. 13, iv. 5, with Deut. xxv. 5, 6, where the obligation to marry the widow of an Israelite dying childless is made to rest on his surviving brother, not on a more distant relative. But the law of Levirate in xxv. 5-10, does not apply here; since neither the next kinsman, nor Boaz, was the brother of Ruth's deceased husband. Hence Boaz marries Ruth not as a brother-in-law but a *Goel*: he *redeems* her. It was an ancient institution in the Israelite State that the patrimony should continue in the family. If the possessor was obliged to sell it through poverty,

[1] Academical Lectures, vol. ii. p. 206.

the nearest relation was to redeem it (Lev. xxv. 25); and the present book shews that if he refused, the right of redemption passed to the next kinsman after him. We also learn from the fourth chapter that it was the duty of him who redeemed the property to marry the widow in order "to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren." There is no contrariety between the provisions of the Mosaic law and the statements of the book. All that can be inferred is, that additional information is given respecting the redemption of land and the levirate. But whether the regulations which we learn from Ruth belonged to the original statutes, or arose out of them by an extension of their conditions in process of time, it is impossible to tell. One thing is certain, that nothing in Ruth is opposed to the idea of a more distant relative than the brother of a deceased man marrying the widow and raising up an heir by virtue of the law under which he lived.

(*b*) The object for which the book was written agrees best with a late date. If it was to do honour to David, he must have already attained pre-eminence in the nation's theocratic history. The importance of his person and influence was generally recognised. The glory of his kingdom was established on a permanent basis, which could not be impaired by the poverty of any ancestor, nor the odiousness of her race. On the contrary, that glory would rather be heightened in contrast with the humble origin of a female progenitor, provided she were a God-fearing and virtuous woman.

(*c*) The language is of a late and partly Chaldaising type. We admit that this feature is not very marked; but the traces of a late period are discernible. Why they are not more apparent can be accounted for from the *not very* late date. Examples are לָהֶן i. 13, occurring once in Job (xxx. 24) but a Chaldaism; עָגַן i. 13; קַיֵּם iv. 7; מָרָא with the feminine termination in א i. 20. Though the last two examples are occasionally found in earlier works, their occurrence here in the connexion is significant. מַרְגְּלוֹת iii. 7, 8, 14; עָנָה בְּ i. 21; מִקְרֶה ii. 3; נָשָׂא נָשִׁים i. 4. Such forms as תַּעֲשִׂין iii. 4; תִּדְבָּקִין ii. 8; תֵּדְעִין iii. 18; שַׂמְתִּי, יָרַדְתִּי iii. 3; שָׁכַבְתִּי iii. 4; תַּעֲבוּרִי ii. 8; פְּלֹנִי אַלְמֹנִי iv. 1, appear in other and earlier books; but their *frequency* here betrays the later period of the language.

In reply to this it has been urged by Hävernick[1] and Keil[2] that these forms belong either to the older state of the language

[1] Einleit. II. i. p. 117.

[2] Einleitung, pp. 415, 416.

and are therefore genuine archaisms: or they are taken from the diction of common life. They occur only in the discourses of the persons introduced as speaking; not in such parts as contain the writer's own narrative. By thus separating what is put into the mouths of the speakers from the author's own language, it is inferred that the one is strictly in character with the time of the judges when the events of the book occurred; while the other is pure Hebrew diction, free from Chaldaisms. We cannot assent to this line of argument. If indeed it could be shewn that the writer of the book is a compiler who closely follows written sources, the separation might be a plausible thing; but there is not a trace of his having been dependent on written memoirs. On the contrary, he evinces his own idiosyncracy. All therefore that can be said in favour of any distinction between the speeches and the narrative into which they are interwoven is, that the writer has skilfully adapted the discourses to their originals. But indeed the forms are not archaisms properly so called. It is their *frequency* that strikes the reader. The latter circumstance is sufficient to stamp them as marks of a later period when they began to *characterise* the language—a fact which cannot be predicated of them where they occur before. We rely therefore on the Chaldaisms and other peculiarities already adduced as *valid* examples, not incorrect specimens of late forms. And any attempt to distinguish the style of the speeches from that of the narrative is of the same kind as one that should separate the diction of the speakers in Thucydides from that of his own narrative. The view of Keil is *substantially* the same as that proposed by Dereser, who discovered in the peculiarities of diction and deviations from grammatical rules the remains of the usual Bethlehemite pronunciation of Hebrew, *i.e.*, provincialisms or idiotisms.[1] Augusti agreed with him. But Sanctius looked upon the peculiar forms as Moabitisms,[2] because he assumed a contemporary writing of the history from the mouth of Naomi, who had lost the purity of her mother tongue during her sojourn among the Moabites. This is baseless conjecture.

(*d*) The language agrees in part with that of some other books. The writer however can hardly be said to borrow from or make use of them, as Bertheau argues.[3] Thus the formula used in swearing, כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה *thus shall do*, etc., i. 17, occurs only in the books of Samuel and Kings; וַתֹּהֶם כָּל הָעִיר i. 19, comp. 1 Kings i. 45; גָּלָה אֶת־אׇזֶן iv. 4, comp. 1 Sam. xxii. 8, 17;

[1] Das Buchlein Ruth, ein Gemaelde häuslicher Tugend, 1806.
[2] Commentar. in Ruth. Esr. Nehem. Tob. etc. Prolegomena iv.
[3] Das Buch der Richter und Rut, p. 237.

2 Sam. vii. 27; iv. 15, comp. 1 Sam. i. 8. Perhaps an acquaintance with the book of Job may be seen in i. 20, 21, where the language is poetical, compared with Job xxvii. 2. Ewald also thinks[1] that the mere appellation שַׁדַּי abbreviated from אֵל שַׁדַּי became possible by the great example of Job; to which it is no answer, when Keil says[2] that the same word was already used by Jacob (Gen. xlix. 25), and Balaam (Num. xxiv. 4, 16), unless he can shew that the respective prophecies in their present form really proceeded from the two individuals, or were written before the book of Job.

In consequence of the similarity existing between the language of the books of Samuel and that of Ruth in various respects, especially in certain forms already specified, Pareau[3] thought that both were written by the same person. But this is a hasty inference, and is more than outweighed by diversities of a different kind. There is in Ruth a want of the prophetic tone and manner. Events are not looked at in their connexion as cause and effect. The theocratic aspect is not prominent. All the resemblance that exists is so partial as to prove neither *imitation* nor *use* of the books of Samuel and Kings on the part of the writer of Ruth, nor identity of authorship. On the whole we feel that the argument founded on language has been pressed to an undue extent by various critics. All that it appears to shew in reality is, that the time of composition was *comparatively* late, when the diction was becoming more and more Aramaeising. It does not evince so late a period as the Babylonish exile.

(*e*) The book appears to have preceded Deuteronomy in which (xxv. 5–10) the levirate is prescribed by law. Here it is spoken of in a way to imply that it rested upon custom, not law.

(*f*) According to Bleek[4] the point of view assumed toward neighbouring peoples is not that which arose after Judah had been engaged in severe struggles with them. A mild tone towards them is apparent in the book; so much so that Dereser thought one design of the writer was to censure Jewish aversion to foreigners. This argument on behalf of an early date is precarious.

The result of the most searching examination points to the time of Hezekiah as that in which the writer lived. He preceded the exile. Marriage with a foreigner or Moabitess was looked upon as illegal and objectionable at the time of the captivity (see Ezra ix. 1, etc.; Neh. xiii. 1–3, 23–27); and the book contains no trace of the offensiveness of Ruth's descent,

[1] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. pp. 206, 207, second edition.
[2] Einleitung, pp. 415, 416.
[3] Institutio interpretis, etc. p. 144.
[4] Einleitung, pp. 354, 355.

nor the slightest apologetic design. This argument is of weight against an authorship so late as the exile. If there is little reason for regarding the author of the books of Samuel as the writer, there is still less for identifying the latter with the author of Joshua. This, however, is the hypothesis of Abarbanel and Sebastian Schmidt. Others fixed upon Hezekiah, and others Ezra. The writer cannot be known; and it may be safely said that he was different from every other whose writings appear in the Hebrew canon. According to the conjecture of Ewald,[1] approved of by Bertheau, Ruth originally belonged to a larger work; but was taken by the final redactor of the books of Samuel and Kings, and incoporated in a more suitable place, viz., after Judges and before Samuel. We find nothing to warrant the supposition of its having belonged to a larger work till the redactor of the so-called earlier prophets who lived towards the close of the exile, took it and prefixed it to Samuel. This is very different from the view of Herzfeld,[2] who thinks that the original writer of Samuel found it already existing, and attached his own work to it. He therefore dates the composition of Ruth soon after David.

V. NATURE OF THE HISTORY.—It has sometimes been thought that a fictitious narrative rather than real history is presented in the book. So Bertholdt reasons;[3] and Palfrey is inclined to the same opinion.[4] The former appeals to the symbolical character of most of the names of persons, such as Naomi (my pleasure), etc., etc.; in reply to which it may be said that the symbolical character of most of the names is not apparent. Thus that of Boaz does not appear. The same critic appeals to the circumstance that the writer has once forgotten himself in making Naomi with her husband and two sons leave their inheritance through hunger and poverty and go to the land of Moab; while he puts into her lips after her return, "I went out full; and the Lord hath brought me home again empty" (i. 21). Here, however, there is no contradiction; for the *fulness* and *emptiness* relate to her husband and two sons not *to property* as Bertholdt supposes. We see no good reason for resorting to the idea of a fictitious history, but very much against it. The writer meant to present true history, the materials of which he derived from tradition. And these historical materials are employed with freedom and originality. The quiet picture of private life among the Hebrews is eminently attractive. The author possessing a peculiar power of description, and animated with a poetic spirit, has succeeded in constructing a pic-

[1] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 213.
[2] Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i. p. 288.
[3] Einleitung, vol. v. p. 2342 et seqq. [4] Academical Lectures, vol. ii. p. 206.

turesque narrative. Careful research is apparent, especially in iv. 7. He was a learned man, familiar with the historical and poetical literature of his nation. And he had the gift of appropriating all that was pertinent to his purpose in an original way, as is observable in the artificial arrangement of the story, the form in which it is set forth, the spirit which breathes throughout it, the masterly delineation of character, and the purity of language. So complete and beautiful is the entire portraiture, that the substance of the story is less considered by the reader than the delineation itself. There is a mixture of the learned and the artistic, which throws a peculiar charm over the piece, and distinguishes it from all others. How nice must have been the writer's perception of moral purity! How much alive he was to a sense of the beautiful in virtue! And what ability he had to reanimate an ancient tradition, and form it into an attractive picture! With plastic skill he clothes it with flesh and blood, so that universal humanity admires.

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

I. CONTENTS.—The contents of these books may be divided into three parts as follows :—

1. The history of Samuel's judicial and prophetic administration (1 Sam. i.–xii.).

2. The history of Saul's reign from its commencement till his death (1 Sam. xiii.-xxxi.).

3. The history of the reign of David (2 Sam. i.-xxiv.).

The first book opens with an account of the miraculous circumstances attending the birth of Samuel. Elkanah, a Levite of mount Ephraim, had come according to his custom to sacrifice in the tabernacle at Shiloh, accompanied by his two wives, of whom the most beloved was Hannah. But she was barren, and wept sore on that account, praying to the Lord and making a vow that if a son should be given her she would devote him to the Lord according to the rites of a Nazarite. Eli the priest misinterpreting the symptoms of her emotion rebuked, but afterwards dismissed her with a blessing to her home. Hannah having borne a son whom she called Samuel, remained at home till he was weaned, and then brought him to Shiloh to be there dedicated to the service of the tabernacle. The thankfulness of her heart was poured forth in a song of praise. In consequence of the extortion and wickedness of Eli's sons, who were associated with him in the priestly office, the people were disgusted, and would not bring the required offerings. The reproofs of their aged father were unavailing. Accordingly a divine messenger came to him, setting forth the profligacy of his sons, predicting their sudden death, the future removal of his family from the priesthood, with their poverty and obscurity. This admonition was succeeded by another addressed to Samuel, as he lay in sleep within the precincts of the tabernacle. The Lord himself called Samuel, and announced to him the destruction of Eli's house. This communication was made known to the high priest, though reluctantly, by Samuel, who was thence-

forward regarded by all Israel as a prophet of the Lord (chap. i.-iii.).

In a war between the Israelites and Philistines the former were defeated at Ebenezer; and therefore the elders of the people proposed that the ark of the covenant should be brought into the camp out of Shiloh, as a safe-guard against future disaster. It was brought accordingly, Eli's two sons accompanying it. But though the Philistines were for a moment afraid of it, they soon recovered their spirits, attacked the Israelites, slew 30,000 footmen of their number, among whom were Eli's sons, and took the ark. A messenger ran to Eli with the news as he sat anxiously watching; and when they were communicated, the old man fell from his seat backward, "his neck brake and he died." When the intelligence was carried to his daughter-in-law, Phinehas's wife, she was seized with premature labour, and died in giving birth to a child whom she named Ichabod, because the glory had departed from Israel when the ark of the Lord was taken.

The ark was brought to Ashdod, into the temple of the Philistine god Dagon, before whom it was set down. But the image fell and was broken in the immediate presence of Jehovah. The men of Ashdod were also smitten with emerods. So were the inhabitants of Gath, after the ark had been carried to their city. So too with the Ekronites, when it was brought to them. At the end of seven months after its capture, arrangements were made for sending it back, according to the advice of the priests and diviners, with a trespass-offering. Accordingly five golden emerods, and five golden mice according to the number of the lords of the Philistines, were put into a coffer, and stored with the ark in a new cart drawn by two milch kine. The kine, left to themselves, took the straight way to Beth-shemesh, followed by the lords of the Philistines. It was the time of wheat harvest, and the reapers rejoiced to see the ark. After the cart had come into the field of Joshua, the wood of it was cleft and the kine offered up as a burnt-offering. The Levites took down the ark and the coffer with it. For the people's profane curiosity in looking into the ark, fifty thousand and seventy of them were smitten by the Lord. Terrified by such a calamity, the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh sent to Kirjath-jearim requesting the people of that place to take charge of the ark, whither it was transferred. It remained there twenty years.

In consequence of Samuel's expostulations with the people for their idolatrous practices, they assembled at Mizpeh, and kept a solemn fast in token of their repentance. But the Philistines hearing of it prepared to attack them, and they were afraid, asking Samuel to intercede with the Lord on their behalf; which

he did by offering up a burnt-offering and prayers for their deliverance. As the Philistines approached to battle, the Lord thundered greatly and discomfited them, so that they were smitten before Israel; and, in commemoration of the event, Samuel set up a great stone, calling it Ebenezer. So completely were the Philistines now subdued, that the cities they had taken were restored to Israel, from Ekron as far as Gath (iv.-vii.).

After peace had been concluded between Israel and the Amorites, so that the Philistines came no more into the coasts of the former, Samuel was occupied with the duties of a ruler, and was accustomed to visit every year in circuit three cities of the country. His home was at Ramah, where he built an altar to the Lord. In his old age he associated his sons with himself in the administration of justice. But their corrupt practices occasioned discontent; and therefore the elders of Israel came to him and asked for a king. In his grief he prayed to God, who instructed him to yield to their request, but yet to protest solemnly and shew them what they were about to bring upon themselves under the kingly office. He told them the words of the Lord, and described the nature of the despotism by which they would find themselves burdened. As they persisted in the desire, he was divinely directed to yield, and take measures for procuring them a king.

At this time there was a Benjamite named Kish who had a son Saul, distinguished above all his contemporaries by the height of his stature. The young man having been sent to search for his father's lost asses, and having passed through various districts without finding them, was advised by the servant who accompanied him to visit the city where "a man of God" dwelt, that he might shew them the way. As they went to find him they met some maidens, who informed them that the seer was about to celebrate a great festival. Making haste they met Samuel, who had been instructed the day before, that he should see the future king of Israel; and who, as soon as he saw him, was divinely apprised of the person. Having been entertained by Samuel at the feast, where he was introduced to the principal persons, he went with him to his house where they had secret communication; and early next morning was accompanied out of the city by the prophet, who, ordering the servant to be sent forward that they might be alone, poured the anointing oil on his head, and thus solemnly inducted him into the kingly office. At the same time he satisfied his mind by predicting three "signs"—viz., that at a specified place he should meet two men who would inform him that his father's asses were found; that he should afterwards meet three others carrying different kinds of provisions, of which they would offer him

part; and that subsequently, when coming near a garrison of the Philistines, he would fall in with a company of prophets with various musical instruments, and prophesying, when the Spirit of the Lord should come upon him and he should prophesy with them. Immediately after he was to proceed to Gilgal, and wait seven days for Samuel. After the occurrence of the last sign the people said one to another, "What is this that is come unto the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets? . . . . . Therefore it became a proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets.'" In reply to his uncle inquiring of him what Samuel did, he told him of the recovery of the asses, but concealed the matter of the kingdom. At Mizpeh, Samuel called the people together about their proposal for a king; and having represented their disloyalty to God in the matter, proceeded to have one chosen by lot. First the tribe of Benjamin was taken from among the rest. Then from it was selected the family of Matri. Then Saul was taken from that family. But Saul was absent, and when sought could not be found. They therefore inquired of the Lord if he should come, and were divinely directed to his hiding-place. Accordingly they ran and brought him forth; while Samuel called attention to his stature, and they shouted, "God save the King." Before they dispersed, it is said that the prophet explained to the people the constitution under which they were about to live, and wrote the substance of his exposition in a book, which was "laid up before the Lord." Saul went home to Gibeah, accompanied by a band of loyal subjects; while others expressed discontent, of whom he took no notice.

The king of the Ammonites having laid siege to Jabesh-Gilead, the inhabitants proposed that he should name the condition on which they might submit to them. He mentioned the loss of every man's right eye, for a reproach upon all Israel. This was agreed to by them, provided they could get no aid to save them at the end of seven days. The tidings reached Saul as he came after the herd out of the field, and immediately he cut a yoke of oxen in pieces and sent them in all directions, with a threat that whoever would not join him and Samuel in arms should be so treated. 300,000 assembled; and the men of Judah were 30,000. He sent to assure the city of relief; and on the morning of the seventh day, the day appointed for the infliction of the cruelty, Saul fell upon the Ammonites and defeated them. The people now wished to take vengeance on those who had expressed discontent at his elevation; but he would not allow it. Now appeared the favourable moment for confirming the authority of the new king; and therefore Samuel summoned the people to Gilgal to renew the kingdom there. This was

done with sacrifices of peace-offerings before the Lord. In formally resigning his authority, he called upon them to witness his integrity and disinterestedness, recounted the chief favours shewn them by Jehovah, for which however they had proved ungrateful by wishing to have another ruler, and exhorted them to obedience. In order to make a suitable impression on them, he invoked the Lord who sent thunder and rain that day, by which they were terrified. But Samuel comforted them by the assurance that God's mercy would not be withheld, if they served him with all their heart (viii.-xii.).

After a time, Saul chose a band of warriors against the Philistines; and Jonathan at the head of another smote a Philistine garrison at Geba. This became the signal for a general war. But when the Israelites became aware of the Philistine host they were afraid. Saul, however, was in Gilgal with a trembling array of followers, waiting for Samuel's appointed coming. Weary of delay, the monarch proceeded to offer sacrifice to the Lord in the prophet's absence. The solemnity was no sooner past than Samuel arrived, who reproved Saul's rashness, and assured him that as a punishment his kingdom should not continue, but that the Lord had chosen another in his stead. The Philistines proceeded in three bands to spoil the territory of Israel, having had the policy to allow no smith to remain among their enemies; so that none of the people with Saul and Jonathan had either sword or spear.

Without his father's knowledge, accompanied by his armour-bearer only, Jonathan went against a Philistine garrison. The two having agreed upon a sign as to the favourableness or not of their adventure, were divinely encouraged to go up to the Philistines, on whom they at once fell, and slew about twenty men. This was succeeded by a sudden terror among all the people, who ran hither and thither in dismay. Saul and his party looking on from a distance, and inquiring who were missing from their camp, ascertained the absence of Jonathan and his armour-bearer. The king told the priest to bring the ark of God; but while talking with him, the noise in the Philistine host increased, so that he could no longer restrain himself but attacked the enemy and put them to flight. Yet the Israelites were distressed because Saul had pronounced a curse upon any one who should taste food till the evening. Ignorant of this, Jonathan had tasted a little wild honey as he passed through a wood. The people, faint with their exertions, killed the animals they took, and ate them with the blood—an offence reproved by the king as soon as he heard of it. At evening when Saul inquired of God whether he should continue the pursuit of the Philistines, he received no answer. Convinced

that this was owing to some sin of the people, he took means to find out the transgressor, and the lot fell upon Jonathan, who, confessing what he had done, was adjudged to death by the father, but rescued by the people. After this there is a brief statement of various successes which Saul obtained over the enemies of Israel on the different frontiers, and of the names of his family (xiii., xiv.).

Samuel had told Saul to make an utter destruction of Amalek. The latter therefore came to a city of Amalek, with an army of 210,000; and after sending away the Kenites lest they should be slain with the Amalekites he smote the enemy, but spared Agag the king and the best of the spoil. Then came a divine message to Samuel for Saul, with which the prophet was much distressed. He went to Gilgal to the king who, on seeing the prophet, began to commend himself and to excuse the sparing of the Amalekite flocks and herds on the ground that he meant to offer a great sacrifice to Jehovah. But the indignant Samuel announced Saul's rejection from being king over Israel, because of this disobedience to the divine will; on which Saul humbled himself and requested him to unite with him in an act of public worship, which he did accordingly. Having slain Agag with his own hand, the prophet went to his house at Ramah and came no more to Saul till the day of his death.

After this Samuel was sent by God to Bethlehem to the house of one Jesse, where a king had been provided among Jesse's sons. Under pretence of sacrificing he arrived accordingly, and invited Jesse with his sons to the sacrifice. The different sons passed in review before the prophet, but none of them received the divine sanction till David was sent for, whom the Lord directed Samuel to anoint. The introduction of the anointed youth to the king soon followed. The latter was troubled with an evil spirit, and was recommended to try the power of music to drive away his gloom. One of the servants mentioned David, a skilful player, and in other respects accomplished, as a suitable attendant on the royal person. Hence he was sent for and quieted the evil spirit (xv., xvi.).

The next chapter again brings before us the Philistines as prepared to attack the Israelites in battle, and the latter marshalled against them. A champion of immense size, and wearing heavy armour, went forth proudly to challenge a combat between himself and any Israelite. This challenge terrified Saul and all the Israelites; but was accepted by David, who had been sent by his father to visit his brothers at the camp, and carry them a supply of provisions. In spite of his brethren's remonstrance, and with the consent of the people, David professed his willingness to meet the Philistine; was sent

for by Saul, to whom he related the grounds of his confidence; and received the royal permission to undertake the service. Declining the king's armour because he had not proved it, he took nothing but a staff and sling, and five smooth stones. After some words of contempt on the one hand, and trustful confidence in the God of Israel on the other, had passed between the combatants, David smote his adversary with a stone from his sling, cut off his head with the giant's own sword, and carried it as a trophy to Jerusalem, but deposited his armour in his father's house. As soon as the Philistine champion was dead, the Israelites attacked the enemy and utterly routed them. Saul inquired of Abner the parentage of the youth; but he could not tell and was sent himself to ask. From that day David was kept in the palace, and returned no more to his father's house (xvii.).

A close friendship grew up between Jonathan and David; but the latter became an object of jealousy and envy to Saul, because the popular voice ascribed the late victory to the young man rather than himself. In his fits of ill temper the king made two different attempts on the life of David, who was soon after removed from attendance on the royal person and made captain over a thousand men. Wishing for his destruction by the hand of the Philistines, Saul offered him his eldest daughter in marriage if he would fight the Lord's battles. But the promise was violated, and she was given to another. Michal, another daughter, was then offered as a snare to him, on condition of his fulfilling a severe task; which however he accomplished twofold, and received the king's daughter in marriage. Yet Saul hated him in proportion as his reputation increased, and did not shrink from another attempt on his life; though Jonathan had spoken in favour of his friend and effected a temporary reconciliation. Irritated by David's success in a new war against the Philistines, the rage of Saul broke forth against him, and vented itself in throwing a javelin at him, which he fortunately escaped. The king afterwards surrounded his house with assassins; but by Michal's contrivance her husband got away safe. Thus pursued David went to Samuel at Ramah; and on Saul's sending messengers thither to take him, as they approached Samuel and his company of prophets, the spirit of prophecy seized them. A second and a third party having been despatched on the same business were similarly affected. At last Saul himself went to Naioth in Ramah, and he too prophesied. He even stripped off his clothes and prophesied before Samuel, lying naked all that day and night. Hunted in this manner by the king and his emissaries, David went to Jonathan for counsel respecting his safety. After the two friends had conferred together

and bound themselves by covenant to mutual fidelity, Jonathan undertook to inform him of the intentions of his father by one or another direction given to his servant, which David should hear from a place of concealment. On the first day of the feast of the new moon the king noticed David's place empty, but said nothing. On the second he inquired of Jonathan the cause of his absence, and was so angry at his answer as to seek to kill him with a javelin. So Jonathan left the table, and went to seek David to give him the sign agreed upon. The two friends had an interview, and parted with protestations of constant friendship (xviii., xix., xx.).

David now betook himself to Nob to the priest Ahimelech, to whom he pretended that the king had sent him on some secret business, and of whom he asked food. Ahimelech handed to him some stale shew-bread, having none other. In reply to his request for alms, the priest brought forth Goliath's sword and offered it, which he took. Flying to Achish king of Gath, he feigned madness, whence he retired to the cave of Adullam, and gathered around him a band of four hundred men whose characters were generally bad. We find him next in the country of the Moabites, from whose king he asked protection for his parents till he should know what to do; and lastly he came to the forest of Hareth in Judah, by the advice of the prophet Gad. But Saul went in pursuit, giving vent to his rage in reproaching his son for aiding the traitorous designs of David, and asking his Benjamite followers if they were likely to fare as well under the son of Jesse as under himself. Then Doeg, who was set over the king's servants, told him of all that had recently transpired between Ahimelech priest of Nob and David, of which he had been an eye-witness; therefore Ahimelech and all the priests of Nob were summoned into the royal presence, and inhumanly butchered by Doeg, at the king's command. All that were in Nob—men, women, children and babes, with the irrational animals—were put to the sword. But Abiathar, one of Ahimelech's son's, escaped and fled to David, whom he informed of the massacre (xxi., xxii.).

Hearing of a marauding expedition of the Philistines against Keilah, David inquired of the Lord whether he should proceed against the enemy at the head of his party, and received an affirmative answer. As his men were reluctant to go he asked a second time, and received the same reply. So he fought with and routed the Philistines, saving by his timely succour the inhabitants of Keilah. Here he was joined by the priest Abiathar. Intelligence being brought to Saul that his enemy was at Keilah, he followed him thither with an army. But David had received, through Abiathar, divine in-

struction respecting the treachery of the Keilites, escaped from the place, and remained in a mountain in the wilderness of Ziph. Here Jonathan had another private interview with him, and comforted him. But the Ziphites discovered his retreat to Saul who went forth in search of him till he abandoned the pursuit in consequence of a report of a Philistine invasion. Returning after a time, and hearing that David was in the wilderness of Engedi, he took 3,000 chosen men and came up with him. Entering alone into a cave where David and his men had hid themselves, Saul might have been slain, especially as those men advised it; but their leader merely cut off in secret the skirt of the king's robe—an act for which he immediately reproached himself. After Saul had left the cave, David went forth and cried to him, shewing how completely he had been in his power, and how unreasonable was his hostility to the innocent. Saul acknowledged his fault, expressed his belief that David should be king, exacted an oath of him that the royal seed should not be cut off, and went home, leaving David and his men in their stronghold (xxiii. xxiv.).

About this time Samuel died, greatly lamented by all Israel. David having come into the wilderness of Paran, applied for supplies to Nabal, a rich but churlish proprietor. As his messengers received a contemptuous denial, he prepared to take revenge, at the head of 400 men. Nabal's wife, Abigail, having received intelligence of the matter, set out to meet him and propitiated his favour with a liberal present. By her discreet conduct, she averted the threatened attack, and, returning home, told her husband what she had done. The effect of the information upon him was that he died in a few days; on which David sent for Abigail to be his wife. He also married Ahinoam of Jezreel, since Michal had been given to another man by her father.

Again did the Ziphites discover to Saul the hiding-place of David, and again did the king set out to find him, at the head of 3,000 men. But David received intelligence of his coming from spies, and surprised him asleep one night, with his host encamped about him. Having taken the spear and cruise of water from the king's bolster, he and Abishai who had accompanied him, went away unnoticed by any, stood on the top of a hill on the opposite side, and cried to Abner the captain of the royal host, reproving him for his carelessness in guarding his master. David then proceeded to expostulate with Saul for his unworthy hostility, on which the latter acknowledged his sin, promised to do him no more harm, and blessed him as about to attain a high position (xxv., xxvi.).

The next account of David is that he passed over with 600

men to Achish king of Gath, and dwelt in that Philistine city with his two wives—Saul seeking no more for him. In answer to his request for a dwelling-place to himself, Achish gave him Ziklag, where he and his men abode a year and four months. But he did not long remain inactive there, for he invaded different tribes, leaving neither man nor woman alive in them; and pretended to Achish that he had fought against Judah. In order to avoid detection he saved neither man nor woman, lest they should bring tidings of the truth to Gath. Achish believing David, had confidence in him, thinking him a powerful aid (xxvii.).

The Philistines now mustered an army, and Saul gathered all Israel together against them. But he was afraid of the enemy, and inquired of the Lord, from whom he received no answer. In this extremity he had recourse to a witch at Endor, to whom he repaired by night in disguise, accompanied by two servants. On the woman being required "to bring up" the person her visitor should name, she spoke of the imminent peril incurred by all persons like herself, because the king had recently destroyed all wizards and witches. Hence she received a solemn assurance of impunity. Thus encouraged, she raised up Samuel the person required. As Saul terrified with the woman's representations stooped with his face to the ground and bowed himself, Samuel announced to him his impending defeat and death. On hearing the fatal tidings he fainted, and was scarcely prevailed upon by his attendants and the woman to take food; after which he returned that night to his camp (xxviii.).

David and his men marching with the Philistines, were suspected by the princes of the Philistines of unfaithfulness, though Achish was fully satisfied. Yet the latter thought it best to yield to their opinion and tell David it was best he should depart, to avoid the displeasure of the lords. He was therefore sent away by the king of Gath with commendations of his fidelity, and thus unexpectedly freed from a trying situation between the conflicting claims of patriotism and private gratitude. Early in the morning David and his men returned into the land of the Philistines. On arriving at Ziklag, it was found that the Amalekites had burnt the city with fire, carrying off the women and children. At this David and his people were greatly distressed. But on asking divine direction through Abiathar the priest, and receiving a favourable answer, he pursued the marauders, came to the brook Besor where 200 were so faint that they could not cross, and, on overtaking an Egyptian servant who had been left sick by the Amalekites, was guided by him to the spoilers, who were spread abroad over the ground, eating, drinking, and dancing. David smote them with a great

slaughter, only 400 escaping on camels; recovered all they had taken, and rescued his two wives. Returning to the place where the 200 had been left, the worthless part of his followers wished to deprive them of any share in the spoil; but he overruled the injustice by deciding that the spoil should be equally divided between them that fought and them that kept the stuff. After returning to Ziklag, David sent presents of the spoil to the elders of Judah and to his friends in different places (xxx).

The history now returns to Saul and his fortunes. The Philistines followed hard in battle upon him and his sons as they fled before the enemy. Having been wounded by an arrow, the king asked his armour-bearer to kill him lest he should fall into the hands of the uncircumcised. The armour-bearer refused; and therefore he fell upon his own sword. Thus he and his three sons died on that day. The Philistines coming next day to strip the slain, cut off Saul's head and took his armour, which they put in the house of their god Ashtaroth, and fastened his body to a wall. But the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, hearing of the treatment his lifeless remains received, recovered the bodies of himself and his sons by night, brought them back to Jabesh, burnt them, and buried the bones under a tree (xxxi.).

David had been three days at his abode at Ziklag, after the slaughter of the Amalekites, when one of that race came to him with the royal crown and bracelet, relating the catastrophe of Gilboa and the death of Saul, whom he said he himself had slain at the king's own desire. When David had ordered an attendant to put the messenger of such tidings to death, because he had been so presumptuous as to slay the Lord's anointed, he made a pathetic elegy on the death of Saul and Jonathan, and directed it to be taught the children of Judah (2 Sam. i. 1–27).

After this, David went by divine direction to Hebron, where the men of Judah came and anointed him king; of which fact he made the men of Jabesh-gilead aware in a friendly message, commending them for their decent burial of Saul (ii. 1–7). But Abner, cousin and chief military commander of Saul, had taken Ishbosheth to Mahanaim and made him king over Israel. The narrative proceeds to relate, that Abner and the servants of Ishbosheth met Joab and David's servants at the pool of Gibeon, where a mortal skirmish took place between twelve champions on each side, all of whom fell by one another's hand. This was but the prelude to a general engagement, in which Ishbosheth was defeated. Asahel was slain by Abner. At the instigation of the latter, Joab, who had pursued him, sounded a retreat. The

chapter concludes with an account of the slain on both sides, and the burial of Asahel in Bethlehem (ii. 8–32).

In the course of the war, David became stronger, and the house of Saul weaker. Abner, displeased with Ishbosheth, made overtures to David respecting the transfer of the kingdom to him. These were favourably entertained, and a scheme for an interview was laid. But the king required from Ishbosheth the restoration of Michal, who was therefore taken from her husband and escorted to the court of David, Abner being one of the attendants. By this means Abner, who had conferred with the Israelites respecting David, obtained an interview with the monarch at Hebron, and was hospitably entertained (iii. 1–21). Abner had not long departed, when Joab, at the head of a plundering party, returned, and was informed of what had taken place. Afraid of a rival, he went and attempted to insinuate suspicions of treachery into the mind of David; sent messengers privately after Abner to allure him back, and deceitfully murdered him at Hebron, alleging that Asahel's death was the cause. When the king heard of it, he cursed Joab and all his father's house, ordered a general mourning for the dead, followed the bier himself, wept at the grave, and fasted till the setting of the sun. There is no reason for doubting the sincerity of David's sorrow on this occasion, though it was somewhat ostentatiously expressed. It was necessary to shew that the deed had been done contrary to his will (iii. 22–39).

The fourth chapter describes the murder of Ishbosheth, whose cause had become hopeless after Abner's death. Two of his captains came into his chamber as he lay on his bed about noon and cut off his head, which they carried to David at Hebron; who ordered them to be slain, in token of his disapproval of the act, and the head to be honourably interred. To shew the wretched and unprotected state of Saul's house, a notice is prefixed to the account of Ishbosheth's murder, that the only male belonging to it was Mephibosheth, a lame man, who had when a child been accidentally let fall in the hurry of flight by his nurse, after the news at Jezreel (iv. 1–12).

All the tribes of Israel now came to David to Hebron, to profess allegiance to him and anoint him king. Thus he became monarch over all Israel and Judah, after having reigned over Judah alone seven years and a half. As it was proper that his court should have a more central seat than Hebron, Jerusalem was fixed on as the future capital. He therefore took by assault the stronghold of Zion from the Jebusites, dwelt in the fort, and called it the city of David. Then Hiram, king of Tyre, sent workmen and materials to the king, for building his palace. So he was firmly established, and all his affairs

prospered. It is added that he increased his establishment by taking more wives and concubines; and children were multiplied in his house (v. 1–16). Two signal victories over the Philistines are next recorded, which happened at Baal-perazim and Rephaim (17–25).

David now proceeded to fetch the ark from Kirjath-jearim, where it had been for twenty years in the house of Abinadab. It is not said, as some have supposed, that he took to him on this occasion, all the chosen men of Israel, 30,000; for the first verse of the sixth chapter is merely an independent notice of his standing army being increased to that number. The ark was set on a new cart and attended by the two sons of Abinadab, one of whom at a certain place put forth his hand to steady it, as it shook with the motion of the oxen; for which presumptuous act he was smitten dead on the spot. Alarmed at this sudden interposition of almighty vengeance, David had the ark taken aside to the house of Obed-edom of Gath, where it remained for three months. Having heard of the prosperity its presence had brought to that family, he went and brought it to Jerusalem, dancing before it in the attire of a minstrel. Michal witnessing such behaviour on the part of her husband from a window, despised him in her heart. When the ark was brought in, and set in its place, in the tabernacle prepared for it, burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were presented, and a magnificent present was distributed among all the people. Michal coming out to meet the king reproved him for the indecent exposure of his person, to whom he replied that his conduct was the expression of pious gratitude. It is stated that Michal was punished with childlessness till the day of her death (vi. 1–23).

The seventh chapter commences with an account of David's purpose to build God a house to dwell in. He reckoned it unbecoming that he himself should dwell in a ceiled palace, and the ark within curtains. On communicating his plan to the prophet Nathan, he was advised to prosecute it. But in consequence of a vision, the prophet afterwards told him that he was not to erect a temple; the honour being reserved for an illustrious son whose throne was to be established for ever, and who, though chastised for his transgressions, should be the subject of perpetual mercy (vii. 1–17). The writer then records a prayer offered by David in the holy tabernacle he had erected, characterised by thanksgiving and supplication (18–29).

The eighth chapter gives an account of David's wars with the Philistines, Moabites, Hadadezer and the Syrians. Severe measures were taken against the Moabites; for it is said that the victor measured off the prisoners with a line, consigning two-thirds of them to death. Of the Syrians 22,000 were slain

in battle; and he put garrisons in Syria. When Toi king of Hamath heard of Hadadezer's defeat, he sent his son Joram to bless the king and present him with vessels of gold, silver, and brass. These were dedicated to the Lord. It is added that David gat him a name when he returned from smiting 18,000 men of the Edomites in the valley of Salt. He also put garrisons in Edom, so that he entirely subdued the whole territory. (1-14). The chapter terminates with an account of David's officers military and civil (15-18).

On inquiring for any survivors of Saul's race, the king was told of Ziba, a servant of the family, whom he sent for and interrogated on the subject. Mephibosheth, the young prince, was therefore invited to his court from beyond Jordan. For Jonathan's sake the monarch ordered that Mephibosheth should in future eat at the royal table like his own sons, restored to him all the property of his grandfather, and commissioned Ziba to be the prince's steward (ix. 1–13). It has been a subject of wonder why David made no inquiry of this kind before; but it is probable that the chapter is not in its true chronological place. Perhaps it should have been put after the fourth chapter, where Ishbosheth's murder is narrated.

On the death of an Ammonite king, David sent a message of condolence to Hanun who succeeded him in the kingdom. But the princes of the Ammonites having raised suspicions in the mind of their new lord of the friendlessness of David's motives in this movement, telling him that it was likely the messengers came for the purpose of spying out the city and country, Hanun treated the king's servants with great indignity and dismissed them. Fearing the consequences however, the Ammonites hired a great many Syrian troops. They were defeated by Joab and his brother Abishai. When the Syrians saw that they were smitten, they sent and gathered together those who lived beyond the Euphrates, whom David encountered in a second engagement, slaying 40,000 horsemen and killing Shobach their commander. As soon as the time of year came when the Jewish kings usually took the field again, Joab was sent back against the Ammonites, and laid siege to their capital Rabbah (x. 1–xi. 1). An incident of a shameful nature now occurred at Jerusalem. As David was one evening on the roof of his palace, he became suddenly enamoured of a beautiful woman he saw in a bath, and, on inquiring about her, found that she was the wife of Uriah one of his soldiers. He committed adultery with her; and to conceal his guilt, sent for Uriah from the camp, as if to know how the war prospered. But the honest soldier would not go home, either sober or intoxicated. Disappointed in his purpose, the king

wrote to Joab to put Uriah in the front of the battle, and then abandon him to the enemy. Joab did as he was ordered and Uriah fell; of which David was duly informed by his general. And, after a short period of mourning, Bathsheba became David's wife and bare him a son (xi. 2-27). Upon this Nathan was sent to reprove the monarch, whom, by means of an apposite parable, he made to condemn himself. The monarch acknowledged his sin, humbled himself before God, and was forgiven (xii. 1-14). In accordance with the announcement of Nathan, the child of the adulterous union died. The father's intense suffering before the blow fell was succeeded by devout resignation (15-23). A second son was born, whom the father called Solomon, *i.e.*, *peace*, because peace prevailed at his birth. It is added, that the Lord loved him, and sent Nathan the prophet, and called his name Jedidiah, because of the Lord. Before this, the war with the Ammonites had come to a close. Joab having taken the lower part of their city situated on the river, and knowing that the enemy, who still held possession of the upper part or acropolis, could not hold out much longer for want of water, sent to his master to come in person and reap the honour of conquering the place. Accordingly David went with many people and took the city, discrowning its king and putting the very heavy and costly crown on his own head. He took great spoil, and exercised terrible cruelties on the inhabitants, putting them to death by saws, harrows, axes, and brick-kilns (24-31).

The thirteenth chapter relates how Amnon, David's eldest son, conceived a guilty passion for his half-sister Tamar, and following the cunning counsel of Jonadab, accomplished his purpose on her person by force; after which he drove her out of the house with cruel outrage. When Absalom her brother knew of the occurrence, he concealed his desire of revenge: but David was very wroth. At the end of two years, when there was a sheep-shearing, Absalom invited all the king's sons to an entertainment, and caused Amnon to be put to death. The first intelligence the king received was that all his sons were dead; but Jonadab told him the true state of the case and comforted him. Absalom fled to the court of Talmai, king of Geshur, in the north, where he remained three years in exile (xiii. 1–38).

The fourteenth chapter commences with a description of the method taken by Joab to bring back Absalom to Jerusalem, and restore him to the king's favour. He got a woman of Tekoah to appear in mourning apparel in the royal presence and ask his protection for one of her sons who had slain his brother in a quarrel, and whom the rest of the family had devoted to destruction. On her pretended petition being granted, she began to

remonstrate with him for doing in Absalom's case what he had just condemned in her own. Being interrogated by the king whether Joab had not prompted her to do what she had just been engaged in, she acknowledged that he had put all the words into her mouth. David therefore sent for him, and ordered him to bring back Absalom. But the latter was not admitted into the king's presence for two years; at the end of which time a full reconciliation was effected between father and son (xiv. 1–33).

The narrative proceeds to state how Absalom contrived to ingratiate himself with the people. His personal appearance was beautiful; his condescension towards all suitors remarkably winning; and his regrets on account of existing defects in the administration of justice well-timed and plausible. Hence he easily captivated the hearts of the multitude, and prepared to raise the standard of revolt. For this purpose he asked leave of absence for a short time, pretending that he had a vow to fulfil. He went to Hebron with a party of two hundred men, sent for Ahithophel his father's counsellor, and formed a powerful conspiracy (xv. 1–12). When David heard of it, he and his court fled from Jerusalem, leaving in his palace but ten concubines. In his flight it is said that he was attended by six hundred men from Gath, besides his Cherethite and Pelethite guards. These men, it would seem, were under the leadership of Ittai, whom he wished to send away against his will. Zadok and Abiathar, with the Levites bearing the ark of the covenant, also presented themselves to go with him; but he sent them back into the city to remain there, telling Zadok that he expected word from him in the plain of the wilderness, where he purposed to wait for intelligence. The road taken by the king and his company was by mount Olivet, along which he went weeping and barefoot. He also persuaded Hushai, instead of accompanying him, to go into Jerusalem to profess allegiance to Absalom, and get acquainted with his counsels, to be communicated to Zadok and Abiathar, who would send him word by their two sons (13–37).

The sixteenth chapter relates the perfidy of Ziba, Mephibosheth's steward, who met David with a present of a couple of asses saddled, bread, fruits, and wine. Having accused his master of abiding at Jerusalem with treacherous designs of ambition, he was rewarded by the king with Mephibosheth's patrimony (1–4). At Bahurim, Shimei cursed David and his party, casting stones at and insulting the king. But though Abishai wanted to slay him, the monarch patiently restrained him. After this Hushai went to Absalom in Jerusalem, offered his services, and was accepted after some hesitation. On Absalom's asking advice as to what he should do, Ahithophel advised

him to go into his father's concubines—a proceeding which would widen the breach between father and son,—and proclaim to all Israel his claim to the throne (xvi. 1–23).

After this, Ahithophel asked for 12,000 men for immediate pursuit of David, promising that he should bring them all back and smite the king only. This counsel was defeated by Hushai, who represented that David and his men were valiant and exasperated at the present time; besides, that the king was probably hid in some place. Instead therefore of urging an immediate attack, he thought that a general force should be collected out of the whole kingdom, at the head of which the prince himself should go out to battle; and falling upon them with a force innumerable as the dew-drops, leave not a man alive. In the same hyperbolical strain he represented to Absalom that such an army as he proposed to collect would be able to surround with ropes any city in which David might take refuge, and drag its walls into the river. This counsel prevailed according to the divine appointment (xvii. 1–14). Hushai immediately communicated with Zadok and Abiathar, through whom he sent a message to David not to stop all night in the plain but to pass over hastily. Accordingly the priests' sons, who lurked in the neighbourhood of the city, received the message through a woman and told David. Yet their movement was seen by a lad who went and told Absalom; and they were followed into a man's house where they had concealed themselves in a well. When David received the intelligence he and his men made haste and passed over Jordan (15–22). Ahithophel seeing that his counsel was not followed, was so much mortified that he went to his house and hanged himself. The prince made Amasa captain of the host, and passed over Jordan. Thus both sides encamped in the land of Gilead. David received abundant supplies from his adherents in the district round about Mahanaim (16–29).

The king now numbered the people that were with him, appointed leaders over them, and divided them into three bands, under Joab, Abishai, and Ittai respectively, resolving to go out with them himself; but was entreated not to do it, and complied. As he stood by the gate of Mahanaim, and the people passed in review before him, he gave strict orders to the three captains to spare Absalom's life. The Israelites were defeated by David's men, and 20,000 left dead on the field. When it is stated that it took place in *the wood of Ephraim*, the territory of that tribe being on the west of Jordan, we may conjecture that part of the so-called forest of Ephraim stretched across the river to the east. As Absalom charged on a mule, he was caught by the head in the branches of an oak, and the

mule went away from under him so that he was left suspended. Joab hearing of it ran with three darts and thrust them through the heart of Absalom who was still alive. The deed was finished by ten young men in his train; the victorious troops were recalled from the pursuit of their enemies; Absalom's body was thrown into a great pit, and a large heap of stones laid upon it (xviii. 1–17). The record states that Absalom had reared a pillar for himself in his life time to keep his name in remembrance, because he had no son. When the tidings were carried to David his grief was very great (18–33). In consequence of the king's sorrow, the victory was turned into a general mourning, and the people stole like penitents into Mahanaim. But Joab remonstrated with him, warned him of the consequence of persisting in his selfish sorrow, and persuaded him to sit in the city gate and receive the people's congratulations. The Israelites were anxious to restore him to the throne; and he sent a message to the elders of Judah, through the priests, inviting them to take the initiative in replacing him upon it. To Amasa he promised that he should make him general in place of Joab. In accordance with the general desire the king proceeded to return. His own tribe met him at Gilgal, and conducted him over Jordan. As soon as he had landed, Shimei with a thousand Benjamites met him, confessing his wrong and requesting forgiveness, which was granted, notwithstanding Abishai's desire for his death. Ziba also came with his fifteen sons and twenty servants. Mephibosheth too came to meet the king, and vindicated himself from the slander brought against him: in consequence of which he received back one-half of his patrimony, Ziba being allowed to retain the other. The aged Barzillai likewise came, but declined an invitation to court in consequence of his years, requesting for his son Chimham the royal patronage, which was granted (xix. 1–40). The northern tribes now expressed their displeasure at the forward part taken by the tribe of Judah in consummating the king's restoration. Angry words ensued between the rival tribes, and the matter began to assume a threatening aspect (41–43). Taking advantage of the state of feeling, Sheba organised another insurrection and the Israelites followed him; while the men of Judah adhered to their king. Amasa the new captain was ordered to assemble the royal subjects within three days; but some delay occurring, Abishai was commanded along with his brother Joab to take the king's forces and pursue Sheba. Amasa was overtaken at Gibeon, where Joab treacherously rid himself of a rival by running Amasa through the body with his sword. The two brothers, joined by the troops whom Amasa was conducting to Jerusalem, pursued after Sheba till they came to Abel, in the

extreme north of Palestine. This city, Abel of Bethmaachah, they laid siege to and were about to batter down the walls, when a wise woman who had spoken to Joab from the walls, persuaded the inhabitants to save the place by cutting off Sheba's head and throwing it out to Joab. Accordingly the army withdrew, and Joab returned to Jerusalem (xx. 1–22). Here another list is appended of the principal officers of David's court and army. The differences between this and the preceding list in viii. 16-18, arise from the fact that they belong to different periods of his reign; the one (viii. 16-18) to an earlier time, and this to the last years of the king. It is plain too that they proceed from different writers, who put together in a summary way what they had to say in conclusion respecting David's reign, as if their history of it terminated there.

The twenty-first chapter commences with the account of a severe famine which lasted three years. When David inquired of the Lord on account of it, he was told that it was a punishment for the crime of Saul, who, contrary to an oath of the Israelites, had slain some Amorites of the city of Gibeon. When the king therefore asked these heathens how he should make atonement, they answered that they should require nothing more than seven of Saul's posterity to hang. "And the king said, I will give them." Reserving Mephibosheth, he delivered up the two sons of Rizpah, and five sons of Michal. What adds to the cruelty of this transaction is the circumstance that Michal had been David's wife, to whom on one occasion he owed his life. The incident of Rizpah spreading sackcloth for herself upon the rock, and watching there day and night over the remains of her murdered children, from the middle of April till the rainy season in October, is very touching. This affecting care of the mother for her dead ones moved David to do something of the same sort for the departed. He took the bones of Saul and Jonathan from the men of Jabesh-gilead, which, together with the bones of such as were hanged, were buried in the territory of Benjamin, in the sepulchre of Kish (xxi. 1–14). This is followed by a fragment having no connexion with the preceding account, in which the heroic deeds of David and his valiant men in the course of a war with the Philistines are recounted. Four remarkable descendants of a giant in Gath fell by the hand of David and his servants (15-20). The beginning of the section is wanting, in which David's encounter with Goliath was spoken of; for the phrase "these four fell by the hand of David," followed by "and by the hand of his servants," is appropriate solely on that supposition, because none of the four mentioned fell by the hand of David himself.

The twenty-second chapter contains a psalm of thanksgiving which David is said to have spoken to the Lord when Jehovah had delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul. There is a copy of it in the eighteenth psalm, the text of which is younger than this. The length of the lyric is the most remarkable thing about it. It is also observable, that the language is occasionally weak and flat. Hence it has been referred to David's extreme old age.

The next chapter begins with another psalm, said to be the last words of David, *i.e.*, his last poetical effusion (xxiii. 1-7). This is followed by a catalogue of his most valiant men and their memorable deeds. At the close it is said to contain thirty-seven names, though only thirty-six are given. Either Joab, who is not in the list, should be reckoned; or Hepher should be supplied in verse 34 from 1 Chron. xi. 36 (xxiii. 8-39).

The twenty-fourth chapter relates, that the divine displeasure was again excited against Israel; and therefore the Lord prompted David to number the people. Notwithstanding the remonstrance of Joab, the task was undertaken in pursuance of the king's continued purpose; and at the end of nine months twenty days, a list was brought in of 800,000 valiant men in Israel, and 500,000 in Judah (1-9). The king was now smitten with remorse; he confessed his sin to the Lord, and Gad was sent to give him his choice of three kinds of punishment—viz., seven years of famine, three months of defeat, or three days of pestilence. The last was chosen. Accordingly a pestilence was sent which cut off 70,000 men. When the destroying angel stretched out his hand over Jerusalem he was commanded to desist; and David perceiving him standing by the threshing-place of Araunah the Jebusite, supplicated for mercy. By direction of Gad, the king erected an altar on the spot; having purchased the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver from Araunah. On it burnt-offerings and peace-offerings were presented; and the plague was stayed from Israel (10-25).

II. NAME AND DIVISION.—The books of Samuel were originally one, and are still unseparated in Hebrew MSS. The separation into two was made by the LXX., from whom it passed into the Vulgate. Daniel Bomberg first introduced it into Hebrew copies. After dividing the book of Samuel into two, the LXX. united the parts with the book of Kings, which they also separated into two. The arrangement in the Septuagint cannot be commended, since the book of Kings should not be classed with that of Samuel, as though they made up one whole work; for there is internal evidence enough to shew that they are different in character. The work now bearing the name of Samuel is distinct from that of Kings. Both Origen

and Jerome testify, that the Jews of their time counted the books of Samuel as one.

The name of Samuel prefixed to the work can hardly be considered as strictly appropriate, because he did not write it; neither is he the sole subject of the history. He is, however, the principal personage described, on which ground the title may be justified; for though both Saul and David occupy a large portion of the contents, they were connected with and introduced by Samuel. The title seems to have been appended later than the LXX. because they have another, viz., the first and second books of Kings. Hävernick thinks[1] that this is not a conclusive reason for attributing the title to a later time than that of the Greek translators, because they may have altered an older one—a supposition within the range of the possible and nothing more. It is not probable that the translators would have changed an ancient title for one of their own.

It is needless to object to the exact relevancy of an inscription now universally adopted in printed books. *A potiori fit denominatio* is a recognised principle in speaking and writing. As Samuel is the central person of the history, the general appellation is allowable. It describes the time when he judged Israel, the influence he exercised on the theocracy under the reigns of Saul and David, and the rise of the prophetic order in himself. Hence he stands out as the leading person till the time of his death at Ramah. The pontificate of Eli, with which the work commences, is in a manner *introductory* to Samuel's own history.

Whether there be a historical gap between the account of the Jewish history in the book of Judges and this in Samuel, is somewhat uncertain. De Wette takes the positive,[2] and Keil the negative,[3] side of the question. The data are insufficient to allow of a satisfactory determination; for we cannot assign any weight to Keil's calculations and reasonings, in which he tries to make out immediate continuity in the history of Judges and Samuel. Chronological considerations are unreliable in a question of this sort, unless it be first shewn that the dates are meant to be exact.

III. CONTRARIETIES AND COMPILATION.—Critics universally allow that the contents of the two books before us were derived from different sources, and therefore had not the same *author*. An unknown person *compiled* them in the form which they now present. This is inferred from the following features in themselves:—

1. There are contrarieties which betray different writers.

[1] Einleitung II. 1, page 119. [2] Einleitung, page 246.
[3] Einleitung, page 164, and in the Dorpat theolog. Beiträge II., p. 350, et seqq.

Thus in xvi. 14-23 David's introduction to the king is described. One of the persons about the latter mentioned a son of Jesse as skilful in playing, and possessing such other accomplishments as fitted him to wait upon and soothe the king in his melancholy. Hence David was sent for, whom the king loved greatly, and made his armour-bearer. But in the following chapter, David is introduced to the king in very different circumstances. There it was when he went to the camp, heard Goliath's challenge, and accepted it. The young man was unknown to Saul; for he inquired whose son he was, and learned that he was Jesse's. Even Abner, captain of the royal host, was unacquainted with his person. Thus it is obvious that the seventeenth chapter proceeded from another hand than the sixteenth; in other words xvi. 1-23 was written by an author different from that of xvii. 1-xviii. 5. The contrariety especially appears in xvi. 14-23 and xvii. 55-58; but other parts are necessarily connected with these, so that the entire sixteenth chapter is one piece, as also the seventeenth with the first five verses of the eighteenth. The fact that xvii. 12-31, 55-xviii. 5 are wanting in the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint, shews that the contradiction was noticed very early, and an attempt made to remove it.

In chapter xiii. 13-14 it is recorded that Saul's dismission from the office of king was determined upon and a successor indicated because he had offered up a sacrifice in the absence of Samuel, for whom he should have waited according to appointment. The announcement is made by the prophet himself. But in xv. 1–35 another account is found. Samuel there delivers a divine command to the king, utterly to destroy the Amalekites. The king disobeys, and therefore the prophet informs him of the penalty—viz. that he was rejected from being king over Israel. In the one case he is said to have been rejected because he offered sacrifice; in the other, because he spared in part the Amalekites, after he had been ordered to extirpate them without mercy. Thus the thirteenth and fifteenth chapters proceeded from different authors. Naegelsbach's apologetic explanation[1] does not meet this case, because there is something more than repetition.

In chapter xix. 24 another origin of the proverbial expression, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" is given than that which had been before stated in x. 11. Both time and place are different. The tenth and nineteenth chapters were written by different persons.

We read in vii. 13 that the Philistines were subdued and

[1] Herzog's Encyklopaedie, vol. xiv. pp. 401, 402.

came no more into the coast of Israel; whereas in ix. 16 Saul was to be chosen to save Israel out of the hand of the Philistines. In xiii. 5, xvii. 1, xxiii. 27, the Philistines also appear as invading the chosen people. Hence the writer of the concluding summary in vii. 13, where he brings Samuel's life to a close, must have been different from those who recorded the incursions of the Philistines.

According to xiv. 49, the sons of Saul were Jonathan, Ishui, Melchishua; but in xxxi. 2 they are said to be Jonathan, Abinadab, and Melchishua.

The passage xiv. 47-52 begins with the assertion, "So Saul *took* the kingdom over Israel and fought against all his enemies on every side," etc., implying that immediately after and in consequence of his first great victory over the Philistines, he took upon him the dignity of king. The writer knew nothing of his being chosen by lot and confirmed in office at Gilgal, as related in x. 17, etc., xi. 14, etc., and was therefore different from him who recorded the events in x. 17-xi. 15. It is also apparent that the fifteenth chapter did not proceed from the writer of the fourteenth, for it is a continuation of xii. 25. The thirteenth and fourteenth chapters belonging to the same author have been inserted between the continuous history in the twelfth and fifteenth.

In xv. 35 we read, that "Samuel did not see Saul again till the day of his death;" whereas in xix. 24 he prophesied before Saul. For the sake of removing the contradiction, the English version has the former passage erroneously thus: "And Samuel came no more to see Saul till the day of his death."

In x. 8, at the close of the account of Saul's first interview with Samuel at Ramah, the prophet proposed to meet the king at Gilgal, within seven days; whereas their next meeting was at Mizpeh (x. 17); and neither the next meeting at Gilgal, (xi. 14, 15,) nor that recorded in xiii. 8-12, which resembles the one agreed upon at first (x. 8), can be the appointed meeting at Gilgal, because they were *several years* after. The last was two years after Saul became king (xiii. 1).

According to viii. 22, the people first solicited a king, and Samuel being divinely directed to yield to their importunity, anointed Saul whom God had expressly pointed out to him. But it is subsequently related, that Samuel proceeded to ascertain by lot when the people were convened at Mizpeh the individual to be chosen (x. 17-27). Thus different sources lie at the basis of chapter viii. and x. 17-27,—a fact which Naegelsbach professes his inability to perceive.

In xix. 2-7 Jonathan reveals to David his father's intention to kill him, and persuades him to hide till a reconciliation should

be tried, which proves successful. But in the twentieth chapter David fled from Naioth to Jonathan, and thought, after all he had experienced, of being present at the royal table as at first; while Saul expected him there. Having been treated so harshly, it is very improbable that both Jonathan and he could have been so ignorant of the real state of the king's mind, as to say what they are represented as saying in xx. 2, 5, 7, etc. etc. Hence the twentieth chapter could not have been derived from the same source as the preceding one.

In xxi. 10-15 we have an account of David's flight to Achish with the sword of Goliath, which must have been well known there; for Achish was king of Gath, the city of the Philistine champion Goliath. But the servants of Achish suspected him, and he was obliged to feign himself mad in order to preserve his life. Yet subsequently, when he fled to the same king of Gath, the latter became very intimate with him, and presented David with a city in which he and his men dwelt,—an account which is again different from that in xxix. 1, etc., where we are told that the princes of the Philistines distrusted David.

In xviii. 2, 5, it is said that Saul took David the day the latter returned from the slaughter of the Philistine champion, and would not allow him to go home again to his father's house; as also that the latter went forth whithersoever the king sent him, and was set by him over the men of war. But in the ninth and tenth verses of the same chapter it is stated that Saul eyed him with jealousy from the day on which he slew Goliath and forward, and on the very next day attempted to take his life. Besides, we read in the fifth verse: "And David went out whithersoever Saul sent him, and behaved himself wisely: and Saul set him over the men of war, and he was accepted in the sight of all the people, and also in the sight of Saul's servants;" words which are repeated, in a form somewhat altered, in the twelfth to the fifteenth verses; for whereas the idea is conveyed by the one account, that Saul made him captain because of his good success, the latter indicates that the appointment arose from fear of David. Thus xviii. 1-5 and 6-16 were drawn from different sources.

In ix. 6, 7, 8 Saul, searching for his father's asses along with a servant, is informed by the latter, in the neighbourhood of Ramah, that a man of God lived near, who might perhaps be able to tell what course they should take to recover the lost property. The way in which the attendant speaks of the seer and in which Saul receives the information, shews that they knew little or nothing about Samuel. But the preceding chapters (vii. viii.) depict the prophet as one well known—a prophet and judge who gathered all Israel together at Mizpeh, which is

in the neighbourhood of Gibeah. Hence the writer of the ninth chapter must have been a different person from the writer of the seventh and eighth.

In x. 1–9, the geography is peculiarly embarrassed. After Samuel had anointed Saul at Ramah and proceeded on his way home, he is represented as first going to Rachel's sepulchre, which was near Bethlehem, south of Jerusalem, and in Judah (Gen. xxxv. 19). He then went to Tabor, which is in the tribe of Zebulun and lay to the north, having the territory of four other tribes between it and Judah. Besides, all this circuit is said to have been made in one day, which is impossible. Thenius proposes to read *Deborah* for *Tabor* in verse 3; and conjectures that in Gen. xxxv. 19, and xlviii. 7, the explanation after Ephrath, *which is Bethlehem*, is a later and erroneous addition.[1] But these are desperate expedients for removing difficulties.

2. In addition to the contrarieties just indicated, some of which are twofold accounts of one and the same thing, may be mentioned a few more double narratives which have the same incident for their basis, variously embellished by tradition. A comparison of the twenty-sixth chapter with xxiii. 19–xxiv. 22, will shew an example. David is recorded to have spared the king's life on two successive occasions. All the leading circumstances of both are essentially similar. Thus the Ziphites brought the intelligence respecting David's retreat to Saul at Gibeah, which is narrated almost in the same words. In both cases Saul had three thousand chosen men. In both David resisted the counsel of those with him to put his enemy to death, refusing to lift up his hand against the Lord's anointed. In both he carried off something belonging to the king, as a proof that the latter was entirely in his power. In both he expostulates with Saul in similar terms regarding his unmerited hostility. In both the king professed contrition for his conduct, and was confident of David's future greatness. In both the description of their separation is similar. Thus the particulars in which they are alike are numerous and striking; those in which they differ being fewer and less characteristic.

3. In various places may be observed short conclusions of historical accounts, with which different writers summed up all that was known respecting the subjects they were treating. Thus vii. 15, 16, 17, is the close of Samuel's history. Though the remark here comes after the battle of Mizpeh, it is unnatural to speak of Samuel's ordinary administration of justice in the way it is mentioned, unless the notices of his life in the work

[1] Die Bücher Samuels, p. 35.

now ceased. Another example is xiv. 47–51, where Saul's history is terminated in the same comprehensive and compendious way. Such a summary is fitting only at the close of Saul's life; for the names of his sons and daughters are given, the name of his wife, of his father, of the captain of his host; while it is said that "there was sore war against the Philistines *all the days of Saul.*" Hence it is not to the purpose to affirm that because Saul's downward course begins with the next chapter, the present summary is appropriate. Both his successful and unsuccessful course should terminate with it.

In the second book of Samuel occur viii. 15–18, and xx. 23–26. With respect to the former, the turning point in David's reign is not there, for the ninth chapter presents him in a most favourable light. Nor does that chapter form a proper adjunct to the summary in viii. 15–18. It is quite distinct. With regard to the latter (xx. 23–26) the list of David's officers is not appropriately placed, because it is little else than a repetition of viii. 16–18. The same enumeration substantially cannot be alike appropriate in two places. These circumstances have been pointed out by Thenius,[1] and vainly combated by Keil[2] and Naegelsbach. Sometimes they bear internal evidence of their diverse authorship from a preceding section or context.

4. The hand of a compiler occasionally appears in explanatory insertions, which could scarcely have proceeded from the first writers. The most conspicuous example of this occurs in ix. 9, where we read: "Beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God, thus he spake: Come and let us go to the seer: for he that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer." In like manner the pronoun הַזֶּה in xvii. 12, *that* Ephrathite, proceeded from the compiler as a kind of tacit excuse for the repeated mention of David's family descent; *that* Ephrathite who has been spoken of before. So too a sentence was inserted by the same hand to obviate the discrepancy between what is related about Jesse's sending David to the camp, and xvi. 22-23, where David appears as an inmate of the palace. "And when the three eldest followed Saul, David had returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem." As the seventeenth chapter was written by another than the author of the sixteenth, the interpolated remark serves to bind them together. Another instance is in xxvii. 6, where we read: "Wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah, unto this day."

5. The books of Chronicles contain several sections parallel to those in Samuel, whose form and position are such as shew that the compiler of Chronicles borrowed from sources identical

[1] Die Bücher Samuels, p. 165. [2] Einleitung, p. 166.

with those of the redactor of Samuel, but existing in different transcripts, or so to speak, editions. If he used the books of Samuel only, the variations are inexplicable; but if he had the sources whence they were compiled, varying as they did with varying tradition, the differences are easily and naturally resolved. Thus in 1 Chron. xi. the compiler gives what he found in one place, viz., David's being anointed at Hebron, the taking of Zion from the Jebusites, and the list of his mighty men. But in Samuel they are distributed in different places, viz., 2 Sam. v. 1–10, the anointing at Hebron; xxiii. 8–39, the catalogue of his mighty men. It is observable too, that the latter list is much more copious than the former, shewing the original source to have been fuller. In like manner 1 Chron. iii. gives David's sons in continuous succession with his line down to Zedekiah; while his children are distributed in the books of Samuel, 2 Sam. iii. 2–5, enumerating six sons born at Hebron; and 2 Sam. v. 14–16, eleven sons born in Jerusalem. Thus the evidences of the materials constituting the books before us having been derived from written sources are abundant and unmistakable. This indeed is universally acknowledged; especially as it is stated in one instance that David's lament over Saul and Jonathan was written in the book of Jashar, from which the compiler took it; and as it is likely that other poetical pieces, 2 Sam. xxii. xxiii. 2–7, and 1 Sam. ii. 1–10, belonged to the same book. Even Hävernick and Keil allow that sources were employed. But there is some diversity of opinion respecting the character of the books made up of such written materials; for while it has appeared compilatory, loose, and partly disjointed, to one class of critics; others have denied this feature, contending for a substantial unity. The former are right in their opinion. The history as a whole is unequal and fragmentary: some sections being short and chronicle-like; others so copious as to resemble biography. The parts do not present the internal unity or mutual references which shew *an author*, for they are rather disconnected and isolated—*laid together* rather than *consolidated* into a connected series of successive narratives where one hand only is visible. The *compiling* is obvious, because various pieces present contradictions, narrate the same occurrences twice in a way that includes the partial incorrectness of one or other, and repeats the same fact without necessity. Thus the narrative, though pervaded by a general plan—the lives of Samuel, Saul, and David each forming a historical group and tolerably complete in itself—is a compilation whose parts are but loosely united. To deny this appears to us the result of critical blindness or prejudice. Internal evidence clearly confirms it. It is true that double

narratives of the same thing may be denied, because they present minor differences apparently pointing to their separateness of subject: and contradictions in various sections may be reconciled *after a certain fashion;* but the impartial reader, who has no preconceived theory of inspiration to support at all hazards, will refuse to shut his eyes to the proofs we have adduced. If, as we believe, the writer used different sources, he was not always careful or able to prevent their clashing in a variety of particulars. Doubtless he drew from them honestly, and left them often as they were, incorporating them into the history without first forcing them into exact accordance.

Keil[1] appeals in confirmation of *his* view of the unity of the books, to their language, which is substantially alike throughout, and agrees in many respects with that of the older Hebrew writings, while it has many new peculiarities wanting in them. He instances יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת 1 Sam. i. 3, 11, iv. 4, and often; נַחֲלַת יְחוָה a designation of the people of Israel, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, 2 Sam. xx. 19, xxi. 3; כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה (אֱלֹהִים) יְהוָה 1 Sam. iii. 17, xiv. 44, xx. 13, and often; מַלְכוּת 1 Sam. xx. 31, as 2 Kings ii. 12, and often in the later books; *the ears shall tingle,* 1 Sam. iii. 11, 2 Kings xxi. 13, Jer. xix. 3, and many others.

The argument is of no force, because *such* uniformity of language as the books present must be expected, as long as they were drawn from sources nearly contemporaneous with one another. And the diction substantially agrees with that of the older Hebrew writings, because it was separated from them by no great interval. That there should be several new phases is quite natural in books of such extent, and narrating so many incidents.

IV. Sources.—The writer mentions none of the sources he used except one, viz., the book of Jashar, which contained David's elegy upon Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 19-27). It is not improbable, as has been already remarked, that the other poetical pieces, viz., 2 Sam. xxii. xxiii. 1-7, 1 Sam. ii. 1-10, 2 Sam. iii. 33, 34, were taken from the same anthology. In addition to this book of national poems, documents composed in the schools of the prophets appear to have been employed. In 1 Chron. xxix. 29, reference is made to "the book (literally *words*) of Samuel the seer, and the book (words) of Nathan the prophet, and the book (words) of Gad the seer," as the main sources of information respecting the acts of king David. This language implies that Samuel, Nathan, and Gad wrote separate monographs appealed to in succession as the productions of their

[1] Einleitung, p. 174.

respective authors. It has been argued indeed by Thenius[1] that the word דִּבְרֵי means *acts* or *occurrences*, as in the preceding context, "now *the acts* of David the king" (דִּבְרֵי); and his idea is, that the acts of David were written in a work which also contained an account of the great prophets connected with his reign; nothing being conveyed as to the prophets themselves committing to writing occurrences in the life of David either separately or in conjunction. According to this critic the allusion is to a large historical work which contained a fuller account of king David, as well as of the prophets Samuel, Nathan, and Gad; especially to the portions of it where the lives and discourses of these prophets are narrated. He thinks that a comparison of the history of David's reign given in 1 Chron. xi.–xxi. with that of 2 Sam. viii.–xxiv. makes it exceedingly probable that the latter was derived from the same source as the former, *i.e.*, from the historical work referred to in 1 Chron. xxix. 29. Both agree to a great extent, often word for word; the variations being such as arise from difference of object and mental idiosyncracy. We do not agree with Thenius in this view. The manner in which the three documents are cited, the term *book* being repeated with each person, harmonises best with the supposition of their original distinctness. And we doubt not that Samuel, Nathan, and Gad were *the writers* of the monographs, not *the subjects of their contents*. The Chronist appeals to them in their separate state; not as parts of the large historical work called the *Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel*, etc. It has been conjectured by Michaelis, Eichhorn, De Wette, Gramberg, and Movers, that the work cited by the Chronicle-writer is identical with the present books of Samuel, different parts being designated in succession after the names of the three prophets that wrote them; but this has been refuted by Keil and Hävernick. We do not agree with Bleek[2] in thinking that the Chronist meant our present books of Samuel by דִּבְרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל. The Chronist never *quotes* the books of Samuel. He used them indeed, and that in their present state; but he knew that they were partly compiled from the three documents of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad.

Another source appears to have been *national annals*, to which we probably owe the lists of David's officers and heroes in 2 Sam. viii. 15-18, xxiii. 8-39; for in viii. 16, mention is made of a *recorder*, meaning *historiographer* or writer of annals. It is hypercritical in Keil[3] to deny the use of public national annals, and to substitute for them state-archives or public records made

[1] Die Bücher Samuels, Einleitung, p. xxii.
[2] Einleitung, p. 367.
[3] Einleitung, pp. 178, 189.

by the chancellor of the kingdom; because the person meant by the word translated *recorder* may have been both chancellor and historiographer of the kingdom. Nor need it be contended that nothing but the two lists just specified was got from the latter source, as though it were necessary to put the copious biographical and political accounts of the books under prophetic sanction by assigning their authorship to prophets. Even if the passage 1 Kings xi. 41, proved that national annals did not exist till Solomon's reign, for which they were first used, that circumstance would be no proof against the use of them in David's time. We believe that much more than the two passages selected by Keil were taken from public annals.

The account of Goliath in the seventeenth chapter of 1 Sam. partakes of the legendary and exaggerated, and was taken from a written source. The height of the giant himself, the weight of his spear's head and coat of mail, the manner in which he was slain with a sling and stone, and most of the details, are a poetical romance intended to magnify the heroism of the Israelite youth. The whole story of this exploit is suspicious. Perhaps it arose from the victory of Elhanan the Bethlemite over "Goliath of Gath, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam" (2 Sam. xxi. 19). David's antagonist is usually called "the Philistine." He is called *Goliath* in three places only. After the king of Israel had become renowned in the traditions of the nation, the exploit was transferred to his youth, in order to magnify his reputation. We know that most modern critics regard the text of 1 Chron. xx. 5 as more original than that in 2 Sam. xxi. 19; but against it lies the objection that the former can be easily explained as originating in the latter, not *vice versâ*. In the one it is stated that Elhanan "son of Jaare-Oregim the Bethlemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam" (2 Sam. xxi. 19); in the other, that "Elhanan son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was," etc. (1 Chron. xx. 5). In the last passage אֶת־לַחְמִי seems to have arisen from בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי of 2 Sam. After the בֵּית became indistinct, it was changed into אֶת the sign of the accusative; and לַחְמִי was naturally supposed to be the name of the giant. This change necessarily led to another; the alteration of אֶת into אָח, making Lahmi *the brother* of Goliath. Nothing can be objected to this origin of the story, from the fact that Elhanan's exploit took place late in David's reign; unless it could be shewn that the Chronicles were compiled soon after the king's death, when the feats of his youth were still fresh in the memory of his people and tradition had not sufficient time to

magnify them. The whole account of David's encounter with Goliath bears an air of the marvellous, and shews its comparatively late *growth*, if not *origin*. It is graphic and romantic; as if imagination had largely contributed to its formation.

Whatever view be taken, it is most probable that the writer of the book found xvii.-xviii. 5 already written, and incorporated it with his history, with a few important alterations, such as the remark in xvii. 15; and הַגִּתִּי in xvii. 12.[1] It is also likely that 1 Sam. xiv. 47-52 was extracted from documents. We have already alluded to the narratives in 1 Sam. xxiii. 19-xxiv. 23 and xxvi., where *the same* facts are narrated as though they were different occurrences, though their diversity is owing to tradition. It is likely that the author of our books found one traditional form already written, and composed the other himself, *i.e.*, he took the section xxiii. 19-xxiv. 23, and reduced to writing the later and people's tradition contained in chapter xxvi.

Another source appears to have been oral tradition. This is most observable in the last four chapters of the book which form a kind of appendix, where the compiler has collected a number of particulars relating to David without inserting them in their proper places in the monarch's biography. They are miscellaneous, having no connexion with one another; and though possessing a historical basis, must have been altered and enlarged by the addition of legendary, miraculous, and improbable circumstances. That they are strongly characterised by the traditional element is apparent from internal evidence. Thus in xxi. 1-14 the commencement, *in the days of David*, by its generality argues ignorance of the exact time. The fact of Saul's having slain the Gibeonites is nowhere else related. The people of Gibeon are called *the remnant of the Amorites* (xxi. 2) which contradicts Joshua ix. 7, where they are said to belong to the *Hivite* race, not to the Amorite which dwelt beyond Jordan. In the sixth verse the Gibeonites are represented as applying to Saul the honourable title *chosen of the Lord*; and in the eighth verse Michal is said to have been married to Adriel; whereas it appears from 1 Sam. xxv. 44, that she was married to Phalti the son of Laish. *Merab* was the wife of Adriel (1 Sam. xviii. 19), and therefore two MSS. of Kennicott have *Merab* in the text instead of Michal. In 2 Sam. vi. 23 it is also said, that Michal after her repudiation by David, had no child till the day of her death.

The section 2 Sam. xxi. 15-22 is strongly tinctured with the legendary; the description of the giants, their armour, stature, and monstrosity being incredible. The twenty-fourth chapter is

[1] Bleek, Einleit., p. 364.

obviously embellished with the mythological and miraculous, the historical basis being probably no more than that David numbered the people. While the census was proceeding a plague broke out among them, from their being overcrowded here and there.

The history of David is related so copiously and minutely in many places, that one special biography at least must have been used. Probably it was not a complete biography of the king, but contained such particulars only as seemed worthy of record to the unknown writer. To this may be referred the account in the twentieth chapter of the first book, of Jonathan's covenant with David; twenty-fifth chapter; 2 Sam. xi. 2-27; xii. 1-25; xiii.

It would serve no useful purpose to give abstracts of the methods in which these books of Samuel have been distributed according to their sources by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Gramberg, Stähelin, Graf, Ewald, Thenius, and Bleek, because the nature of the subject admits of great diversity. In the absence of definite data, subjectivity has free scope. De Wette has stated many well-founded objections to the view so ingeniously elaborated by Stähelin.[1] Gramberg's,[2] which agrees with it in a variety of points, assumes too many contradictions in the books themselves. The hypothesis of Graf[3] is wilder and more improbable than any, resting as it does almost wholly on pure subjectivity. The view proposed by Bertholdt is easily shewn to be untenable,[4] as it is by De Wette. That of Thenius is soberer than any other. It is this: I. A history of Samuel based on accounts preserved by the schools of the prophets and genuine tradition, ch. i.-vii. II. A history of Saul according to tradition, inserted probably out of a national document, viii., x. 17-27; xi., xii., xv., xvi., xviii. 6-14; xxvi., xxviii. 3-25; xxxi. III. A compendious history of Saul after old written accounts, ix., x. 1-16; xiii., xiv. IV. The latter history continued and amplified into a history of David, xiv. 52; xvii., xviii., xix. in part; xx., xxi., xxii. in part; xxiii. in part; xxiv., xxv., xxvii., xxviii. 1, 2; xxix., xxx.; 2 Sam. i.-iv.; v. in part; vii., viii. V. A special history of David, rising almost to a biography, which embraces the second half of his life, and has for its special object his family life. VI. An appendix, 2 Sam. xxi.-xxiv.[5] Naegelsbach has made a few remarks on the different hypotheses, not profound it is true, but worth reading.[6]

[1] Einleitung, pp. 252, 253.
[2] Geschichte der religios. Ideen d. A. T., vol. i. p. 80 et seqq.
[3] De librorum Sam. et Reg. compositione, scriptoribus, etc.
[4] Einleitung, vol. iii. p. 894 et seqq.
[5] Die Bücher Samuels, Einleitung, p. xviii. et seqq.
[6] Herzog's Encyklopaedie, vol. xiii. p. 404 et seqq.

V. TIME WHEN THE WORK WAS COMPILED.—If the books of Kings proceeded from the same author as those of Samuel, as was the opinion of Eichhorn, Jahn, Herbst, Ewald, Vaihinger, and Palfrey, their date would be brought down not far from the end of the Babylonish captivity, since the history is carried so far in 2 Kings xxv. In that case the origin of the books of Samuel belongs to a period four hundred years later than the latest of the events recorded. But the grounds of the opinion in question are untenable. Let us glance at them.

It is said, first, that the general plan and execution are the same.

Secondly, that the language and style of both are identical.

Thirdly, that it is inconceivable that he who undertook to write the life of David continued it to his last years without mentioning his resigning the throne to his son and successor, or his death. The incompleteness is unaccountable.

Fourthly, that the present separation of Kings is not original is shewn by the conclusion of the first and beginning of the second book of Kings. As the commencement of the first book gives an account of David's old age and death; so the first chapter of the second book gives an account of Ahaziah's sickness and death, after mention had been made of his reign and conduct at the end of the first book.

Fifthly. The Septuagint version numbers the books of Samuel and Kings successively as the four books of Kings.

In reply to these arguments we remark, that though there is a general unity of plan between the four taken together, the execution is palpably different. Both present a theocratic point of view, from which the writers survey the events of history. But didactic *prophetism* appears much more prominently in Kings. Greater attention is paid to the services of religion and the arrangements of public worship. The marvellous aspect of theocratic history is dwelt upon with greater relish than in Samuel. Idolatry and illegal high places are censured as drawing down upon the people the anger of Jehovah, and leading to the dissolution of the two kingdoms. Thus the Deuteronomic legislation is presupposed, in which unity of worship in Jerusalem was strictly enjoined. But in the books of Samuel it is related that altars were erected and sacrifices offered to Jehovah in other places than that were the ark was deposited, without any hint of illegality or of Jehovah's displeasure. On the contrary, such sacrifices are viewed as acceptable to God (1 Sam. vii. 5 et seqq. 17; ix. 13; x. 3; xiv. 35; xvi. 2; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 et seqq.) Is not the inference plain that the writers were different, existing at times characterised by greater freedom of worship and rigid uniformity, respectively? Still further, the

books of Kings often refer to the law as though it existed in a written and definite form; whereas similar allusions do not occur in the books of Samuel.[1]

Again, there is a stricter chronology in Kings than in Samuel. Indeed in the latter chronology is neglected; while in the former it is carefully noted. This cannot be resolved into the use of ancient contemporaneous sources in the books of Samuel and the unchronological character of history-writing at that time; because the older book of Judges does not neglect chronology. The point in question constitutes a characteristic difference between the books of Samuel and Kings. Besides, in Kings there is a careful reference throughout to the sources whence the writer drew his materials, which is not found in Samuel. If it be replied that the history of Samuel, Saul, and David did not present so much occasion for the citation of the sources as the more compendious history of the later kings, that is true, without its accounting for the entire absence of it; for much has been passed over in the long and eventful life of Samuel. Indeed, he appears almost entirely priest and prophet; while very little is related of his *judicial* acts. Yet it is said that he was judge over Israel all his days, and performed the duties of that office at Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpeh, and Ramah (vii. 15-17). The close of this summary statement was the place to specify the source where more detailed information should be found, after the manner of the books of Kings: yet it is not given. The author of the books of Samuel gives his historical materials with a copious detail which is not in those of Kings. Of Saul and David biographies are presented; such is the minuteness of the historian; while in Kings nothing but short extracts are given, and at the end a reference to the annals of the Kings for more copious details. The Kings contain little of the biographical; Samuel has much.

In relation to the argument for identity of authorship on the ground of similarity of style it is invalid, because in Kings are many later and Chaldaising forms; while the diction of Samuel is classical and comparatively free from them. It is true that Bertholdt and Stähelin have found Chaldaisms too in our books; but the expressions so styled need not be regarded as such. Thus Stähelin produces הִתְנַבִּית and הִתְנַבּוֹת 1 Sam. x. 6, 13; וַתֹּפֵהוּ 1 Sam. xxviii. 24; תֹּמְרוּ 2 Sam. xix. 14; שֵׁלֶד for שְׁאֵלָה 1 Sam. i. 17; וַיּוֹחֶר 2. Sam. xx. 5; וַתֹּחֶז 2 Sam. xx. 9; וַיִּחַר 2 Sam. iii. 8; לְ the sign of the accusative, 2 Sam. iii. 30; 1. Sam. xxii. 7. An interchanging of the preterite with וְ and the future with וַ. Thus the preterite with וְ stands instead of

[1] See Bleek's Einleitung, pp. 357, 358.

the future with ו in 1 Sam. ii. 22; v. 7; xiii. 22; xvii. 20, 38, 48; xxiv. 11; xxv. 20; 2 Sam. vi. 16, 21; vii. 9, 10, 11; xii. 31; xiii. 18; xvi. 5, 13; xvii. 17; xix. 18, etc. On the contrary ו with the future stands twice (2 Sam. xv. 2) where there is manifestly a habit implied; as also in 1 Sam. i. 3–8, and ii. 12–27, the preterite with ו and the future with ו are used in the same sense.[1] In addition to these, others have adduced תִּשְׁתַּכְּרִין 1 Sam. i. 14; תִּמְצָאוּן ix. 13; וְיִשְׁרָנָה 1 Sam. vi. 12; יְהוֹשִׁיעַ 1 Sam. xvii. 47; יַעְשְׂרֵנוּ verse 25; יִנְתֵּן 2 Sam. xxi. 6; תִּתְבָּר 2 Sam. xxii. 27; וַיָּרֶב 1 Sam. xv. 5; וַתְּזָרֵנִי 2 Sam. xxii. 40; וַיִּדְבַּק 1 Sam. xiv. 22, xxxi. 2. These and other expressions which have been pointed out occur also here and there in the old Hebrew writings, and are no criteria of late age.

On the contrary, there are *proper* Chaldaisms in the books of Kings. Hence the argument is false.

The third argument is of weight. It is not easy to suppose that the writer who gives a history of the Israelites from the birth of Samuel and onwards, would have stopped at the point where he does—the infliction of a pestilence and erection of an altar to stay it—without continuing his narrative beyond the death of David; an event which happened soon after, and subsequently to which he certainly wrote. It is therefore probable that the compiler of the books of Samuel brought his history down to the death of David. That he suddenly broke off at the present place is incredible. This supposition is confirmed by a comparison of the announcement in 1 Sam. ii. 27–36 with 1 Kings ii. A man of God informs Eli that the high priesthood should be taken from his house and given to a faithful priest who would act according to the divine will and walk before *the Lord's anointed.* Accordingly it is related in 1 Kings ii. 27 that Solomon thrust out Abiathar from being priest, "that he might fulfil the word of the Lord which he spake concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh." Hence Solomon is "the Lord's anointed," meant in 1 Sam. ii. 35. The writer who recorded the message to Eli intended to narrate its fulfilment by Solomon, and appears to have done so in a way like that in the second chapter of the Kings.

Again, when it is announced to David by Nathan that his son should build a temple to the Lord, it is probable the writer intended to state how the promise was fulfilled. And he appears to have carried out his intention somewhat in the way in which the temple-erection is described in the first book of the Kings. This is confirmed by various references to the promise given to

[1] Untersuchungen ueber den Pentatouch, p. 134.

David in particulars of Solomon's history connected with the building of the house of worship, as 1 Kings v. 5; viii. 18, etc.

If these observations be well founded, we may conclude that the writer of Samuel's books continued his history beyond David's death into Solomon's time; perhaps to the death of the latter. The hypothesis is favoured by the fact, that the first two chapters of the Kings bear the impress in language and colouring of him that wrote the concluding chapters of Samuel. We must suppose accordingly, that the later writer retained the greater part of his predecessor's composition in these two chapters, though there are alterations and additions, as in ii. 3. Subsequently he merely used his materials, suppressing what had been written about Solomon, in order to present his own narrative, larger and different.[1]

Again, the comparison instituted between the conclusion of the first and beginning of the second book of Kings, and the conclusion of the second book of Samuel and beginning of the first book of Kings is scarcely appropriate, because the cases are hardly parallel. We may however grant their parallelism and still reject the conclusion it is here adduced to commend. It does not follow, from the history in Samuel's books not terminating originally as it does now, that the authors of Samuel and the Kings were identical.

The fifth argument is of little force. It is not proved by the fact of the Alexandrine version giving all the four books the title of *kings*, that the Hebrew text in their day made one continuous book with a Hebrew title of the same import. It is well known that the Greek translators proceeded very arbitrarily in naming and dividing the sacred books; as they did for example with the book of Ezra, which they divided into two, giving a new appellation to the second part, *i.e.*, Nehemiah.

Thus the composition of the books of Samuel cannot be attributed to the same time as that of Kings, viz., the exile, on the ground of both works proceeding from the same hand.

Hävernick conjectures from the fact that David's death is not mentioned, that the author wrote soon after it;[2] but this does not follow. Keil[3] accounts for its omission on the ground that David before he died resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son Solomon, and thus his death did not constitute the end of his reign, beyond which the author did not intend to go. More probable is the view that the books of Samuel in their original form embraced the materials of 1 Kings i. and ii.

The work as it now is was compiled at a time considerably

[1] See Ewald's Geschichte des V. Israel, vol. i. p. 176 et seqq.; and Bleek's Einleitung, p. 358 et seqq.

[2] Einleitung II., i. p. 145.

[3] Einleitung, page 175.

subsequent to the occurrence of the events it records. This is inferred from the explanation of an expression belonging to the times of Samuel and David, but obsolete in his own day (1 Sam. ix. 9), and of a peculiarity of dress which had gone out of use. The writer employs the formula, *unto this day*, in 1 Sam. v. 5; vi. 18; xxx. 25; 2 Sam. iv. 3; vi. 8; xviii. 18, where it implies the lapse of a considerable time after the things spoken of. A more specific notice bearing on the determination of the date is furnished perhaps by 1 Sam. xxvii. 6: "Wherefore Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah unto this day," implying thus much, that the author lived after Judah had become a separate monarchy, *i.e.*, after the division of the tribes under Rehoboam; contrary to the view of Hävernick who will not allow this implication.[1] The separate mention of Israel and Judah at the same time (1 Sam. xi. 8; xviii. 16; 2 Sam. iii. 10; xxiv. 1) also proves a period subsequent to the separation of the kingdoms. Hävernick in arguing that the separate mention of Judah and Israel consists with the time of David, because the tribe of Judah alone adhered to David at first, while the remaining eleven formed a separate government under the common name Israel, seven years under Ishbosheth, and a short time after under Absalom, is certainly mistaken.

Thus far we have only arrived at the conclusion that the book was compiled after the separation of the tribes under Rehoboam; and accordingly some critics, as Thenius[2] and Welte,[3] refer to the time immediately after him, as the latest in which the work could have been composed. We do not, however, lay any stress on the internal evidence they adduce in favour of that view; for when the former refers to 2 Sam. viii. 7, and holds to be an authentic remark of the compiler's, the addition found to that verse in the LXX., "And Shishak king of Egypt took them when he went up against Jerusalem in the days of Rehoboam, son of Solomon," he assumes as original nothing else than the translator's arbitrary appendage. The same remark applies to the Greek addition to 2 Sam. xiv. 27, viz., "And she became the wife of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, and bare to him Abia," which we cannot assign with Thenius to the compiler of the book.

We read in i. 9, that "Eli the priest sat upon a seat by a post of *the temple of the Lord*," a name which would scarcely have been given to the tabernacle by any one who wrote before the temple had become a familiar object. Another passage also points to a period subsequent to Solomon's, viz., 1 Sam. ii. 30-36. The thirty-fifth verse runs thus: "And I will raise me

[1] Einleit. II., i. p. 144. [2] Die Bücher Samuels, Einleit. pp. xx. xxi.
[3] Herbst's Einleitung, zweyter Theil, p. 151.

up a faithful priest that shall do according to that which is in mine heart and in my mind: and I will build him a sure house; and he shall walk before mine anointed for ever." Here the author, writing after Solomon's investiture of Zadok instead of Abiathar with the high priesthood, puts it as a prediction of the restoration of the elder branch to its hereditary rights into the mouth of "a man of God" so early as before the foundation of the monarchy. A comparison of 1 Kings ii. 26, etc., shews the transference of the high priesthood from the house of Eleazar to Ithamar here alluded to. We cannot agree with Thenius in referring "the faithful priest," in verse 35, to Samuel, and in asserting that the passage contains *a proper prediction*; because he is obliged to admit the falseness of the application to Zadok in 1 Kings ii. 27.

Although there are other passages indirectly bearing upon the question of date, none of them is more specific than those referred to; and nothing nearer can be obtained than that the books were compiled after Solomon's death. Against this there is no internal evidence. In favour of it are the purity of the language, and the religious point of view assumed throughout; contrasting favourably with the later levitical spirit prominent in the Chronicles; with the tendency to the marvellous and exaggerated; and with the attachment to outward services and forms of worship, more than the proper idea of religion inculcated by the prophets. Nothing shews so well the untenable view of Jahn and Eichhorn, who place our books after the captivity, as a comparison with Chronicles in the *general spirit* pervading them. The point of view taken by the respective writers is very different. In the one it is the *prophetical;* in the other, the *levitical.* How long after Solomon's death these books were written must be chiefly a subject of conjecture. Ewald supposes from twenty to thirty years later, which agrees with Thenius's conclusion. Perhaps, however, this is too early. The expression *unto this day,* coupled with "the kings of Judah" (1 Sam. xxvii. 6), *i.e.,* with the mention of the two kingdoms, seems to demand more time. The reign of Asa is preferable to that of Rehoboam B.C. 940.

According to Stähelin, the author wrote towards the times of Hezekiah. This he infers from supposed allusions in Jeremiah to Samuel, as Jer. iii. 15, to 1 Sam. ii. 35, xiii. 14, 2 Sam. v. 2; Jer. vii. 12-15, to 1 Sam. iv.; and from Is. xxviii. 21, referring to 2 Sam. v. 20. The same view is also thought to be confirmed by the writer's delight in speaking of the honour and dignity of the kingly office; as though he could think of no other form of government in his high ideas of the majesty belonging to this, (1 Sam. ix. 20, xxiv. 2, 2 Sam. xiv. 18, etc., xviii. 13, xix.

24). He also thinks it corroborated by the belief in the everlasting duration of David's throne, 2. Sam. vii., which belonged to the Assyrian period.[1] The argument is weak and impalpable.

The Talmudic hypothesis of Samuel being the author is plainly incorrect, because the history is continued after his death.

We have not attempted in the preceding remarks to separate the times of the respective writers whose historical materials are embodied in the books, from the compiler or redactor who put the whole into its present form; but have only spoken of the latter and his time. There could not have been a very long interval between the earliest writer, whose work is incorporated in the books, and the compiler himself.

VI. CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY.—Generally speaking the narrative is lively and graphic. The persons introduced as speaking and acting are described naturally and without effort, in a manner marred by no incongruity. The interest excited in the reader is kept up by the characteristic simplicity with which events are unfolded. Hence the history given belongs to the best specimens of sacred historical writing. Even in minute details everything is life-like. While the influence of the prophetic spirit may be seen in the events related, and the prominent individuals described, it has also left its trace on the method of the description, where artificiality is wanting. On the whole, an air of genuine fidelity marks the history. It has the stamp of truth upon it, although characterised by much variety, from short, chronicle-like pieces to the biographical details of private life. For the most part the connexion of events is also natural; though not everywhere clearly brought out. In a few instances only the marvellous is introduced through prophets and oracles; and once an angel appears (2 Sam. xxiv). The tradition followed by the writer was also somewhat changed from its true form in 2 Sam. xxi. 1–14, xxiv.; as also in xvi. xvii. xviii. in a less degree.

VII. HANNAH'S SONG.—With regard to Hannah's song of praise (1 Sam. ii. 1–10), it was probably taken from the poetical anthology styled *the book of Jashar*. It is not however to be supposed, that Hannah herself took it from that national collection and applied it to her own condition, much less that she composed it as it is. The reference in it to David seems tolerably clear (verse 8); and the entire tenor indicates his elevation and conquests. A comparison with several psalms written by David, as the eighteenth, twenty-fourth, twenty-ninth and others, favours the hypothesis of its Davidic authorship, as

[1] Untersuchungen ueber den Pentateuch, u. s. w. pp. 137, 138.

Thenius has pointed out. It agrees better too with his reputed victory over the giant and the defeat of the Philistines at that time, than with his ascending the throne after having taken mount Zion, or with the dedication of the tabernacle on the same mount. The author of the history of Samuel living after David's time, and finding it in a collection of poems, some of which belonged to the period of David the king, and were composed by him, selected and put it into the lips of Hannah, to whom he may have thought it not unsuitable on account of the commencing words, "my heart rejoiceth in the Lord, mine horn is exalted in the Lord," and also of the fifth verse, where we read of "the barren bearing seven." It is evidently a poem written to celebrate victory over enemies.

VIII. 1 Sam. xvi. 14–23.—In 1 Sam. xvi. 14-23 it is stated that David had played before king Saul, and caused the evil spirit to depart from him; that Saul loved him greatly and made him his armour-bearer, retaining him in the palace, after having sent to Jesse to signify the intention of keeping his son with him. But in the seventeenth chapter he appears as a shepherd youth, who had been kept at home while his brothers went forth to fight against the Philistines; comes to the camp with provisions to those brethren, where he happens to hear the challenge of the Philistine champion; seems to have no acquaintance with arms; is taunted by his elder brother Eliah for his foolish temerity; is unknown to Saul, who inquires, "Whose son the stripling is;" and is also unknown to Abner the captain of the host. Thus the seventeenth chapter contains various particulars irreconcilable with the sixteenth.

In consequence of the difficulty, the Vatican MS. of the LXX. omits xvii. 12-31. But, as all other external authorities have the passage, the omission of it by the Greek translators only proves that they endeavoured to restore harmony between the accounts in the two successive chapters by throwing out the verses in question—an expedient quite arbitrary. Retaining the passage as original, we must explain it as best we may.

It has been said, that though David had come to Saul's court on account of his musical skill, and had been nominated the king's armour-bearer or aid-de-camp, his proper office was not the bearing of arms in battle, but the soothing of Saul's melancholy with the harp; and therefore it is not strange that when the king went forth to battle, he sent him back to his home where he fed his father's sheep as before—especially as the king had more than one well-tried armour-bearer. But this is improbable, because when David was appointed armour-bearer no proper motive can be assigned for his being sent home by Saul

on the latter's setting forth to fight with the Philistines; on the contrary, everything favours the idea of the king's wishing to take him with him, and especially of the youth himself desiring to go. It is true that David had yet given no proof of his valour in actual fight; but that does not speak in favour of Eliab's taunting language to him, "Why comest thou down hither? and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know thy pride and the haughtiness of thine heart; for thou art come down that thou mightest see the battle." Is it conceivable that a brother would have addressed the king's armour-bearer in such a strain; or that the latter would have made the reply: "What have I now done? Is there not a cause?" But the main and insuperable difficulty lies in xvii. 55–58, on which account these verses also, with xviii. 1–5, have been left out of the text by the Vatican copy of the Septuagint. After David returned from slaying the Philistine giant, Saul asks Abner whose son he is; and Abner does not know. Here is the knot, whose untying has been often attempted in vain. It is not sufficient to say, that an unusual forgetfulness belonging to the diseased condition of the hypochondriac king may have led to the particulars related in xvii. 55-58. Neither is an explanation furnished by the bustle of court life and the number of persons accustomed daily to come under the king's notice, whose face was scarcely known. Nor can it be resolved into the ingratitude peculiar to mankind, especially the great, who avail themselves of the services of inferior men, but allow their remembrance speedily to fade away, lest they should seem under an obligation to them. Still less can the words of Saul, "Whose son is the stripling?" be taken as an expression of contempt for David's person. In like manner the hypothesis that these words are either the expression of wondering astonishment uttered by the king forgetting at the moment the person of his harp-player, from whom such an exploit was unexpected, cannot be admitted; because it does not account for *Abner's* ignorance of his person. Another assumption is, that Saul does not express unacquaintedness with David's person, but merely with his family relations, which he might easily have forgotten and Abner perhaps never knew. It is supposed that the king wished to be accurately acquainted with these in order that he might make the family free in Israel (verse 25). For this end, he required to know more than simply the name of his father and birth-place. But David's answer states no more than that he was the son of Jesse the Bethlehemite, which exactly accords with the king's question. To say that the answer is not fully given, is a gratuitous assumption not warranted by the succeeding words, "And it came to pass when he

had made an end of speaking unto Saul." How also is it possible, that Abner was wholly unacquainted with the king's armour-bearer, or even the king himself, notwithstanding his fits of temporary insanity, after the latter had sent messengers to Jesse for his son David to come to him, and after again sending for the father's permission to have the son always near the royal presence? Every impartial reader sees that the two accounts of David's introduction to Saul are independent and irreconcilable. The writer of the one was unacquainted with the other. It has been affirmed indeed, that the author of xvii. 55–xviii. 5 was well acquainted with the preceding narrative, because the words xviii. 2 "And Saul took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house," refer back to xvii. 15, "But David went and returned from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem." This is a mistake, as the latter words, *properly translated,* betray the hand of the compiler wishing by such a sentence to remove the contradiction existing between David's being sent by Jesse to the camp and xvi. 21, 22. The word מעל for מעם evinces a later hand. That the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters were independent narratives is further shewn by the notices of Jesse's sons in xvi. 6-11 and xvii. 12; the latter being an unnecessary repetition on any other supposition.

IX. The witch of Endor and Saul.—Respecting the transaction recorded in 1 Sam. xxviii. 7-19, it is strange that there have been different opinions as to whether the witch really raised up Samuel from the dead; or at least, whether the prophet really appeared on the occasion. We believe that the woman who pretended to have a familiar spirit, imposed on the weak and credulous monarch, whose mind at the time was in a state of restless excitement, fear, and abject despair. The witch was accustomed to cunning practices, and could easily deceive the monarch on *this* occasion, when he thought himself on the verge of ruin and readily caught at anything that might possibly infuse a ray of hope into his mind.

The woman must have known from the first who her visitor was. Saul had inquired of his servants if they could inform him of such an one; and through their attention being directed to her, she might have known beforehand of his visit. If not, his attendants would unconsciously betray his rank by their demeanour towards him; which from long habit could scarcely be so jealously guarded even for a short time as not to deviate from the restraint imposed upon it. Besides, his unusual stature was a sure mark of his person; for he was higher than any of the people from the shoulders upward. Being afraid, in consequence of the violent measures the king had lately taken to

exterminate all persons of her craft, she obtains an oath from him that she should suffer no harm. The readiness and confidence with which the oath was taken, would confirm the previous conviction that none but the king was present: "As the Lord liveth there shall no punishment happen to thee for this thing." In the twelfth verse it is said, "When the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice." She pretended to see him, and cried out as if she was frightened at the sight, for the purpose of terrifying Saul. She then said to the king, "Why hast thou deceived me, for thou art Saul!" Here was another stroke of her art. She pretended that after the commencement of her incantations it was revealed to her either by a higher inspiration or by Samuel himself, that she stood in the king's presence—a thing which she knew before. In Saul's question to her, "What seest thou?" it is clearly implied that he saw nothing. How could he, when there was nothing to see? The woman however said, "I saw gods ascending out of the earth," or rather, "I saw a spirit ascending out of the earth;" for the Hebrews were forbidden to form to themselves an outward likeness of God. As the king continued to question her, she answered, "An old man cometh up and he is covered with a mantle." At the time the king and the prophet last parted, we are told that when the latter turned about to go away, Saul laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle and rent it (xv. 27); a thing which was likely to be generally known, and of which the sorceress availed herself. It is then added: "And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground, and bowed himself." The meaning of these words is, that he knew it was Samuel by what the woman told him; for it is probable that he was bowed to the ground during the dialogue, and could not detect the fraud. The words related as Samuel's and addressed to Saul, were spoken by the woman in the use of ventriloquism; and accordingly the Greek translators expressly term her a ventriloquist. So too Josephus. Or she may have employed another person to act the part of Samuel. But it may be asked, if the woman merely imposed on the king by making him believe that Samuel was present and spoke to him, how could she predict the defeat of Saul and Israel with him, and the death of himself and his sons on the morrow, as is done in the nineteenth verse? To this we reply that the king's utter prostration of mind and body, besides many other circumstances, might authorise her in believing that this would happen. The very foretelling of the thing would greatly contribute to its accomplishment. She ventured to affirm the probable consequences of the engagement with the Philistines, without caring much whether her word should prove false or not; because she

could have little to lose by a detected error in her prediction, now that Saul knew her retreat, since she intended not to remain within his reach. We do not think, however, that the consequences of her predicting disaster and death to the king were thought of in relation to her own fortunes. Revenge prompted her to speak as she did. The enemy of herself and of all the professors of her art stood before her unnerved; and she gave vent to her vindictive feelings in return for the cruel treatment which she herself may have received from his hands, or at least which many of her class had received. In considering the prediction of the sorceress, it should be noticed, that all Saul's sons were not slain in the impending battle (comp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 2 with 2 Sam. ii. 8).

It has been asked, how the writer himself looked upon the transaction? Did he believe that Saul held converse with the disembodied spirit of Samuel? We cannot suppose that he did, else the narrative would not have presented so many indications of the imposture. Still less can he have imagined, that although the necromancer was an impostor, having no power to raise the dead, God himself interfered and raised up the real Samuel for the purpose of addressing Saul. The occasion, as far as we can perceive, was not such as to call for the sudden and miraculous interposition of Jehovah. Rather was it one on which he might be expected to evince displeasure.

In 1 Chron. x. 13 there is a passing reference to the occurrence in question which agrees better with the view of it now given than with any other. Those who think that Samuel really appeared, rely on the fact that he is called Samuel by the writer throughout; that Saul recognised him and bowed; that he spoke what actually happened in the future; and that the woman herself was terrified at the apparition because it is said that she "cried with a loud voice when she saw Samuel." These particulars have been already viewed as consistent with the imposture; and no weight attaches to the writer's calling the pretended apparition Samuel. To be intelligible and natural, he could hardly have spoken otherwise: nor can we infer from it that he himself believed it to be a true case of the dead appearing. One so trustworthy in his historical statements, could scarcely have participated in that belief. And even if he had, we are not bound to think so; for the writer was not infallible. That God should send Samuel from the dead on such an occasion cannot be admitted. The expressions of the woman, "I saw a spirit ascending out of the earth," and "on the morrow shalt thou and thy sons be *with me*," do not agree with it.

X. SAUL ONE YEAR OLD WHEN HE BEGAN TO REIGN, IN XIII. 1. —In xiii. 1 we read in the English version, "Saul reigned one year," which is not the right rendering of the words, but "Saul was one year old when he began to reign." It is needless to mention the attempts that have been made to make sense of the text as it stands. They are all worthless. Only one of two suppositions is admissible, viz., that the numeral letter ל dropped out denoting *thirty*, according to which Saul was thirty years old. An anonymous reading in the Hexapla agrees with this, *υἱὸς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν*. It is certain that ל and נ have much resemblance in the ancient Hebrew orthography. But Jonathan's manly age at the time is opposed to the reading in question. We must therefore conjecture that a blank space was left for the number of years which the compiler (for this verse proceeded from him) intended to fill up again but did not: "Saul was ——— years old." This conjecture is Hitzig's. The Septuagint omits the whole verse: the Vulgate translates literally, without regard to the difficulty.

XI. DAVID'S TREATMENT OF THE MEN OF RABBAH. —In 2 Sam. xii. 31 we read of David: "He brought forth the people that were therein (Rabbah) and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brickkiln." In 1 Chron. xx. 3 the parallel runs: "He brought out the people that were in it, and cut them with saws, and with harrows of iron, and with axes." The language of the latter passage especially shews great cruelty on the part of the conqueror. Hence it has been explained away by many. Conduct like that which is described is thought unworthy of David; and apologists try to give another version of the transaction, favourable to the character of the monarch. Thus instead of translating 2 Sam. xii. 31 *he put them under saws*, etc., etc., the original is rendered "he put them *to* saws and *to* harrows, and *to* axes of iron," etc., that is, he condemned them to toil at the laborious occupation of sawing, harrowing, hammering, and brick-burning. This would be more plausible, if the parallel did not contradict it, for the language is express; *he cut them with saws and with harrows of iron*, etc. etc. Hence in the latter passage it is conjectured that the verb וישר should be וישם as in 2 Sam. xii. 31, and then the rendering will be the same, "*he put* them to," etc. But the Chronicle-reading is original and right. The word in Samuel must be corrected by it; not *vice versâ*. This is sanctioned by the Chaldee and Greek version. We therefore make וישם into וישר, and translate *he cut*. According to the present reading of Samuel, the meaning could not be *he put them to*. Nor could it be *he put them under*,

but only *he put them among or between.* The fact of *their passing through brick-kilns,* noticed by the writer of Samuel, or according to another reading *their being offered in sacrifice to their Moloch,* agrees only with the punishment of sawing them asunder. The severe vengeance inflicted by David upon Moab harmonises with the interpretation now given.

END OF VOL. I.

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